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BIOGRAPHIA

BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Biographia Britannica

OR, THE

LIVES

533

Literary Society OF THE of Bombay

Most eminent PERSONS

Who have flourished in

AND

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times:

Collected from the best Authorities, both Printed and Manuscript,

And digested in the Manner of

20048

Mr *BAYLE*'s Historical and Critical

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Printed for W. Innys, W. Meadows, J. Walthoe, T. Cox, J. and P. Knapton, T. Osborne, S. Birt, D. Browne, T. Longman, H. Whitridge, R. Hett, C. Hitch, T. Astley, S. Austen, C. Davis, R. Manby and H. S. Cox, C. Bathurst, J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, J. Robinson, J. Hinton, J. and J. Rivington, J. Ward, and M. Cooper.

MDCCXLVIII.

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THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS Who have flouriſhed in GREAT-BRITAIN, and IRELAND, From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

B E.

BENNET or BENET (HENRY) Earl of Arlington, an eminent ſtateſman in the reign of King Charles II, and in great favour with that monarch. He was deſcended of a very ancient and honourable family, ſeated at Arlington in the county of Middleſex, being the ſecond ſon of Sir John Bennet, Knight, by Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxham in the county of Norfolk, Knight (*a*); ſo that he came into the world with all the advantages, in point of birth, that a private gentleman could have [*A*]. He was born ſome time in the year 1618, and having received

(*a*) Pedigree of the family of Benet.

[*A*] *In point of birth that any private gentleman could have.*] The reader will hereafter ſee, that when this Gentleman came to his higheſt preferments, the Great Duke of Ormond was pleaſed to ſtile him one whom he had known a *very little* Gentleman (1). Dugdale is entirely ſilent on this head; and when he treats of him as a Peer, does not ſo much as tell us who was his father (2). It is however certain, that he was born of a very good family, and that there was not the leaſt reaſon for treating him as an up-ſtart. We find mention made of William Benet in the reign of Edward the Third (3), but whether this family is derived from him is uncertain. The higheſt we can trace them is to the year 1433 (4), when John Bennet was ſeated in the county of Berks, whoſe grandſon was Thomas Bennet, of Clapcot near Wallingford in that county, who, by his wife Anne, had iſſue Richard Bennet his ſon and heir, and Thomas Bennet who was Lord Mayor of London, and knighted by King James the Firſt, on the 26th of July, 1603, in the firſt year of his reign, which Sir Thomas Bennet left a numerous poſterity of both ſexes, who married into ſome of the beſt families in England (5). As for Richard Bennet, the eldeſt ſon and heir of Thomas Bennet before-mentioned, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Tiſdale of Deanly, in the County of Berks, Eſq; and had iſſue Ralph Bennet his ſon and heir, from whom thoſe of Moredon in Surrey derive themſelves; Sir John Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon, anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Tankerville; Thomas, third ſon, Alderman of London, who dying *Anno* 1622, left iſſue three ſons, whereof Richard the eldeſt ſon, by his firſt wife, left only one daughter Jane, married James Scudamore, eldeſt ſon and heir of John Lord Scudamore; likewiſe by his ſecond wife, he had an only daughter Dorothy, married to Sir Henry Capel, Knight of the Bath, created Lord Capel of Tewkeſbury, but died without iſſue. Thomas the ſecond ſon was ſeated at Baberham in Cambridgeſhire, and was created a Baronet on the 22d of November, 1660, but this title is now extinct. Sir John Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon of Sir Richard Bennet, was ſeated at Dawley in the county of Middleſex, and was created on the 6th of July, 1589, 31 Eliz. Doctor of Laws by the univerſity of Oxford (6), having been one of the Proctors there. He was afterwards Vicar-General in Spirituals to the Archbiſhop of York, and Prebendary of Langtoft in the church of York. In the 24th of Eliz. bearing the title of Doctor of Laws, he was in commiſſion with the Lord-keeper Egerton (7), the Lord-Treaſurer Buckhurſt, and ſeveral other Noblemen, for the ſuppreſſion of Hereſy. He was alſo in that reign returned to Parliament for the city of York, and was a leading member of the Houſe of Commons, as appears from ſeveral of his ſpeeches in Townſhend's Collections. He received the honour of knighthood from King James before his coronation, on the 23d of July, 1603, at Whitehall, and was made in that reign Chancellor to Queen Anne (conſort of King James), Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and Chancellor to the Archbiſhop of York. In the beginning of the year 1617, he was ſent Embaſſador to Bruſſels to queſtion the Archduke, in behalf of his maſter the King of Great Britain, concerning a libel wrote and publiſhed, as it was ſuppoſed, by Erycus Puteanus, who neither apprehended the author, nor ſuppreſſed the book, until he was ſollicited by

(1) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 552.

(2) Baronage, P. iii. p. 483.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IV. p. 402.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, in Berkſhire.

(5) From the Pedigree of the family of *Benet*, for ſo they formerly wrote their names.

(6) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 138.

(7) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 386.

received the rudiments of learning in his father's house, was afterwards sent to Christ-church-college in Oxford, where he soon distinguished himself by the vivacity of his parts, as well as by his strict application to learning. But what was chiefly remarkable in him at this time, was his turn for English poetry, so that there are very few of the university collections upon solemn occasions, while he was at college, in which there are not one or more pieces of Mr Bennet's (*b*). But upon the King's coming to Oxford, after the breaking out of the civil war, Mr Bennet was soon introduced to him, had the honour of kissing his hand, and entered in a double capacity into his service; for first of all he entered himself a volunteer, and was afterwards made choice of by the famous George Lord Digby, then Secretary of State, to be at the head of his office, which was a very early as well as honourable employment, for so young a man (*c*). This brought him very soon into business, and into an intimate acquaintance with the greatest persons in the kingdom. His civil employment might certainly have excused him from any immediate service in the army, if he had been so inclined; but he thought it a shame to remain safe at Oxford, when the King his master, the Prince of Wales, and the Princes Rupert and Maurice, were daily exposing themselves in the field, and therefore he let no opportunity slip of signalizing his courage in the royal cause, and was particularly in a very sharp rencounter which happened at Andover, where he received several wounds, of which he lay some time ill at Oxford (*d*). Thus, at a time of life when many young gentlemen have scarce finished the ordinary course of their studies, he had rendered himself considerable in the different capacities of a Wit, a Soldier, and a Statesman. While he remained in the university he took the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, but at what time does not appear, owing, as I conceive, to some omission in the registers, in those times of publick confusion. He attended the King his master as long as it was possible, and when it was no longer in his power to serve the royal cause at home, or even to remain in England with safety, he retired to France, and from thence went into Italy, but whether with any private commission, or purely for the sake of travel and improvement, we have no certain information (*e*). But it was not long, before either his own inclinations, or the commands of the royal family (*f*), brought him back again to France in 1649, where he became Secretary to his Royal Highness James Duke of York, not by his own choice, but by the express direction of his brother King Charles II, who, in the summer of the year 1654, recommended him to his Royal Highness in the strongest terms possible (*g*) [*B*]. It is certain that no man was in greater credit than Mr Bennet with the Queen-mother,

(*b*) Wood's Fast. Oxon. Vol. II, col. 156.

(*c*) Memoirs of what passed during the King's residence at Oxford, p. 13.

(*d*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*e*) Miscellanea Aulica, p. 130.

(*f*) Cowley's Letters, p. 1.

(*g*) See that recommendation in the King's own words, in note [*B*].

by the King's agent there, only interdicted it, and suffered the author to fly out of his dominions. In 1620, being intitled Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, he was in a special commission with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Noblemen, to put in execution the laws against all Heresies, great errors in matters of Faith and Religion, &c. and the same year bearing the title of Chancellor to the Archbishop of York, he was commissioned with the Archbishop of York, and others, to execute all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the province of York. He died in the parish of Christ-church in London, in the beginning of the year 1627, having had issue by Anne his wife, daughter of Christopher Weekes of Salisbury in the county of Wilts, Esq; Sir John Bennet, his son and heir; Sir Thomas Bennet, Knt. second son, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Master in Chancery; and Matthew, third son, who died unmarried. His eldest son, Sir John Bennet of Dawley, received the honour of knighthood in the life-time of his father, at Theobalds, on the 15th of June, 1616. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxham in the county of Norfolk, Knt. by whom he had issue six sons, John his son and heir; Henry, second son, afterwards created Earl of Arlington, who is the subject of our present article (8). His eldest brother was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles II was advanced to be Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, and by letters patents, dated the 24th of November, 1682, was created Baron of Ossulston, one of the hundreds of the county of Middlesex; and his son Charles Lord Ossulston having married the only daughter and heiress of Ford (Grey) Earl of Tankerville; he was by King George the first, October 19, 1714, created Earl of Tankerville, on account of that marriage, and was father to the present Earl of Tankerville (9).

(8) Pedigree of the family of *Benet*.

(9) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 133.

[*B*] *Recommended him to his Royal Highness in the strongest terms possible.*] It is not very hard to guess at the reasons which made Mr Bennet so great a favourite with the King, he had known him as long as any man, there was a great resemblance in their tempers, Mr Bennet had been a man of business in his father's court, and his family were then engaged in the King's service in England, with great danger and expence to themselves. Mr Bennet had been for some time about the Duke, as appears from several letters to him from Mr Abraham Cowley, who was Secretary to Lord Jermin, afterwards Earl of St Alban's; but now he was especially appointed his Secretary, or the person who was to have the care of his business, on whom both himself and the King was to rely, as will appear from the following paper written by King Charles II. with his own hand, and sent to him at the time Mr Bennet was to take possession of his office, and which therefore deserves the reader's notice (10.)

(10) Miscellanea Aulica, p. 108, 109.

Private Instructions for my Brother the Duke of York, July 13, 1654.

'I. You know the model of my affairs in England, 'and therefore will not employ any persons to treat 'there. When I go myself for Scotland, I will transmit to you the business of England, with all particulars; in the mean time it must be managed by myself, and in the way I have put it. II. You must 'not employ or trust *Bamfield* in any thing, since I 'am resolved to have nothing to do with him; and to 'forbid all my friends to give credit to him in any 'thing that concerns me. III. As soon as I think of 'making any general officers of an army, I will advertise you of it, and I pray do not make any promises 'of such offices to any person whatsoever, without first 'acquainting me with your thoughts. IV. Let nobody 'persuade you to engage your own person in any attempt, or enterprize, without first imparting the 'whole design to me, which will be easily done whilst 'there is no sea between us; and when that comes to 'be the case, assure yourself I will desire nothing more, 'than either to have you with me, or in action in some 'other place. But, to deal freely with you, 'till I 'am myself in action in some part of my dominions, 'which I will endeavour as soon as possible, I should 'be very sorry to see you engaged before me, and 'therefore let no man persuade you to it under what 'pretence soever. V. I have told you what the Queen 'hath promised me concerning my brother *Harry* in 'point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt shall be made upon him to 'the contrary; in which case you will take the best 'care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, 'since

Queen-mother, the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and all the royal family; he was not only trusted by them as a faithful servant and an able Minister, but caressed also as an intimate friend, and a thorough favourite, which is the more extraordinary, because even in those difficult and dangerous times, there wanted not factions in their little court, nor was the harmony amongst themselves altogether so great, as, under such circumstances, might have been reasonably looked for and expected. But Mr Bennet took no share in any of these divisions, remaining for several years in the same high degree of favour with all the royal personages beforementioned. It is however certain, that he had trouble enough in his office about the Duke of York, who was very far from being the most governable person; and therefore it is no wonder that Mr Bennet was very soon weary of his place, and would willingly have quitted it, if that had been consistent with the King's affairs (*h*), but as it was not, and as his Majesty signified this to him in the most obliging manner, he was content to remain where he was, 'till some favourable alteration happened. At last, in 1658, the King found that opportunity which he had long expected, of sending him into Spain, which he proposed very soon after he was reconciled to that Court, and had liberty to go and reside in the Austrian Netherlands, but wanted a convenient occasion, which offering itself now, his Majesty, in the month of March, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and sent him very soon after, in quality of his Minister, to the Court of Madrid. This is certainly a genuine account of that matter, though it differs in some respects from what we are told by the *Noble Historian*, in reference to this matter, which shews that even the greatest men may be in some measure mistaken, as to points with which they think themselves most perfectly acquainted (*i*) [C]. It it is on all hands agreed, that Sir Henry Bennet conducted himself

(*h*) Miscellanea Aulica, p. 109.

(*i*) History of the Rebellion, p. 685.

'since you cannot but know how much you and I are 'concerned in it. VI. You must be very kind to 'Harry Bennet, and communicate freely with him; 'for as you are sure he is full of duty and integrity to 'you; so I must tell you, that I shall trust him more 'than any other about you, and cause him to be instructed at large in those businesses of mine, when I 'cannot particularly write to you myself, &c.'

CHARLES *Rex.*

These instructions are very curious, and will appear more so to the reader when some of them are explained. The *first* gives us the reason why Mr Bennet was now appointed his Secretary by the King, after having acted in that quality to the Duke of York for several years. It appears that his Majesty had at this time thoughts of making some attempt for the recovery of his dominions, and this attempt was designed in Scotland; in which case the care of English affairs was to be transferred to the Duke of York, by which means his Secretary would have been, in effect, Secretary of State, and therefore the King thought it necessary to make a special appointment of Mr Bennet to this office. It is necessary to observe here, that in the year 1650, when the King was before in Scotland, his Royal Highness acted a very strange part; for being then at Paris, he was prevailed upon by Sir Edward Herbert and Sir George Ratcliff to leave that city and go to Brussels (11), upon a presumption that the King was dead, and this without the knowledge of the Lord Byron his Governor, or Mr Bennet his Secretary, who were however ordered by the Queen his mother to attend him thither, which exploit made the King a little tender of trusting him ever after, especially without some check, which, in the present case, his Secretary Bennet was intended to be. In the *second* article there is mention made of one *Bamfield*, who was a spy of Cromwell's, and kept a constant correspondence with Secretary Thurloe (12); from whence it appears, that this caution of the King's was very necessary. He is continually complaining in his accounts of Mr Bennet, who, he says, intercepted his letters, and whom he represents as having such an interest at Paris, that there was no being safe for him, and therefore he was obliged to send his letters a great way round (13.) The *third* and *fourth* articles shew how much the King was afraid of his brother's enterprizing temper at that time, for which he had very good reasons, as we learn from more authors than one. The *fifth* was occasioned by the repeated endeavours of the Queen-Mother to pervert the Duke of Gloucester to Popery, which on his steady refusal had once proceeded so far as turning him out of doors, and leaving him in want of a dinner or a bed, if Lord Hatton had not generously supplied him, with great risk to himself (14). The *last* article is a clear proof of the King's entire dependance upon Mr Bennet, as one he was sure would adhere steadily to his duty, and contribute all he could by his advice to keep the Duke, his master, within the like bounds. We may therefore very well conclude from hence, that Mr Bennet needed no recommendations to, or intercessor with, the King his master, who certainly confided in him (15) as much as in any man about him during his exile; and for any thing that appears from History, had very good reasons so to do, since nobody served him better, more affectionately, or with greater fidelity.

(11) History of the Rebellion, p. 611.

(12) The reader may be satisfied of this, by consulting Thurloe's Letters.

(13) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. V. p. 435, 510.

(14) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 663. Carte's History of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 164, 165, 167.

(15) Miscellanea Aulica, p. 127.

[C] *With which they think themselves most perfectly acquainted.*] There is no doubt to be made that the Earl of Clarendon had great opportunity of knowing what he wrote, and that he set down faithfully what he knew, yet in respect to this transaction he is somewhat mistaken; and there is so much the more reason to correct this mistake, because hitherto all the writers, who have mentioned this affair, have followed him implicitly. After having related the manner in which the Earl of Bristol had contributed to the surprising St Ghislain, he proceeds thus (16). 'This service 'was of very great importance to the Spaniards, and 'no less detriment to the French, and consequently 'gave great reputation to the Earl, who then came to 'the King at Bruges, and said all that he thought fit 'of Don Juan to the King; and, amongst the rest, 'that Don Juan advised his Majesty, to send some discreet person to Madrid to sollicit his affairs there, but 'that he did not think the person he had designed to 'send thither (who was Sir Henry de Vic, that had 'been long resident in Brussels) would be acceptable 'there. This was only to introduce another person 'who was dear to him, Sir Henry Bennet, who had 'been formerly in his office when he was Secretary of 'State, and bred by him, and was now Secretary to 'the Duke of York; but upon the factions that were 'in that family, was so uneasy in his place, that he 'desired to be in another post, and was about this time 'come to the King as a forerunner, to inform him of 'the Duke of York's purpose to be speedily with him, 'being within a few days to take his leave of the 'court of France. Bennet had been long a person 'very acceptable to the King, and therefore his Majesty very readily consented that he should go to 'Madrid instead of De Vic; so he returned with the 'Earl to Brussels, that he might be presented and made 'known to Don Juan, from whom the Earl doubted 'not to procure particular recommendation.' It is very clear from the whole of this account, that in the judgment of the noble author, Sir Henry Bennet stood indebted to the Earl of Bristol for his being appointed Minister in Spain; but from what has been said in the last note, it will appear very evident, that he had as good an interest with the King as that Earl or any body else. But the truth is, that he was sent into Spain because he had been all along intrusted with the secret of that negociation, as appears from the instructions given him

(16) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 685.

himself with great wisdom and discretion in this negociation, and thereby did his master so much service, with Don Lewis de Haro, then his Catholick Majesty's Prime-Minister, that he obtained from him leave to invite his master to those conferences, which were to be held between him and Cardinal Mazarine, previous to the peace between the two crowns (*k*). At the same time that he advised the King to this journey, he gave a great proof of his attachment to his service, independent of all private obligations; for he at the same time gave his Majesty a caution not to bring the Earl of Bristol with him, in which however the King declined following his advice, though, in the course of his journey, he had sufficient reason to repent his not doing it. The Earl, who thought he had a greater interest in the Spanish Ministry than he really had, first led the King out of the way, and would then have carried him to Madrid, in which, if he had prevailed, it might have been in many respects prejudicial to the King's service (*l*). Don Lewis de Haro complained loudly of this to Sir Henry Bennet, who undertook to prevent it, and though the treaty was over, promised to bring the King to that Minister, and to prevent his taking any steps in Spain but by his advice, in which he effectually succeeded, to the great satisfaction of Don Lewis de Haro, who, after several conferences with the King, advised him to return to Brussels, and made him a present of seven thousand pistoles in gold, for the expences of his journey (*m*). Sir Henry Bennet continued to manage his Majesty's affairs at the Court of Madrid, after the King his master was restored, which seems to be the true cause of his not returning so early, as might otherwise have been expected, to England (*n*). Though it is indeed reported, that he had changed his religion before this time, and therefore was afraid to return 'till he heard of Lord Colepepper's death, who had threatened him upon that head, and upon a supposition that he had been instrumental in persuading the King to turn Papist (*o*), which, though very confidently affirmed by some authors, appears however not a little uncertain [*D*]. It was not

(*k*) Memoirs of the King's Exile, p. 139.

(*l*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 709.

(*m*) Id. ibid. p. 710.

(*n*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 156.

(*o*) Carte's History of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 254.

him two years before, when he was sent to Paris to acquaint the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York with that measure. These instructions are dated June the 20th, 1656; the last article of which will sufficiently prove, that before his going into Spain he knew as much, or more, of these transactions, than the Earl of Bristol himself did. That article is the fourth of the paper, intitled, *Instructions for* Harry Bennet (17).

'You must remember, that I formerly told you how 'much the Count of Fuensaldagna and Don Alfonso in'sisted, when we first entered into the treaty, upon 'the point of secrecy; and how jealous they expressed 'themselves to be, that any thing should be known in 'France which passed between us; and how they 'obliged me from any communication of that matter 'for some certain time; and this is the true reason 'why I have not been able to impart what I desired 'to the Queen of it.'

We are told on the other hand, on the authority of the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Ormond, that before Sir Henry Bennet's being sent into Spain, there were very high differences between the Earl of Bristol and Sir Henry Bennet, the Earl alledging that Sir Henry had persuaded the King to declare himself a Papist, which himself thought would be his ruin (18). The Earl of Clarendon himself says, that Sir Henry advised the King to leave the Earl of Bristol behind him (19) when he came into Spain, which one can hardly imagine he would have done, if he had owed that employment to the Earl's recommendation. The noble Historian likewise thinks that Sir Henry acted very prudently in that negotiation, and his reason for it is, because he crossed the Earl of Bristol's proposals in every respect (20), and had so much a better interest with his master, that he engaged him to follow his and not the Earl's opinions. But what seems to put this matter out of doubt is, that before the Earl of Bristol's journey with the King into Spain, he addicted himself entirely to Don Juan, and therefore one would have thought, if Sir Henry Bennet had been promoted by him, he would have taken the same course, whereas he took the quite contrary, and applied himself wholly to Don Lewis de Haro. Upon the whole therefore, there is the greatest reason to believe that he did not owe this employment in the least to the Earl of Bristol's interest with the King, but to his own merit

[*D*] *Appears however not a little uncertain.*] We have very different accounts of this matter, and such as place Sir Henry Bennet's going over to the Church of Rome at very different times. We have what follows as taken down by a Prelate (21), from the mouth of the Great Duke of Ormond, in reference both to Sir Henry's and the King's conversion. 'The Duke had 'some suspicion of it from the time that they removed 'from Cologne into Flanders; for though he never ob'served that zeal and concern for divine things, which 'he often wished in the King, yet so much as appeared 'in him at any time looked that way. However, he 'thought it so very little, that he hoped it would soon 'wear off upon returning to his kingdoms, and was 'not fully convinced of his change, 'till about the time 'the treaty of the Pyrenees was going to be opened. 'The Duke was always a very early riser, and, being 'then at Brussels, used to amuse himself at times, when 'others were in bed, in walking about the town and see'ing the churches. Going out one morning early, and 'seeing a church, where a great number of people were 'at their devotions, he stepped in, and, advancing near 'the altar, he saw the King on his knees at mass. He 'readily imagined that his Majesty would not be 'pleased that he should see him there, and therefore 'retired as cautiously as he could, went to a different part 'of the church near another altar where nobody was, 'kneeled down, and said his own prayers, while the 'King was gone. Some days afterwards Sir Henry 'Bennet came to him, and told his Grace, that the 'King's obstinacy, in not declaring himself a Roman 'Catholick, put them to great difficulties: That the 'Kings of France and Spain pressed him mightily to 'it, and their Embassadors sollicited it daily, with as'surances, that if he would make that publick declara'tion, they would both assist him jointly with all their 'powers, to put him on the throne of England like a 'King: That he and others had urged this, and en'deavoured to persuade him to declare himself, but all 'in vain: That it would ruin his affairs if he did not 'do it, and begged of the Duke of Ormond to join 'in persuading him to declare himself. The Duke 'said, he could never attempt to persuade his Majesty 'to act the hypocrite, and declare himself to be what 'he was not in reality. Sir Henry thereupon replied, 'that the King had certainly professed himself to be a 'Roman Catholick, and was a real convert, only that 'he stuck at the declaring himself so openly. The 'Duke of Ormond answered, he was very sorry for it, 'but he would not meddle in the matter; for the 'King having never made a confidence of it to him, 'would not be pleased with his knowledge of the 'change he had made, and for his own part he was 'resolved never to take any notice of it to his Majesty, ''till he himself first made him the discovery. Some 'time afterwards George Earl of Bristol came to the 'Duke, and complaining of the folly and madness of 'Bennet, and others about the King, who were labour'ing to persuade him to what would absolutely ruin 'his affairs. The Duke asking what it was, the other 'replied, it was to get the King to declare himself a 'Roman Catholick, which, if he once did, they 'should

(17) Miscellanea Aulica, p. 125.

(18) See that passage at large in note [*D*].

(19) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 709.

(20) Ibid. p. 710.

(21) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 254, 255.

not long however after the King's Restoration, and his affairs being settled in England, that

'should be all undone, and therefore desired his Grace's assistance to prevent so fatal a step. The Duke of Ormond said, it was very strange that any body should have the assurance to persuade his Majesty to declare himself what he was not, especially in a point of so great consequence. Bristol answered, That was not the case, for the King was really a Roman Catholick, but the declaring himself so would ruin his affairs in England; and as for the mighty promises of assistance from France and Spain, you (my Lord) and I know very well, that there is no dependance or stress to be laid on them, and that they would give more to get one frontier garrison into their hands, than to get the Catholick Religion established, not only in England, but all over Europe; and then desired his Grace to join in diverting the King, from any thoughts of declaring himself in a point which would certainly destroy his interest in England for ever, and yet not do him the least service abroad. The Duke allowed that the Earl judged very right in the case, but excused himself from meddling in the matter, because the King had kept his conversion as a secret from him, and it was by no means proper for him to shew that he had made the discovery.' There is a very different detail of this given us by Bishop Kennet, who, after transcribing the Earl of Clarendon's account of the King's journey into Spain, proceeds thus (22). 'It is farther certain, that the Earl of Bristol, who was the King's companion and guide to the place of this treaty, and Sir Henry Bennet, who was the prime agent for the King, did both of them turn Papists about this time, as if they did it upon a compact then made; and there is a story to confirm all, which I have reason to think true. Sir Henry Bennet was soon after seen to wait upon the King from mass, at which sight the Lord Culpepper had so much indignation, that he went up to Bennet, and spoke to this effect. *I see what you are at: Is this the way to bring our master home to his three kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to see* England *together, I will have your head, or you shall have mine.* Which words struck such a terror upon *Sir Henry Bennet*, that he never dared to set foot in England, 'till after the death of the Lord Culpepper, who met with a very abrupt death within a few months after the King's return. When he was taken out of the way Sir Henry Bennet came to Court, and soon rose into honours and preferments, and was in disguise, a meer creature of the Papists, and had the dying courage to take off that disguise (23).' This passage is confirmed, or rather copied, by another reverend Historian, in the following words. 'He was immediately succeeded in his place by Sir Henry Bennet, lately the King's Resident in Spain, a person of no mean ability, but one who secretly espoused the cause of Popery, and one who had much influenced the King towards embracing that religion, the year before his Restoration, at Fontarabia, for which he was so much threatened by the Lord Culpepper, that it is believed he durst not return into England 'till after the death of that Nobleman. Not only the removal of Secretary Nicholas, and the settlement and influence of the Queen-Mother, but likewise the absence of the Duke of Ormond, seemed to conspire towards the diminution of the Chancellor's interest. That great man and firm friend had been sent over into Ireland, where, as Lord-Lieutenant, he was received with greater honour and triumph, with more magnificence and larger presents, than was ever known in that kingdom.' These accounts differ very much from one another, so that it is impossible they should be all true, though it is not easy to say how far they may be all false. The first of them is said to have been taken from the mouth of the Duke of Ormond; but there are some passages in it that I cannot account for; as for instance, the Duke of Ormond took it for granted the King was a Papist, because he saw him at prayers in a church at Brussels, and to avoid being seen by the King went to another altar in the same church, kneeled down, and said his own prayers. If the King had seen him in this posture, he might have pronounced the Duke a Papist, upon as good grounds as he did him, and perhaps have been as much in the right; for the Earl of Clarendon, long after this, declares positively, that the King was a sound Protestant (24); and, if I am not mistaken, the King declared as much to all the Papists in England, in writing, by an Agent of theirs about that time (25). It is very strange that Sir Henry Bennet should urge the King to declare himself a Papist, which was so directly contrary to his own conduct, if himself was one; but it is not at all strange that the Earl of Bristol should dissuade his Majesty from that step, who, though he both lived and died in the profession of Popery, was by his own daughter, the Countess of Sunderland, thought never to have been a Papist in his heart. At the time he exhibited articles against the Earl of Clarendon in the House of Lords, he charges him, amongst other things, with insinuating that Sir Henry Bennet was a Papist, though he avers that he was a Protestant (26). So that there is great contrariety of evidence even from the same persons, but with respect to the story of Lord Culpepper, which is very largely refuted by the honourable Roger North (27), it could not be true for this plain reason, which however is not taken notice of by any writer, viz. that Lord did not attend the King in his Journey, Sir Henry Bennet never returned to Brussels; therefore it is impossible that any such discourse could pass between them, or that his Lordship should be poisoned to make way for Sir Henry Bennet's coming safely home. Bishop Burnet, who had much better opportunities of knowing passages of this nature, than either of the two last writers, gives us a very different account of the matter, and I believe the truest character of the noble person, of whom we are speaking, that is any where to be met with (28). 'Not long after the Restoration, *says he*, Bennet advanced afterwards to be Earl of Arlington, was by the interest of the Popish party made Secretary of State, and was admitted into so particular confidence, that he began to raise a party in opposition to the Earl of Clarendon. He was a proud man; his parts were solid, but not quick; he had the art of observing the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time: He was believed a Papist, he had once professed it, and when he died he again reconciled himself to that Church: Yet in the whole course of his ministry he seemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to shew no favour to Popery, but that his whole affairs would be spoiled if ever he turned that way; which made the Papists become his mortal enemies, and accuse him as an apostate and the betrayer of their interests.' We will conclude this note with what is said by Mr North beforementioned, in answer to the passage already cited from Bishop Kennet, the facts mentioned in which are most certainly true. Having mentioned that Prelate's remark with respect to Bennet Earl of Arlington, that he lived a disguised Papist, and had the dying courage to take off the disguise (29), 'The sense, says Mr North, of this reflection is, *That the King was a disguised Papist as well as he, but had not the courage, even at his death, to pull off the disguise.* The Lord Arlington lived as a Protestant, had Chaplains, and our service in his family, and built a very fine church at Euston, where the Church-Service was constantly used, and he, as Courtiers commonly, might have little regard for religion. But if he shewed any partiality that way it was towards the Fanatick, and so far, which was not a little, he appeared inclinable to Popery. His courage had been greater to have dismasked it in full health; and as for his declaring on his death-bed it is not strange, that one who had lived as he had done, coming to die, which is no Court-trick, should have qualms come over his conscience, and be desirous of some religious reconciliation; and then his former deliberations abroad came into his weak mind, and Priests still exaggerated no salvation out of their holy Church; as under such circumstances their way is to gain the fame of a feeble convert, he submitted to the forms which the author calls *taking off the disguise.*' I look on this to be the most material part of our noble person's history, if it were possible to clear it up to one's entire satisfaction; and from what has been laid down, as well as from what will hereafter appear, I persuade myself that the reader will not be much deceived, if he takes it for a truth, that Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Lord Arlington, neither professed himself a Papist, nor did any service to the Popish

(22) Complete History of England, Vol. III, p. 220.

(23) Echard's History of England, p. 805.

(24) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 725.

(25) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. I, p. 744.

(26) Complete History of England, Vol. III, p. 246.

(27) In his *Examen, or an Enquiry into the* Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete History, &c. 1740.

(28) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I, p. 39.

(29) North's *Examen, or Enquiry, &c.* p. 29.

that he recalled Sir Henry Bennet from Madrid, and soon after his coming home, ap-pointed him *Privy Purse*, 'till some other employment should fall more worthy of hi[s] acceptance, and of the friendship and kindness with which his Majesty had always ho-noured him (*p*). It was not long before an occasion offered, or, as some say, way wa[s] made for his promotion, by Sir Edward Nicholas resigning the office of Secretary of State, whom he succeeded October 2, 1662 (*q*). It is commonly supposed, this was the first step to the forming a party against the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord-Chancellor, and that it was brought about by the Popish faction, who, at that time, favoured Sir Henry Bennet (*r*); but those who are contented with plain facts, rather than the refined motives which make the chief merit of Secret Histories, may meet with many other, and perhaps no less certain, reasons for the King's bestowing on him this preferment [*E*]. In the latter end of the succeeding year, *viz.* September 28, 1663, the university conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, as a testimony of the respect due to him from Oxford (*s*). On the fourteenth of March following, he was created Baron of Arlington in the county of Middlesex (*t*), and was then looked on as a great Minister of State, and one of his Majesty's most favoured servants. He had, as Secretary, almost the sole management of foreign affairs, and has left us ample testimonies of his abilities, in his letters during this period, in relation to various points of impor-tance (*u*). Almost all our historians agree, in setting him at the head of the party against the great Chancellor Clarendon, and say he promoted his fall; but his letters shew nothing of this, and that Earl himself, who corrected and put his History into order at Rouen, in the time of his exile, speaks very respectfully of him upon all occasions. It is certain, Lord Arlington had a great share in the first Dutch war, but he likewise appears to have had no small concern in the negociations for peace, which he pushed in such a manner, as by no means shews him to have loved war, or to have advised the King his master to pursue it beyond measure (*w*). In this space, on the recommendation of the Duke of Ormond, he brought Mr Temple, afterwards Sir William Temple, into business, and employed him in the treaty with the Bishop of Munster, for attacking the Dutch by land, while we did it by sea (*x*). He afterwards fixed that famous Minister at Brussels, and we may perceive as much friendship and confidence on one side, and as much respect and gratitude on the other, in the letters passing between them, as it was possible for words to express, or men to conceive (*y*). Whatever difference therefore grew afterwards between them,

(*p*) History of the King's Restoration, p. 195.

(*q*) Kennet's Register, p. 788.

(*r*) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 245.

(*s*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 156.

(*t*) Dudgale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 243.

(*u*) These Letters were published by Mr Bebington of Gray's-Inn, in two Volumes, 8*vo.* 1701.

(*w*) Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 142.

(*x*) Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 1.

(*y*) Arlington's Letter's, Vol. I. p. 14, 35, 78. Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 51.

Popish faction during the reign of King Charles II; so that whatever notions he might have when worn out with years and business, his abilities were entirely Protestant, and, generally speaking, applied as they ought to be, to the joint service of the King and nation.

[*E*] *No less certain reasons for the King's bestowing on him this preferment.*] It is a very difficult thing to give an account of Court transactions at any distance of time; and it is still more difficult to disprove matters which are very positively asserted, and that too by men of great character, and who are presumed to have been very well acquainted with the facts that they relate. But a person who has any share in a work of this nature, is certainly under the strongest obligation to represent things fairly, which must be my apology for differing upon this occasion from some of our greatest writers. It was natural for the Earl of Clarendon to be displeased with this promotion, for almost all the reasons that a man could have to be displeased with any thing. The person removed was an old Minister, with whom the Earl had lived long in the strictest friendship. The person that was to come in was one he did not like, and who, he was thoroughly persuaded, did not like him. There was still a third reason, as strong as any of the former, and stronger it could not well be. The old Secretary was entirely governed by the Earl, so that removing him was taking from Clarendon, as a Minister, so much power. We need not wonder therefore that he was so angry at it, that he considered it as the first step to his fall, and that he treated it in this light in his petition to the House of Lords, which was the last publick act he did in this kingdom (30). All our Historians are governed in this respect by what Lord Clarendon says, without ever considering that all he said was in anger. This alone ought to put us upon enquiring what was said, or might be said, on the other side, and that I find may be reduced to these particulars. The King found his government weak on the side of foreign affairs, and upon enquiring into the causes of it, he found that neither of his Secretaries understood them; he thought it reasonable therefore to have at least one Secretary that was fit for his business; and knowing that Sir Edward Nicholas was old, infirm, and willing to retire, he was content he should do so; and to make this the easier to him, as well as to afford him an essential mark of his esteem for his long services, he was contented to give him, by way of equivalent for what he might have acquired by remaining in his office, ten thousand pounds. There is nothing in all this that reflects at all upon the King's judgment, or upon the tenderness that he ought to have had for his father's old servant and his own. But it may be enquired upon what authorities these facts are grounded, in answer to which I shall give Bishop Burnet's character of the two Secretaries; and I presume it cannot be objected that this Prelate was inclined to misrepresent men in great posts in compliment to King Charles II. His words are these (31.) 'Another 'man raised by the Duke of Albemarle was Maurice, 'who was the person that had prevailed with Monk 'to declare for the King. Upon that he was made 'Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full 'of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judg-'ment about foreign affairs, and the Duke of Albe-'marle's judgment of them, may be measured by 'what he said when he found the King grew weary 'of Maurice, but that in regard to him he had no 'mind to turn him out. *He did not know what was 'necessary for a good Secretary of State, in which he 'was defective, for he could speak French and write 'Short-hand.* Nicholas was the other Secretary, who 'had been employed by King Charles I. during the 'war, and had served him faithfully, but had no un-'derstanding in foreign affairs. He was a man of 'virtue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or 'become acceptable to him.' These characters very clearly shew, that the nation did not at all suffer by the King's resolution to remove one of these Secretaries, to make way for one he had reason to believe better versed in the business of his office. As to the money which was paid to Sir Edward Nicholas, we take that on the credit of Lord Clarendon, who is not contradicted by any writer that I have met with. I look therefore upon what has been said in the text to be fully made good, and that we may, with as great probability of being right, suppose that the King made this change upon very reasonable and just motives, as that he did it purely to gratify the Popish party, who, from any thing that appears from facts, were no gainers by it, or what followed from it.

(30) See this Petition of the Earl of Clarendon's, in the first Volume of the valuable Collection of Pieces wrote by him, p. 297.

(31) Burnet's History's of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 99.

them, we must allow to the honour of Lord Arlington's memory, that he distinguished the great talents of that admirable person, and first produced them to the world, by bringing him on the theatre of publick action. By the correspondence between them it very plainly appears, that though the view of uniting the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden with the States-General, in setting bounds to the ambition of France, and securing the Spanish Low-Countries, was Sir William Temple's own, yet it as plainly appears that he opened this to, and was supported therein by, Lord Arlington, who was then in the highest point of trust and favour. It was he who brought that glorious design to bear, and though he never pretended to the honour of making the TRIPLE ALLIANCE, yet the love of truth obliges one to say, that without him it never had been made. We might be able to set all these matters in a much clearer point of light, if the first part of those Memoirs were extant, in which Lord Arlington made so great a figure, the second and third parts of which do him so little honour, and perhaps the first were burnt, and the two last preserved, for that very reason (z) [F]. But however that matter may be, it

(z) See a remarkable passage from the Preface before the third part of Temple's Memoirs, in note [F].

[F] *The first was burned, and the two last preserved for that very reason.*] It was certainly a very singular and a very great advantage to Mr Temple, that he came abroad and into business, recommended by the Duke of Ormond, and supported by the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Arlington (32). His first negotiation was in the year 1665 with the Bishop of Munster, and he was afterwards employed as the King's Resident at Brussels to the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and had his patent for a Baronet sent him over thither. All this was plainly the effects of Lord Arlington's kindness for him, who testified upon all occasions a very just, that is, a very high, esteem for his abilities; and there is very little reason to doubt that Sir William Temple, who was a very polite, well-bred man, made very proper returns to this Minister, though it must be confessed, that there is not much of this kind to be found in such of his letters as have been made publick: Yet, for the satisfaction of the reader in this point, I shall give him the close of a letter from Lord Arlington to Sir William Temple, when he was appointed Resident, as is before mentioned, which will shew how far he was dependant upon that noble Peer, and how sensible he was at that time of his good offices (33). This letter is dated October 26, 1665.

(32) Life of Sir William Temple, prefixed to the first Volume of his Works, p. 5.

(33) Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 34, 35.

'Herewith you receive his Majesty's credentials for 'you to the Marquis Castel Rodrigo, which gives you 'possession of your Residency with him. It ought to 'be accompanied with new instructions to you, but I 'must defer them 'till my next, against which time I 'hope we shall have some other matters riper for your 'knowledge than they are now. *I will not return you 'compliments in proportion to the length and warmth of 'your's, least they should troublesomely multiply on both 'sides, contenting myself only with assuring you that I 'am,* &c.'

This affords us at once an instance of our Minister's gratitude, and of his Patron's modesty. Their friendship continued uninterrupted for about three years, during all which time he constantly corresponded with Lord Arlington, and received from him those instructions that did belong to his place to give. We must also observe, that these three years proved equally honourable for the Secretary and the Minister, they both acquired much reputation within that space, at the latter end of which Sir William Temple tells us, it was a common saying (34) among the Politicians abroad, *That there had been for nine months the greatest Ministry in the world in England.* The reader will observe, that this was before the Cabal came into play, and when foreign affairs were in a manner wholly under the management of Lord Arlington (35). It may not be amiss to confirm the truth of what is advanced here and in the text, by the testimony of the famous John de Witte, than whom a more illustrious witness cannot be produced in support of Lord Arlington's character. This letter is dated February 14, N. S. 1668, and runs thus (36).

(34) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 180.

(35) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 34.

(36) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 68.

'My Lord,

'AS it was impossible to send a Minister of greater 'capacity, or more proper for the temper and 'genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple; so 'I believe no other person either will, or can, more 'equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has 'found the States, to answer the good intentions of the 'King of Great Britain. Sir William Temple ought 'not to be less satisfied with the readiness wherewith the 'States have passed over to the concluding and signing 'these treaties, for which he came hither, than they '(the States) are with his conduct and agreeable manner of dealing in the whole course of his negotiation. 'It appears, my Lord, that *you* thoroughly understand 'men, and bestow your friendship only upon such as 'deserve it, since you cause persons to be employed 'who acquit themselves so worthily. I think myself 'happy to have negotiated with him, and that by his 'means your Lordship hath been pleased to give me a 'testimony of your good-will. For the favour you 'say his Majesty is pleased to have for me, I have no 'other ways deserved it, than by my respects for his 'Royal person, whereof I shall endeavour to give 'proofs upon all occasions his Majesty will please to afford me. In the mean while I shall wait with impatience for some opportunity to shew how sensible I 'am of all your Lordship's civilities, which I shall 'ever acknowledge by a true esteem for your merits, 'and by a strong passion to let you see that I am with 'as much sincerity as you can desire,

'My Lord, your's, &c.

It was very decent and proper for the Grand Pensionary to pay these compliments to Sir William Temple, whose conduct in negotiating and concluding the Triple Alliance can never be enough admired or applauded, considering it was the subject of this letter; but Sir William himself, in a letter to Lord Arlington about the same time, speaks of this very matter in the following terms (37). 'I cannot but rejoice in particular with your Lordship upon the success of this affair, having observed in your Lordship, as well as 'my Lord-Keeper, a constant steady bent in supporting his Majesty's resolution, which is here so generally applauded, as the happiest and wisest that any 'Prince ever took for himself or his neighbours. 'What in earnest I hear every hour, and from all 'hands, of that kind, is endless, and even extravagant. 'God of heaven send his Majesty to run on the same 'course, and I have nothing left to wish, since I know 'your Lordship will continue to esteem me what I am, 'with so great passion and truth, my Lord, your's, &c.' It was the just sense Sir William Temple had of the honour *this transaction* did to the King and his Ministry, that put him upon writing Memoirs (38) of all that happened in relation to it; and Dr Swift in his preface to the third part of his Memoirs, gives us a very plain and probable account of what became of them, which, when perused, will leave nothing necessary to be farther said upon this topick.

(37) Temple's Letters, as before, p. 51.

([illegible] part of Sir William Temple's Memoirs was published, by himself; and the third, by Dr Jonathan Swift.

'The subject of the first part was chiefly the Triple 'Alliance, during the negotiation, of which my Lord 'Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Minister; 'Sir William Temple often assured me, he had burnt 'those Memoirs, and for that reason was content his 'letters, during his embassies at the Hague and Aix-la-Chapelle, should be printed after his death, in some 'manner to supply that loss. What it was that moved 'Sir William Temple to burn these first Memoirs, may 'perhaps be conjectured from some passages in the second part, formerly printed. In one place the author has these words: *My Lord* Arlington, *who made 'so great a figure in the former part of them, was now 'grown out of all credit,* &c. In other parts he tells 'us, that Lord was *of the Ministry* which broke the 'Triple

it will always do honour to this noble perſon's memory, that while he was looked upon to be at the head of the miniſtry, his maſter's affairs had the moſt flouriſhing aſpect, our concerns went eaſy and harmoniouſly at home, and the nation's credit abroad was at it's greateſt height. It is indeed too true, that this fair proſpect was but of a ſhort continuance, though at the ſame time we may affirm, it laſted full as long as his abſolute intereſt, and never declined, 'till other men came to have at leaſt an equal, by degrees a ſuperior, credit with the King his maſter, who was but too apt to prefer, in his Miniſters, quick parts to ſolidity of underſtanding. There was, beſides the Duke of Bucks, another man of the ſame ſtamp, who came at this time into the King's favour, and had for ſome time afterwards, much more intereſt with the King, and with his brother the Duke of York, than he deſerved; this was Sir Thomas Clifford, a concealed, but a zealous Papiſt, a ſtaunch friend to the French, and an implacable enemy to the Dutch (*a*). Lord Arlington, who had hitherto maintained a ſtrict friendſhip with the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, and for ſome time directed abſolutely foreign affairs, found himſelf now under a neceſſity of either retiring from buſineſs, or entering into ſome degree of friendſhip with theſe new favourites; and the perſon he fixed upon was the Duke of Bucks, who profeſſed himſelf, though very falſely, a friend to moderate meaſures, and to that ſyſtem of foreign affairs, which had been both framed and eſtabliſhed by Lord Arlington. Lord Aſhley, afterwards the famous Earl of Shafteſbury, was likewiſe brought into high favour at this time; and finding that the King remembered the buſineſs at Chatham, where the Dutch burnt his fleet, when a treaty of peace was not only negociating, but on the point of ſigning at Breda; he ſtruck in with this diſpoſition of the King's, and being a man that liked ſtorms and tempeſts, as the weather that ſuited him beſt, he projected a ſecond Dutch war (*b*). It has ſince appeared, that Lord Arlington had done much better, if he had quitted his poſt when he viſibly declined in his credit, but he had been long in buſineſs, loved a Court, and the King was very unwilling to part with him; ſo that he flattered himſelf with the hopes of taking ſome favourable opportunity of bringing things about again, and by this means was drawn in to join with men, who had neither the good of the nation, the honour of their maſter, or the ſucceſs of his meaſures at heart; and though it is certain that Lord Arlington ſtruggled a long time, in ſupporting the Duke of Ormond, and in his endeavours to prevent a new war, yet he was forced to give way at laſt, and from having been at the head of a Miniſtry, that had gained the greateſt reputation of any this nation ever ſaw, came to act no very conſiderable part in an adminiſtration, which was the worſt that ever was entruſted with power ſince we were a nation [*G*].

(*a*) See the article of CLIFFORD, (THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(*b*) Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

The

'Triple League, adviſed the Dutch war and French 'alliance, and, in ſhort, was at the bottom of all thoſe 'ruinous meaſures which the Court of England was 'then taking; ſo that, as I have been told from a 'good hand, and as it ſeems very probable, he could 'not think that Lord a perſon fit to be celebrated for 'his part in forwarding that famous League while he 'was Secretary of State, who had made ſuch counter-'paces to deſtroy it.' This is an unexceptionable proof of his being at the *head* of *one* Miniſtry; and in the courſe of this article the reader will have a very clear account of the *ſhare* he had in the *other*; for men of ordinary capacities think it juſtice to ſhew both ſides of a character, and not barely that which gratifies either their immediate intereſts or inclinations.

[G] *The worſt that ever was entruſted with power in this nation.*] One ſeems to be juſtified in ſaying this, becauſe hitherto no writer that I know of has ever ventured to ſay a word in their vindication. It is very juſt that it ſhould be ſo, for theſe people forced themſelves into the adminiſtration without either having, or pretending to have, any ſort of principles, my Lord Arlington only excepted, who ſeems to have complied than rather acted with them, and therefore is repreſented as a man of inferior genius to the reſt. The engine by which they raiſed themſelves, was a pretended influence over the Parliament. The King, to gratify his own inclination of being rid of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, had ſuffered a great ſpirit to be raiſed againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, and had ſeen the ſame kind of ſpirit managed under his own eye in the Houſe of Lords for the like purpoſe, and by this ſtrange conduct made way for all that followed (39). Thoſe who in this conjuncture gained themſelves credit in Parliament, made themſelves ſo formidable thereby to the King, that he was obliged to take them for his Miniſters, as being ſenſible that they had it both in their will and in their power, to diſturb and diſtreſs any others of whom he had made choice. As this was their firſt ſtep to greatneſs, ſo to make ſure of the adminiſtration, and not to leave the King at liberty to turn them out, they reſolved to change the whole ſyſtem of affairs. The Duke of Bucks had always kept fair with the Sectaries, and he inſiſted upon an indulgence for them againſt Law. Lord Aſhley, afterwards Earl of Shafteſbury, projected the circumſcribing the power of the Houſe of Commons, and was in *reality* the author of the war, though in that, as well as in the ſhutting up of the Exchequer, Clifford appeared to be the man (40). The Earl, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, anſwered for Scotland, that the King might enlarge his power there, which he did to the utmoſt extent; and that nobleman uſed it with ſo much violence, that never any man was more hated and feared than his Grace. Lord Arlington ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that theſe men meant his maſter well, and ſo he kept his poſt of Secretary, with ſome ſmall ſhare in the direction of things, and a much larger in the confidence of his maſter, which enabled him to prevent his going all the lengths theſe men would have carried him; And when Shafteſbury ſaw this, he ſtruck into the ſame path, and began to take meaſures for his own ſafe retreat. This, as far as one can judge from the hiſtories of thoſe times, was the true character of this motley Miniſtry; but it is requiſite that the reader ſhould alſo ſee what other authors have delivered upon ſo important a ſubject; and when he has done this, compared what they ſay, and conſidered their reſpective characters, he may poſſibly be the better pleaſed with that ſhort account that we have given him, without the leaſt degree of prejudice or partiality to any. Mr Echard tells us (41), that the King and his Miniſtry at this time began more and more to practiſe the arts of diſſimulation, of which they were all thought to be maſters, to enter into dark and foreign deſigns, and to purſue different meaſures from thoſe of the Parliament; and that the Miniſtry was now made up of a different ſpecies of perſons, than in the firſt and moſt happy part of the reign, conſiſting of a heterogenous body of Counſellors, a ſelect Cabinet of five noted men, *Clifford*, *Aſhley*, (afterwards *Shafteſbury*) *Buckingham*, *Arlington*, and *Lauderdale*, the initial letters of whoſe titles, cauſed them to obtain that well known name of the CABAL, which was judged to have been ſo ominous to the Engliſh affairs. 'The projects and proceedings, ſays Mr Echard, of this remarkable ſet of men, proved manifeſtly and highly prejudicial to the main intereſt of the nation. Father Orleans the Jeſuit,

(39) See Kennet, Echard, Burnet.

(40) See North's Examen, P. I. chap. ii.

(41) Hiſtory of England, p. 864, 865.

who

The former ſcheme of politicks being entirely overturned, Buckingham and Shafteſbury came to have the direction of all affairs at home, and, in conjunction with Clifford, introduced a new ſyſtem with reſpect to foreign affairs, which conſiſted in a cloſe conjunction with France, in a war againſt the Dutch, wherein the Lord Arlington does not appear to have acted farther, than he was obliged to act as Secretary of State (*c*), which nevertheleſs did not protect him from the reſentment of the nation, very juſtly provoked by the conſequences with which this war was attended. Yet if any judgment can be formed from facts, he was the only perſon, that in this ſad ſcene of affairs, had it either in his thoughts, or in his power, to ſecure his maſter from being involved in a new civil war, or the nation from being oppreſſed, by the change of the conſtitution into an abſolute monarchy. The four other great Lords thought this laſt meaſure practicable, and though it is certain that two of them hated the King, and very far from being certain whether any of them loved him, yet they were ſo infatuated with the thoughts of governing all things at their own will under his name, that they preſſed him, as they had gained the Duke of York, to continue firm in his reſolutions, and to venture all in order to bring this deſperate project to bear, towards which, in their ſeveral ſtations, they went boldly as far as they could (*d*). Arlington, however, could never be brought to reliſh this meaſure, nor is he charged with it by any one writer of credit. On the contrary, there is the beſt authority to prove, that he was the firſt who ſaw the King's danger, and the only one that endeavoured to make him ſee it and ſenſible of it. In the month of April 1672, his Majeſty was pleaſed to raiſe him to the dignity of Earl of Arlington in the county of Middleſex, and Viſcount Thetford in the county of Norfolk (*e*). On the fifteenth of June following, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter (*f*), and was ſoon after appointed, in conjunction with the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Hallifax, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, where the French King then kept his Court, to treat of a peace between the Allies and the States-General (*g*); but this negociation came to nothing. But the war proving not ſo ſucceſsful, at leaſt for us, as was expected, his Majeſty began to be more inclinable to hearken to a peace, which is attributed to the influence of the Earl of Arlington, the cabal being now ſeparated, Lord Clifford having reſigned the poſt of High-Treaſurer, which was beſtowed upon Sir Thomas Oſborne, afterwards Earl of Danby, and in proceſs of time Duke of Leeds; and it was alſo known, that the King intended to take the Great-Seal from the Earl of Shafteſbury, which however was delayed 'till the meeting of the Parliament, that it might be ſeen what ſervice he could do there (*h*). The ſeſſion was accordingly opened October 20, 1673, but it very ſoon appeared that the Houſe of Commons diſliked the war, and were determined to call thoſe Miniſters to an account, who had either adviſed or promoted it, but this was prevented for the preſent by a prorogation, ſoon after which the Seal was taken from the Earl of Shafteſbury, and given to Sir Heneage Finch (*i*). On the ſeventh of January the Parliament met again, not at all

In

(*c*) See the proofs of this in note [G].

(*d*) North's Examen, p. 453, 454.

(*e*) Bill ſign. Apr. 20, ann. 24, Car. II.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 483.

(*g*) From a Letter of the Lord High-Treaſurer Clifford to Sir B. Gaſcoyne, dated June 28. 1672.

(*h*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 2[illegible]

(*i*) North's Examen, p. 49.

who fancied he had ſufficient information of this and other matters from the mouth of King James II. himſelf, after diſcourſing of that Prince's long concealment of his religion, mentions an extraordinary project, which gave him hopes of the liberty to diſcover it, which he tells us was as follows (42). 'That in the year 1670, 'the Court of England perceiving that the republican 'ſpirit inſenſibly creeping into the Parliament again, ſe'riouſly conſidered how to remedy that evil, which 'foreboded many more. That the managers of that 'enterprize were five Lords, who were called the '*Cabal*, as well from the ſtrict union amongſt them, 'as from the firſt letters of their names compoſing that 'word.' He tells us then, that the Earl of Arlington had the leaſt genius of the five, but that this was well ſupplied by his experience, which gained him great knowledge in foreign affairs. 'Theſe Lords, '*continues* Father Orleans, firmly bound to their maſter by their high places and favours, could not without indignation obſerve, what advances the republican ſpirit, which began to revive again, had cauſed 'the Parliament to make againſt the regal authority, 'among others, the Triple Alliance, to which that '*republican Cabal* had forced the King againſt his will, 'appeared to them as an audacious incroachment upon 'the prerogative, of which the conſequences were to 'be prevented. Filled with theſe juſt reſentments, 'they perſuaded the King to be as abſolute, as he was 'intitled by the Crown and the laws of the Realm, to 'confine the Parliament to the bounds preſcribed them 'by immemorial cuſtom; and to take care that a mixture of commonwealth with monarchy, introduced 'by violence and ſubjects uſurpation, did not produce 'a monſtrous anarchy, which might again expoſe England to that dreadful confuſion, from which it was 'ſcarce recovered. To effect all this, it was neceſſary 'to have a war, which might furniſh the King with a 'pretence to raiſe an army, and this they had againſt 'the Dutch, and the more favourable, becauſe the 'honour of the Engliſh nation was equally concerned, 'for the old controverſy about the Flag began to be 'renewed, and the Eaſt-India merchants daily complained that they were unfairly treated by the Dutch. 'This, I ſay, was the pretence; but the real motive 'for pitching upon this war, rather than any other, 'was the cloſe correſpondence between the Engliſh 'republicans and thoſe of Holland, the latter inceſſantly inſtilling into the minds of the former, that 'love of liberty, there ſo highly valued, to make them 'averſe to monarchy, and to excite them to throw 'off the yoke of regal dominion, being always ready 'to ſupport any faction that ſhould attack it.' This French Hiſtorian writes our Hiſtory as moſt of the French Poets do their plays, without conſidering where the ſcene is laid, or the manners proper for the characters he would repreſent; ſo that though his work may deſerve reading, yet the very ſtile in which it is penned ſhews plainly it deſerves no credit. As to what he ſays here with ſo much confidence, every man who is but indifferently ſkilled in our Hiſtory, muſt at firſt ſight perceive it to be as abſurd and fooliſh, as it is falſe and unfounded. In all King Charles the Second's reign there never was ſo able, or ſo well principled a Miniſtry, as that by whom the Triple Alliance was made; ſo that, as there was no colour for abuſing them at all, there could be no abuſe ſo glaringly groundleſs, as calling their adminiſtration *republican*. But it is poſſible Father d' Orleans, hearing King James ſay ſomething on this ſubject, miſtook the perſons he ſpoke of, and threw in the epithet *republican* in the wrong place.

(42) Revolutions of England, p. 91.

[H] For

in a better temper than when they met last, and therefore determined to proceed againſt thoſe they eſteemed evil Miniſters. The firſt they fell upon was the Duke of Lauderdale, againſt whom they voted an addreſs for removing him from his employment, and from the King's preſence and councils (*k*). They next fell upon the Duke of Bucks, who deſired to be heard, which was complied with. The firſt day he fell into ſuch confuſion that he could not ſpeak, upon which he complained that he was ill, and the hearing was put off to the next day. He then made a very florid ſpeech, in which he hinted ſome things to the prejudice of the King and Duke, but laid the greateſt blame, in the heavieſt and moſt expreſs terms, upon the Earl of Arlington. His Grace ſubmitted afterwards to anſwer interrogatories, and in them charged the Earl ſtill more deeply (*l*). The Houſe thought fit thereupon, not only to vote an addreſs againſt the Duke, of the ſame nature with that againſt Lauderdale (*m*), but likewiſe reſolved to proceed againſt the Earl of Arlington, who thereupon deſired to be heard in his own defence as the Duke had been. When he came accordingly into the Houſe for that purpoſe, he made a very long and clear ſpeech, in which he much exceeded the hopes of his friends, and laid a foundation for defeating the deſigns of his enemies (*n*) [*H*]. But, however, he did not ſo far ſatisfy the Commons, as to prevent further proceedings, yet they did not vote an addreſs, as in the two former caſes, but choſe rather to frame articles of impeachment, which were drawn up in very ſtrong terms, though afterwards this came to nothing, and his Lordſhip was by a ſmall majority acquitted (*o*). The heads of this impeachment are curious and of great importance, for which reaſon they are inſerted in the notes [*I*]. The Earl, in the mean time, continued to preſs the King to conſent

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(*k*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 1673-4.

(*l*) See the Speech in the Journals.

(*m*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 900, 901.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 365, 366. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 901.

(*o*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *For defeating the deſigns of his enemies.*] This was certainly a very trying conjuncture, the Earl of Shafteſbury had reconciled himſelf to the Country Party by very extraordinary ſteps, and the Duke of Buckingham viſibly followed his example, ſo that Arlington ſeemed delivered up as a victim. The Duke of Lauderdale was condemned, Buckingham and Shafteſbury were become informers, the King and Duke ſeemed not well pleaſed with this method of applying to the Houſe of Commons, yet the Earl perſiſted in his reſolution. He ſpoke very modeſtly, and with much decency, accuſing nobody, but excuſing himſelf (43). He ſaid the Eaſt-India company and the Merchants complained of the Dutch that the Flag was diſputed, the King perſonally inſulted, and therefore the war was judged abſolutely neceſſary, as the Lord Chancellor Shafteſbury told them in his ſpeech after it was begun. That believing the war neceſſary, he diſcharged the duty of his office in purſuing of it, but that *delenda eſt Carthago*, the utter ruin of the Dutch republick was no maxim of his. That he was againſt our accepting towns, becauſe he looked upon this as a war of reparation, and not of conqueſt (44). That as to the making the *Triple Alliance* it was the work of Sir William Temple, and a meaſure he ſupported and applauded, as well as the ſubſequent Treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, but that he did not conceive thoſe tranſactions tied the King's hands from vindicating the honour of his crown, and his title to the dominion of the Britiſh ſeas, which made him jealous of his Flag. That throughout the whole war he had either done nothing but by the King's command, or with an honeſt well-meaning view towards peace. That he received new honours to give luſtre to his embaſſy; and if he failed of bringing home the Olive Branch, it was not owing to any want of endeavours in him, but to the haughtineſs of a Prince, who fancied victory muſt always attend him. That he wiſhed them to conſider he had been near twelve years Secretary of State, that in a long courſe of buſineſs he might well commit ſome miſtake, not through any error of his will, but of his judgment. That he always inclined to peace and moderate meaſures, and was a friend to Parliaments. That he hoped theſe points conſidered, and the neceſſity ſome were under to blacken others to ſecure themſelves, they would regard facts and not rumours; but that if they determined to proceed againſt him, he deſired it might be judicially, and with an opportunity of making a defence, and not by a cenſure, that would cruſh him without reply, and with his places and honour deprive him of the means of enjoying the remainder of his days in peace, which he could never taſte while under their diſpleaſure. The King was very well pleaſed at his making ſo well timed and ſo well managed a defence; but the Duke was not of the ſame opinion. He looked upon all compliances as mean, and imputed the Earl's behaviour to a want of firmneſs, and thenceforward they proceeded very different ways in their political journey, as the reader will ſee in the text. Yet in this caſe the Duke's reſentment did him no hurt, for the Houſe of Commons thought it a ſign he ſpoke truth, and was the man he profeſſed himſelf, which ſaved him.

(43) Copied from a MS. Journal, formerly in the hands of Auditor *Done*.

(44) See the Duke of Buck's Speech, in Echard's Hiſtory, p. 901.

[*I*] *For which reaſon they are in the notes.*] The charge againſt him was digeſted under the following title, *Articles of treaſonable and other crimes of high miſdemeanor againſt the Earl of* Arlington, *Principal Secretary of State*; in which they accuſe him, I. 'That he had been a conſtant and vehement promoter 'of Popery and Popiſh councils; 1. By procuring 'commiſſions for all the Papiſts lately in command, 'who made their application to him only as a known 'favourer of that faction, there being not one com- 'miſſion ſigned by the other Secretary, many of which 'commiſſions were procured and ſigned by him ſince 'the ſeveral addreſſes of the two Houſes of Parliament 'to his Majeſty, and the paſſing of the late Act againſt 'Popery. 2. By procuring his Majeſty's letter, com- 'manding Iriſh Papiſts and rebels to be let into corpo- 'rations, and to be admitted into the commiſſions of 'the peace, and other offices of truſt, military and 'civil, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitutions 'of that realm, to the great terror of the King's Pro- 'teſtant ſubjects there. 3. By not only ſetting up 'and ſupporting the aforeſaid Papiſts there, but bring- 'ing the moſt violent and fierceſt of them to command 'companies and regiments of the King's Engliſh ſub- 'jects here, to the great diſhonour and danger of this 'kingdom. 4. By openly and avowedly entertaining 'and lodging in his family a Popiſh Prieſt, contrary to 'the known laws of the land, which ſaid Prieſt was a 'noted ſollicitor of the Popiſh faction, and hath ſince 'fled out of this Kingdom. 5. By procuring pen- 'ſions in other mens names for Popiſh officers, con- 'trary to and in illuſion of the late Act of Parliament. '6. By obtaining grants of conſiderable ſums of money 'to be charged upon the revenues of Ireland, for the 'moſt violent and pernicious Papiſts there, particularly 'two thouſand pounds for one Colonel Fitz-Patrick, a 'notorious Iriſh rebel, whoſe mother was hanged in 'the late wars for murdering ſeveral Engliſh, and 'making candles of their fat; this grant being pro- 'cured for the ſaid Fitz-Patrick, at a time when he 'was accuſed to the ſaid Lord Arlington of high 'crimes by the now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. 7. 'By procuring his Majeſty to releaſe to ſeveral of the 'Iriſh Papiſts, ſome whereof were deeply engaged in 'the rebellion of that kingdom, the chieferies or 'head-rents reſerved to the Crown out of the afore- 'ſaid eſtates of the Papiſts there, being a principal 'part of his Majeſty's revenues in that kingdom. II. 'That the ſaid Earl hath been guilty of ſeveral undue 'practices to promote his own greatneſs, and hath 'imbezzled and waſted the treaſure of this nation; '1. By procuring vaſt and exorbitant grants for him- 'ſelf, both in England and Ireland, breaking into

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to a separate peace with the Dutch, and when he had brought this about, procured Sir William Temple to be charged with that negociation, and it was intended that he should have gone to the Hague (p) for that purpose, but the States-General, in the mean time, having sent full powers to the Marquis del Fresno, the Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary, it was agreed to treat with him, and in three conferences the treaty was concluded and signed, chiefly by the interposition of this noble Lord, and his great interest with the King, as even those writers agree, who cannot be suspected of an intention to flatter him (q) [K]. This great point being over, and the Earl of Arlington being

(p) Temple's Memoirs, second part, in his Works, Vol. I, p. 376, 377.

(q) Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

'the settlement of that kingdom, and dispossessing several of the English adventurers and soldiers, of the properties and freeholds in which they were legally and freely stated, without any colour of reason or suggestion of right. 2. By charging excessive and almost exorbitant sums for false and deceitful intelligence. 3. By procuring his Majesty's hand for the giving away, from his first entrance into his office, the value of three millions of sterling money at the least, the several grants whereof are extant counterfigned by him, and by him only. 4. That the said Earl presuming to trample on all estates and degrees of the subjects of this realm, the better to subdue them to his will and pleasure, he causelessly and illegally imprisoned many of his Majesty's subjects. 5. That he did procure a principal Peer of the realm to be unjustly imprisoned, and to be proclaimed a traytor, without any legal proceeding or trial, and did maliciously suborn false witnesses with money to take away his life, upon pretence of treasonable words. III. That the said Earl hath falsely and traiterously betrayed the great trust reposed in him by his Majesty, as a Counsellor and Principal Secretary of State; 1. By entertaining a more than usual intimacy with the French Embassador, not only lodging him in his house, but letting him into the King's most secret councils. 2. By altering in private, and singly by himself, several solemn determinations of his Majesty's council. 3. By procuring a stranger to have the chief command of the late raised army, and for the invasion of Holland, to the great dishonour and discouragements of all the legal nobility and gentry of this nation. 4. By advising his Majesty to admit of a squadron of French ships to be joined with our English fleet (the sad consequence whereof we have since felt), notwithstanding the King of France had agreed to send a supply of men, in order to have the fleet wholly English. 5. Whereas the King was advised by several of the counsellors, to press the French King to desist from making any farther progress in the conquest of the inland towns in Holland, whereof England was to have no benefit, and to turn his army upon those maritime towns that were by the treaty to be ours; his Lordship gave the King counsel to desist, whereby that part of our expedition was wholly frustrated. 6. Whereas the King was advised by several of his council, not to enter into this war 'till his Majesty was out of debt, and had advised with his Parliament, his Lordship was of opinion to the contrary, and gave his advice accordingly. 7. When the French ships were dispersed after the late fight at sea, and had lost all their anchors and cables by reason of the foul weather that then ensued, he persuaded his Majesty to send them eighty cables and anchors, although it was then objected, that his Majesty had not at that time any more in his stores to supply his own ships, in case of the like necessity. 8. He hath traiterously corresponded with the King's enemies beyond the seas, and, contrary to the trust reposed in him, hath given intelligence to them.'

These articles appear to be of a very high and heinous nature, but then, like those against the Earl of Clarendon, they were in all probability difficult to be proved, otherwise his Lordship had hardly escaped. The charge of his being popishly affected was a thing of course; and the circumstances alledged in support of it from grants, &c. counterfigned by him, is grounded on what he did of course in his office, but the grants were procured by the Lord-Treasurer Clifford. The reason there were none signed by the other Secretary was, because they were not in his province. In the many years that he held his office, he must have signed abundance of warrants for money as any other Secretary would have done; and he also signed in the like capacity warrants for commitments, that of the Lord abovementioned was the Duke of Bucks, who was as forward as any of the Ministers in the Cabal, though now to save himself the most bitter enemy the Earl of Arlington had in the world. The French Minister he was so intimate with was M. Rouvigny, a Protestant, whose son was created Earl of Galway by King William, and commanded the British forces in Portugal in the reign of Queen Anne. The foreign General he brought over was M. Schombergh, afterwards the famous Marshal of that time, and created an Irish Duke by King William. He was for a French fleet's fighting, that they might not be bare spectators of the war between the Maritime Powers, and maintain their naval force entire, while we were wasting ours. He was against obtaining the Dutch maritime towns, as not aiming at the destruction of the Republick, as the Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Clifford did at the beginning of the war. By giving intelligence to the King's enemies, no more is to be understood than his corresponding with his wife's relations, (for he had married a Dutch Lady) in order to the bringing about a peace, to which he was the only one of the Cabal that ever was inclined. This was the substance of what was said for him by his friends, when these articles were read in the House, but there is not the least notice of them in any of our histories, wherein to say the truth, this whole affair is very strangely hurried over, and many of it's most important particulars omitted (45). Bishop Burnet very justly observes, that his coming off was the more extraordinary, considering the many orders and warrants he had signed as Secretary, and ascribed his acquittal to his speech entirely, in which he says *he excused himself without blaming the King*; but it is not easy to understand the consequence he draws, 'That the care he took of himself, and his success in it, lost him his high favour with the King, and as the Duke was, out of measure, offended at him, he quitted his post, &c. (46).' ——— We shall shew that this was really a favour, and consequently no foundation for such a reflection. Yet, after all, it was neither his speech nor his cause that brought him off, but the personal friendship of a noble person nearly allied to him, *viz.* the Earl of Offory, eldest son to the Duke of Ormond, and then the most popular man of his quality in England, who stood for five days that the debate lasted in the lobby of the House of Commons (47), and sollicited the Members in his favour as they entered the House: This brought over some of the most violent men on the other side, and induced others to attend who might probably have declined it (48).

(45) See Echard's History, p. 902.

(46) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 366.

(47) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

(48) History of the reign of Charles II. p. 197.

[K] *Suspected of an intention to flatter him.*] The great points to be settled here is, whether the English nation were gainers by this treaty of London beyond what they were by that of Breda; and, if they were, to whom they owed the obligation of bringing the King to conclude this peace. Bishop Burnet gives us his sentiments on both heads, thus (49): 'The Prince of Orange brought the States to make application to the King in the stile of those who begged a peace, though it was visible they could have forced it. In conclusion, a project of peace with England was formed, or rather the peace of Breda was writ over again, with the offer of two or three hundred thousand pounds for the expence of the war, and the King signed it at the Lord Arlington's office. He came up immediately into the drawing-room, where, seeing Rouvigny, he took him aside, and told him he had been doing a thing that went more against his heart than losing his right hand. He had signed a peace with the Dutch, the project being brought him by the Spanish Embassador. He saw nothing could content the House of Commons, or draw money from them; and Lord Arlington had pressed him so hard, that he had stood out 'till he was weary of his life. He saw it was impossible for him to carry on the

(49) Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 367.

being unwilling to run any more such hazards, determined to retire from the poſt of Secretary of State, which he had the King's leave to ſell, and accordingly treated with Sir William Temple for that purpoſe, to whom he offered it for ſix thouſand pounds, and on his refuſal, bargained with Sir Joſeph Williamſon for that employment (*r*). At the ſame time, however, the Earl of St Albans being inclined to reſign the office of Lord-Chamberlain (probably for a valuable conſideration) the Earl of Arlington was appointed to ſucceed him, and September 11, 1674, the White-Staff was delivered him with this publick declaration from the King his maſter, That it was in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervice, particularly in the execution of his office of Principal Secretary of State, for the ſpace of twelve years, to his great ſatisfaction (*s*). He was ſoon after this ſent over, with his brother-in-law the Earl of Oſſory, and the Lord-Treaſurer Danby's eldeſt ſon, into Holland, on a commiſſion of very high importance to the Prince of Orange, ſome parts of which were of a nature not to be well received, and therefore could be undertaken from no motive of ambition, but purely for his maſter's ſervice, and of this journey we have two accounts from great men, who valued themſelves upon being in the Prince of Orange's confidence, and ſpeaking from his own mouth. Their relations are very curious and entertaining, and give us an excellent picture of courts and courtiers, and in that reſpect deſerve very well the reader's notice (*t*) [*L*]. But

(*r*) See the Life of Sir W. Temple.

(*s*) Dudgale's Baronage, Tom. III. p. 483.

(*t*) Temple's Memoirs in his Works, Vol. I. p. 337, 338.

'the war without ſupplies, of which it was plain he 'could have no hopes (50).' After this account of the peace, the ſame Prelate tells us what effect it had upon all parties, cloſing the whole with this remark. 'But Lord Arlington, who had brought all this about, 'was ſo entirely loſt by it, that tho' he knew too much 'of the ſecret to be ill uſed, yet he could never re- 'cover the ground he had loſt.' There is no queſtion the Biſhop ſpoke as he thought, and took it for granted that the money prevailed on the King to ſign the Breda treaty over again; but he was miſinformed in theſe particulars. The King had little or none of the money; it went to the Prince of Orange, who perſuaded the States to beg a peace, as they really did. The treaty of London was ſo far from being like the peace of Breda, that it was the moſt honourable and advantageous we ever made with the States General, as appears by the inconteſtible evidence of Sir William Temple (51). 'The articles, ſays he, being pub- 'lick, need no place here. The two points of greateſt 'difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling all 'Engliſh troops out of the French ſervice. This laſt 'was compoſed by private engagements, to ſuffer thoſe 'that were there to wear out without any recruits, and 'to permit no new ones to go over; but at the ſame 'time to give leave for ſuch levies as the States ſhould 'think fit to make in his Majeſty's dominions, both of 'Engliſh and Scotch regiments. The other of the Flag 'was carried to all the height his Majeſty could wiſh, 'and thereby a claim of the Crown, the acknowledg- 'ments of it's dominions in the narrow ſeas, allowed 'by treaty from moſt powerful neighbours at ſea, which 'had never yet been yielded to by the weakeſt of 'them that I remember in the whole courſe of our 'pretence, and had ſerved hitherto but for an occaſion 'of quarrel, whenever we or they had a mind to it, 'upon other reaſons or conjectures. Nothing I con- 'feſs, had ever given me a greater pleaſure, in the 'greateſt publick affairs I had run through, than this 'ſucceſs, as having been a point I ever had at heart, 'and in my endeavours to gain upon my firſt nego- 'ciations in Holland; but I found Monſieur de Wit 'even inflexible, though he agreed with me that it 'would be a rock upon which our firmeſt alliances 'would be in danger to ſtrike and to ſplit, whenever 'other circumſtances fell in to make either of the par- 'ties content to alter the meaſures we had entered into 'upon the Triple Alliance. The ſum of money given 'his Majeſty by the States, though it was not con- 'ſiderable in itſelf, and leſs ſo to the King, by the 'greateſt part of it being applied to the Prince of 'Orange's ſatisfaction for his mother's portion that had 'never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole ho- 'nour of the peace, as the ſum given by the Parlia- 'ment upon it, and the general ſatisfaction of his 'people made the eaſe of it; and thus happily ended 'our part of a war, ſo fatal to the reſt of Chriſtendom.' There were very few people in that age more capable of judging of what concerned the general ſyſtem of affairs than Sir William Temple; none was more likely to ſpeak his mind freely upon them; and as to this matter he knew it more thoroughly than any man, as appears from the language in which he ſpeaks of it.

(50) Id. ibid. p. 368.

(51) Temple's Memoirs, Part ii. p. 377, 378.

Here indeed he ſays nothing of the Earl of Arlington (for he never mentions him but where it is neceſſary) but in his letters he owns his bringing about this peace, and approves his notions with reſpect to the Dutch after he was again ſettled in his embaſſy at the Hague (52). Upon the whole therefore, nothing can be clearer, than that, ſetting our ſyſtem of foreign affairs right again, was the work of this noble perſon, and was what chiefly drew on him the hatred of the popiſh faction.

(52) Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 327.

[*L*] *Deſerve very well the reader's notice.*] Amongſt all the tranſactions of King Charles's reign, there is not one of more importance than this journey of the Earl of Arlington's to Holland, and the commiſſion with which he was intruſted to the Prince; but the great difficulty is to come at the truth of this, and to ſee the whole tranſaction in it's natural light, and as it really happened (53). Sir William Temple thought he was the moſt capable man in the world of ſhewing it, and it was chiefly to draw up the hiſtory of this journey, that he penned the ſecond part of his ingenious Memoirs, in which he tells us (54), that the Earl of Arlington found himſelf a ſufferer by having ſo deeply engaged in the Cabal, and that his country was againſt him, and that the King was *diſpleaſed* at his ill ſucceſs. However, he ſtill thought himſelf out of danger with the Parliament, and therefore appeared zealous for their ſitting, and to increaſe his reputation with them, and to become a favourite, he ſet himſelf all he could to proſecute the Roman Catholicks, and to oppoſe the French intereſt. To ſhew his zeal againſt the firſt, he revived ſome old dormant orders for prohibiting Papiſts to appear about the King, and put them in execution at his firſt coming into his office of Lord Chamberlain; and he had gone ſo far, as to join with the Duke of Ormond and Secretary Coventry, to perſuade the King to remove his brother wholly from Court and publick buſineſs, as a means to appeaſe the diſcontents of the Parliament, occaſioned by the late conduct of affairs. By this counſel he had very much offended the Duke, and finding himſelf ill both with his Royal Highneſs and the people, and daily declining in credit with the King, he thought that there was no way of retrieving his intereſt, but by making himſelf the inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe meaſures, that might be taken between the King and the Prince of Orange abroad; he firſt infuſed into his Majeſty the neceſſity and advantage of ſuch a negociation, and then that of his being employed in it, from the intereſt which his Lady's friends and kindred in Holland would be able to give him, as well as from the credit of having been ſo long in the ſecret of the King's affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch colours as might render the late conduct of them leſs diſagreeable to the Prince. The reader will obſerve, that all this time Sir William Temple was himſelf in Holland, and ſo could no way gain an abſolute certainty of theſe circumſtances which attended the Earl of Arlington's voyage, but muſt have truſted to his intelligence from London, and his own ſagacity in making the moſt of it. But with regard to the progreſs of this negotiation, as it fell more immediately under his own notice and obſervation, and he had ſo great a ſhare in it himſelf, that he could not but know every particular, we may
the

(53) See Kennet, Echard, &c.

(54) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 396.

But with respect to fact, most certainly there are some mistakes or misrepresentations in both,

the better depend upon it, especially considering the writer's sincerity. Though he professed a great friendship for Sir William Temple, then at the Hague, yet he represented him as unlikely to be trusted with such confidence from the Prince, as was requisite in this critical affair, for having been so intimate with De Wit in his former embassy. His suggestions prevailed upon the King, who could not refuse an old servant, into whose family he had married a son, and so he went over with all the auxiliaries that seemed useful in this expedition, carrying not only his own Lady, sister of the Dutch embassador Odyke, but her sister, Madam Beverwaert, married to the Lord Ossory, which Lady's conversation was agreeable to the Prince; Sir Gabriel Sylvius, who pretended a great intimacy with Monsieur Bentinck; Dr Durrel, a man proper to deal with Monsieur de Marest, a French Minister, in credit with the Prince and the Lord Ossory, who had a great share in the Prince's esteem and kindness, as well from his marriage in the Beverwaert family, as from his bravery, so much applauded in all the actions where he had been, which was a quality loved by the Prince, though employed against him. All this was concerted without the knowledge of the Lord Treasurer Danby, who had been made to believe that a letter from the Prince to Monsieur Odyke had given occasion to this journey, as if the Prince had desired some person at the Hague from the King, with whom he might enter into the last confidence. But his Highness assured Sir William Temple, who gives the whole account of this affair, that there was no such thing, and that therefore Monsieur de Rouvigni, the French Embassador at London, had more part in the journey than he, and perhaps any man else, and that all the endeavours used towards a general peace came from that side. However instructed, at least thus accompanied, the Lord Arlington went to the Hague, and told Sir William Temple at their first meeting, that he came over to set things right between the King and the Prince, which he doubted were amiss, and settle a perfect kindness and confidence between them, to effect which, he must go to the bottom of the sore, and rake into things past, which was an unpleasant task, and which Sir William could not do, as having no part in the King's business during that time, wherein the Prince took his offence at the councils of England, that his Majesty had chosen him for this office, because he could best justify his Master's intentions to his Highness in the whole course of that affair. That as for the intended peace, though his Majesty desired it, yet he would not meddle in it, unless the Prince of himself made any overtures about it, but would only endeavour to give the Prince what light he could, as to the state of things in general, and what he might hope from his allies, as well as from France. That if the Prince had made no advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in Sir William Temple's hands. He said besides, that having fought the King's battle with the Prince, he must fight another of his own, who did not deserve the coldness which his Highness had of late expressed to him, and when that was done all his business was ended; he therefore desired Sir William to introduce him and the Lord Ossory the first time to the Prince, and after that he would give his Excellency no more trouble. Sir William told his Lordship, that he was glad to see him let his business be what it would. That he should be gladder yet, that the King's business should be done let it be by whom it would, but much more that it might be done by him. That for setting matters right between the King and the Prince, he thought it the best office which could be done them both. That for the way which he mentioned of raking into the sore, and fighting battles in defence or justification of what was past, he knew not what to say to it, but would leave it to his own prudence; but from what he knew in particular as to the Prince's humour and thoughts, whatever he did of that sort he believed should be very gentle, and not go too deep, being of opinion, *that expostulations were very apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends.* Sir William Temple was told by the Lord Arlington what he thought fit of all that passed between the Prince and him; and his Highness told him not only the thing but the manner of it, which was more important than the matter itself, for this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that lasted long. His Lordship told him much of his expostulations, and with what good turns of wit he had justified both the King's part in the late war and his own, but that upon all he found the Prince very dry and sullen, or at the best uneasy, and as if he wished it ended. That upon discourse of the state of Christendom, and what related to the war, which he was engaged in, he made no overture at all, nor entered further, than that the King might bring him out of it with honour if he pleased, and with safety to Europe, if not, it must go on 'till the fortunes of the parties changing, made way for other thoughts than he believed either of them had at that time. That this might happen after another campaign, which none but his Majesty could prevent, by inducing France to yield to such terms as he thought just and safe for the rest of Christendom. On the other side, the Prince told Sir William Temple with what arrogance and insolence the Lord Arlington had entered upon all his expostulations with him, shewing not only in his discourse as if he pretended to deal with a child, whom he could by his wit make believe what he pleased, but in the manner of it, as if he had taken himself for the Prince of Orange and him for the Lord Arlington. That all he said was so artificial, and giving such false colour to things which every body knew, that he who was a plain man could not bear it, and was never so weary of any conversation in his life. In short, says Sir William Temple, all the Prince told me of it looked spighted at my Lord Arlington, and not very well satisfied with the King's intentions upon this errand, though he said he was sure his Majesty never intended he should treat it in the manner he had, if he remembered that he was his nephew, though nothing else. After the first conversations, Lord Arlington staid near six weeks in Holland, either upon contrary winds to return his dispatches, or to carry him away, often at dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count Waldeck's, or Monsieur Odyke's, or with Sir William Temple, putting on the best humour and countenance, affecting the figure of one who had nothing of business in his head, or in the design of his journey, but at heart weary of his stay in Holland, and unwilling to return with no better account of his errand; and, as it proved, he had reason for both. The Pensionary and Count Waldeck perceived that his bent was to draw the Prince into such measures of a peace as France then so much desired, into a discovery of those persons who had made advances to the Prince, or the States, of raising commotions in England during the late war, into secret measures with the King, of assisting him against any rebels at home, as well as enemies abroad, and into hopes or designs of a match with the Duke's eldest daughter. Though they said that the Earl found the Prince would not enter at all into the first, was obstinate against the second, treated the third as disrespect to the King, to think that he should be so ill beloved, or so imprudent, to need it; and upon mention made by Lord Ossory of the last, he took no further hold of it, than saying that his fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a wife. Thus ended this mystical journey, which, says Sir William Temple, *I have the rather unveiled, because perhaps no other could do it; nor I without so many several lights from so many several hands; and because though it brought forth no present fruits, yet seeds were then scattered, out of which sprung afterwards some great events.* 'The Lord 'Arlington after his return was received but coldly by 'the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that 'any mention should be made of his daughter the Lady 'Mary, though it was only done by the Lord Ossory, 'and whether with order from the King or not, was 'not known; so that never any strain of Court skill 'and contrivance succeeded so unfortunately as this 'had done, and so contrary to all the ends which the 'author of it proposed to himself. Instead of advancing the peace, he left it desperate; instead of 'establishing a friendship between the King and the 'Prince, he left all colder than he found it; instead 'of entering into great personal confidence and friendship with the Prince, he left an unkindness which 'lasted ever after; instead of retrieving his own credit 'at Court, which he found waining by the increase of

both, which it is very fit, ſhould, for the ſake of truth, and the ſatisfaction of poſterity, be ſet in a clear light (*u*) [*M*]. At this diſtance of time, there can be no juſt cauſe, why we

(*u*) See the note [*M*], where this fact is impartially examined.

'Lord Danby's, he made an end of all that he had left 'with the King, who never afterwards uſed him with 'any confidence further than the forms of his place, 'and found alſo the Lord Treaſurer's credit with the 'King more advanced in ſix weeks, which he had 'been away, than it had in many months before.' We have another account of this extraordinary affair from Biſhop Burnet, which is a good deal ſhorter, but I think full as curious as the former. He takes notice of ſome correſpondence there was between the Malecontents in Holland and the Prince of Orange; and that one Caſtairs, who had been employed between them, had been ſeized; then he proceeds thus (55). 'The 'alarm that thoſe diſcoveries from Holland gave our 'Court, made Lord Arlington offer at one Tryal more 'for recovering the King's confidence; he offered to 'go over to Holland with the Earl of Oſſory, for they 'fancied they had a great intereſt with the Prince by 'their having married two of Bevervardt's daughters, 'and the Prince had always a particular affection for 'Lord Oſſory. Lord Arlington ſaid he would go to the 'bottom of every thing with the Prince, and did not 'doubt but he would bring him into an entire depen'dance on his uncle, and particularly diſpoſe him to 'a general peace, on which the King was much ſet, it 'being earneſtly deſired by the French. It was like'wiſe believed, that he had leave to give the Prince 'the hope of marrying her, whom he afterwards mar'ried. The Duke told me he knew nothing of the 'matter. He had heard Lord Arlington had talked 'as if the managing of that was his chief errand; and 'upon that he had aſked the King, who aſſured him, 'that he had poſitive order not ſo much as to ſpeak of 'that matter. Whether notwithſtanding this he had 'a ſecret order, or whether he did it without order, 'he certainly talked a great deal of it to the Prince, 'as a thing which he might depend on, if he would 'in all other things be governed by the King.' It is plain enough, that in various circumſtances theſe accounts do not very well agree, though in the main they do, and may be taken together for one way of telling the ſtory.

(55) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 377.

[*M*] *For the ſake of truth, and the ſatisfaction of poſterity, be ſet in a clear light.*] According to the beſt lights that at this diſtance of time are to be had concerning this matter, from private memoirs and letters of perſons then living, and deeply engaged in publick affairs, the Earl of Arlington was neither the principal perſon in, nor the contriver of, this affair. The King was deſirous of paſſing the remainder of his reign in peace, and, if poſſible, ſecuring quiet to his ſubjects after his demiſe, in order to which he judged it neceſſary to come to a right underſtanding with the Prince of Orange; and to ſecure him to his brother's intereſts, reſolved to give him the Lady Mary, his Royal Highneſs's eldeſt daughter, being very ſenſible this match would prove very acceptable to the nation in general, to whom he was now endeavouring to give as much content as it was poſſible. When his Majeſty had digeſted this project in his own mind, he began to conſider of proper perſons to be intruſted with this delicate negociation, for he reſolved to employ one perſon to expoſtulate with his Highneſs as from himſelf, and that another ſhould be charged with the compliments of the Duke, and none of the diſagreeable part of the commiſſion. For this he ſoon caſt his eyes upon the Earl of Oſſory as the fitteſt perſon in his dominions, for many reaſons, as he was a man of very high quality, great parts, and unblemiſhed reputation; as having married a Lady who was very near in blood to the Prince of Orange, and as being known to ſtand higher in his Highneſs's favour than any other Engliſhman whatever. In making choice of the Lord Chamberlain for his own part of the negociation, his Majeſty wanted not many reaſonable motives, for he was beſt acquainted with the grounds of his maſter's conduct, as having been a Miniſter conſtantly employed during his reign; he had married alſo a Dutch Lady (ſiſter to the Counteſs of Oſſory), had great correſpondencies in Holland, had always expreſſed much zeal for his Highneſs's ſervice, and been thanked for it by him. Beſides, he was conſidered in Holland as the Miniſter who had made the peace, and his relation to and intimacy with the Earl of Oſſory, made him the propereſt perſon in the world to accompany him, who was to act not for the King but the Duke. They ſet out from London, Nov. 10, 1674, and return'd Jan. 6, 1674-5, and in their own opinion were neither ill received by the Prince abroad, or by the King and Duke upon their coming home. It falls out very happily that the Earl of Oſſory gave an account of this tranſaction to the Duke of Ormond his father (who did not love Arlington) in a private letter, dated Jan. 15, 1674-5, which is ſtill preſerved, and ſo far as it regards this matter runs thus (56). 'When I have given you 'an account of my late commiſſion, you will judge 'who and what influences affairs at preſent. The 'King judged an alliance by the Duke's daughter to 'the Prince of Orange to ſuit moſt with his occaſions, 'as alſo a right underſtanding between them. My 'Lord Chamberlain was commiſſioned to handle the 'ecclairciſſement on the King's ſide, and my part was 'that relating to the Duke. The objection that the 'King made was, that the Prince of Orange, during 'and ſince the war, had endeavoured to raiſe up ſe'dition at home. His anſwer was, that before the 'peace he uſed his beſt endeavours to obtain, if not 'conſtrain, the King to it, but not by any thing tend'ing to a rebellion. That afterwards he would own 'himſelf a villain, if ever he had done any thing 'that might give any ſuſpicion thereof. My Lord 'Lauderdale had one Carſtaires ſeized upon and exa'mined, who ſaid that the Prince of Orange bid him 'compliment Duke Hamilton. This he owned, for 'it was not unlawful (he thought) after wars to be 'civil to perſons of worth and honour. This was all 'the quarrel on our ſide. Upon the King's deſiring 'to know who he had treated with, and the King's 'promiſe that the perſons named ſhould not ſuffer, he 'deſired to be excuſed, with this promiſe, that if for 'the future any thing came to his knowledge that 'might diſturb the quiet of the kingdoms, he would 'give notice of it in time. The Prince of Orange's 'complaints were, that the King, inſtead of helping 'him in his greateſt diſtreſs, had ſent over Ambaſſadors, 'who made a ſtricter league with France, but that 'he forgot all things paſt which could not be helped. 'He ſaid, that it was inſinuated to him that ſomething 'was intended for the Duke of Monmouth to his pre'judice. To this we gave him ſatisfaction by the 'King's reiterated commands. That which moſt 'touched was, the King's conniving at levies for 'France, and his ſtrictneſs againſt ſuch as deſired to 'ſerve under him; upon which he preſſed extremely 'that thoſe troops might be recalled, or that he might 'have leave to raiſe ſome for the ſervice of the States. 'To this he received not the ſatisfaction he wiſhed, 'upon which he ſeveral times ſaid, that he was to ex'pect little from us, during our partiality and fear of 'diſpleaſing France, and that whilſt thoſe of my Lord 'Lauderdale's principles had ſo much credit, the 'French intereſt would over-balance his. At our part'ing he bid us not only thank the King, but aſſure 'him, that if occaſion were, he would venture for his 'ſervice his life and fortune. I come now to my part. 'The King told me, his nephew and his neice's mar'riage was the only thing capable of helping the Duke, 'and that for that, as well as other reaſons, he had 'ſpoke to the Duke of it, who conſented that, upon 'the Prince of Orange's deſiring it, I ſhould under'take the propoſition would be accepted. This com'miſſion I had from both, and upon it's being moved 'to me by the Prince of Orange, I declared to him 'ſo much, and ſhewed him the account I gave of it 'to the Duke, from which letter, by my making a 'comma inſtead of a full ſtop, the criticks would in'fer that I had made the offer firſt. Upon this the 'Duke expreſſed all the anger imaginable, but the 'Prince's letter by me fully juſtified the contrary. 'The Duke will have the whole letter to be a civil de'nial, to which I have nothing to ſay, but that I am 'ſure the Prince thought it otherwiſe, for I ſhewed it 'him, who approved thereof. During our abſence, 'the King's mind had been wrought upon in this af'fair ſo much, as I believe thoſe, who wiſh not a good 'underſtanding between him and his nephew, will have

their

(56) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 448.

we should give any preference to the Lord-Treasurer's, or the Lord-Chamberlain's, party. It is certain that the former got the better of the latter in the King's confidence, and that the Earl lost also the affection of the Duke of York, for advising his being sent from Court, which however is allowed to have been a very right measure for King Charles's service (*w*) It is also said, that the King, by degrees, lost all esteem for the Earl of Arlington to such a height, as to suffer some to mimick him in his presence, on the score of his pretending zeal against Popery, and, whether true or not, the story is worth the hearing [*N*]. But however that Monarch might behave on some occasions, most certainly he gave all outward testimonies of esteem and favour to the Earl of Arlington, even to the last moment of his life (*x*). He not only continued him in his office of Lord-Chamberlain, but in his Privy-Council in all the changes it suffered, and those were not a few, and he married his favourite son, the Duke of Grafton, into his family, and trusted him in all his business, when those who had supplanted him were no longer seen at Court. So that, at the King's death, except the Duke of Ormond, he left not an older servant behind him than his Chamberlain the Earl of Arlington. It was, perhaps, owing to this, that King James, though he did not love him, continued his Lordship in that office to the day of his death, which happened July 28, 1685, early in the morning, at the age of sixty-seven. His corps was afterwards conveyed to Euston in Suffolk, and interred in a vault under the church there, which was of his own erecting. On his death-bed, as some writers say, he was reconciled to the Church of Rome (*y*), but it is most certain that he professed himself, and educated his only daughter, a Protestant. As to his character, the reader will meet with it in the notes [*O*] He

(*w*) See Temple's Memoirs.

(*x*) North's Examen, p. 29.

(*y*) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 220.

'their aim. I almost forgot to tell you, that the 'Duke, before our going, said, he would not have his 'daughter marry before a peace was made. But this 'the King opposed, believing, that when we had no-'thing to say upon that account, it would give a 'jealousy that other ends were sought under this nego-'ciation, which he would not have any way clogged. 'The Duke's expostulation was mingled with much 'kindness, but avowing that he liked not the thing 'from the first, and accusing me of too much haste. 'His carriage since to me is very fair and open. I 'find the Duke of Monmouth much of the same 'mind, there being besides crossness of interests, some 'private piques between the Prince and him. I fear 'I have been too tedious in my narratives as to publick 'concerns.' By comparing these accounts, and considering the views, the characters, and the dispositions of their respective authors, the reader will be able to discover much of the truth; whereas, by reading them separately, he can only learn what another person would have him take for truth, which may be quite another thing.

[*N*] *Whether true or not, the story is certainly worth the hearing.*] We have this tale from Mr Archdeacon Echard, who assures us he had it from an unquestionable hand; as he does not name his authority, however, we can take it on his credit only. It runs thus (57). 'As the credit of this Earl declined, so 'several persons at Court took the liberty to act and 'mimick his person and behaviour, as had been for-'merly done against the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, 'and it became a common jest for some Courtier to 'put a black patch upon his nose, and strut about with 'a white staff in his hand, in order to make the King 'merry. Yet he held his Lord Chamberlain's place to 'the day of his death. The reason of the King's cold-'ness, or perhaps displeasure, is believed to proceed 'from his late turning towards the popular stream, and 'more especially his outward proceedings against the 'Papists, when the Court believed him to be one in-'wardly himself. Concerning this I have received an 'unquestionable story from an unquestionable hand; 'namely, that Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards 'Earl of *Tyrconnel*, having been some time absent 'from the Court, upon his return found the Earl of '*Arlington's* credit in a low condition, and seeing him 'one day acted by a person with a patch and staff, he 'took occasion to expostulate this matter with the 'King, with whom he was very familiar, remonstrating '*how very hard it was, that poor Harry Bennet should 'be thus used, after he had so long and faithfully 'served his Majesty, and followed him every where 'in his exile.* The King hereupon began to complain 'too, declaring what cause he had to be dissatisfied with '*Harry Bennet's* conduct, *who had of late behaved 'himself after a strange manner; for not content to 'come to prayers as others did, he must be constant at 'sacraments too. Why*, said *Talbot*, interrupting him, '*Does not your Majesty do the very same thing? God's 'fish*, replied the King with some heat, *I hope there is 'a difference between* Harry Bennet *and me.*' This very story, if true, very fully proves that the Earl of Arlington was considered at Court as a person concerned in a strict and steady opposition to the Popish faction, and as a person of great gravity and circumspection, which his enemies studied to represent as meer pride and grimace. But we have a much stronger and better proof of this in Coleman's Letters (58); wherein it is expresly said, that there was a time, when all the King's Ministers were willing to have come into and prosecuted the Duke of York's measures, the Earl of Arlington only excepted; and upon this information it was, that the French court entered into such suspicion of his Lordship, as to direct their Embassadors to live no longer in strict correspondency with him, as being a man capable of making them believe the execution of their instructions was in many points impracticable, and so discouraging them from attempting it.

(57) History of England, p. 911.

(58) Ibid. p. 918.

[*O*] *The reader will meet with it in the notes.*] It fares with the characters as with the pictures of great men, we see many drawn for them, but few like them. The circumstances of the Earl of Arlington's life and fortunes bring him into general Histories and private Memoirs, so that accounts of him are frequent, and yet none of them do him strict justice. He entered the world very early, as appears by a copy of verses of his, printed in a university collection, when he was but nineteen (59), and thenceforward he composed either in English or Latin on all such occasions. He was but three and twenty at the time he entered into the service of King Charles I. at Oxford, and he continued in a very uniform conduct in respect to loyalty from his first coming into business, to his going out of this world. He was Secretary to the Duke of York long, but never a favourite; he was in that capacity trusted by the King, and served him faithfully. In the business of the Duke's excursion, and in his embassy to the Court of Spain, we find Bennet's conduct irreproachable by such as loved him least (60). His becoming Secretary of State, Privy-Counsellor, and Minister, was the pure effects of his capacity, and that it was every way equal to his posts, Sir William Temple confesses, even when he was least pleased with him (61). He shewed his genius most when in the zenith of his power, and least when he consented to share that power by making one in the Cabal. It was with difficulty he recovered himself, but he scorned to do it by laying any load upon his master. He ruined himself with the Duke, by advising what he thought necessary to prevent the ruin of the King. His journey to Holland was another proof of his being determined to serve but one master. He had so much good sense to put little in the power of his enemies, and so much sincerity, that he never wanted friends. He remained a Courtier from his birth to his grave, came into place before he could well write man, and through all storms, tempests, and changes, held it 'till he was an old man, sometimes in danger, often in a state of coolness, but never in disgrace.

(59) Coronæ Carolinæ Quadratura, Oxoniæ 1636, 4to.

(60) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 388, 389, 613.

(61) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 749.

He married Isabella, daughter to Lewis de Nassau, Lord Beverwaert, son to Maurice, Prince of Orange and Count Nassau, by whom he had his only daughter Isabella, who married, August 1, 1672, Henry Earl of Euston, son to King Charles II, by Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, created afterwards Duke of Grafton. *Her father's honours being limited to her, she assisted, after the death of the Duke her husband, at the ceremony of King George the First's coronation, as Countess of Arlington, &c. in her own right, and, on her decease, Feb. 7, 1722-3, those titles descended to her only son Charles, the present Duke of Grafton (z).

(z) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 64.

grace. ——— In many things however he might seem unhappy, as in being opposite to the Earl of Clarendon, and thereby drawing on himself an angry reflection fatal to his peace, his credit, and his memory. In his difference with Sir William Temple, who had the better of him as a writer, though not as a Statesman; yet Bishop Burnet has done severe justice, in giving the grounds of their quarrel (62): Arlington *had thrown him off, and* Temple *was too proud to bear contempt, or forget such an injury soon.* In falling in with Buckingham and Shaftesbury, Clifford and Lauderdale, all men of flame and violence, who had no great kindess for him, and who meant nothing but their own advantage. His view, on the other hand, was to keep some share of power, and be within reach of the King. In bringing himself under the imputation of Popery, though he defended the King from Papists. In having the Prince of Orange prejudiced against him, because he would have deterred him from corresponding with the malecontents against his uncle's government. In bringing upon himself the Duke's resentment, by advising what he disliked, and yet was obliged to obey. In provoking the Papists, by preventing their approaching the Royal person, which he thought necessary for the King's safety, and they resented as the highest insolence of office. In causing a suspicion amongst the friends of the Church, that he courted the Fanaticks: And, finally, in having the misfortune to suffer by men of all religions, while either he had none, or dissembled what he had.——— But notwithstanding these abatements, few Statesmens accounts have appeared fairer when balanced. He was perfectly uniform in his political conduct; he was affectionate to his Prince, and thought this best expressed by loving his people. No engagements ever came into competition with these; he disliked Papists, not personally, but as a party; he married a Dutch woman, without sacrificing the principles of an English Statesman; he durst venture any thing for the King, as appears evidently by his courting neither the Duke of York nor the Prince of Orange. While sole Minister he made the Triple Alliance. He saved the King or the nation by dissolving the Cabal. The current of common opinion, and parliamentary resentment, never ran so strong against any man without bearing him down, and yet in saving himself he never sacrificed his master. He served his friends not only without boasting, but without mentioning his services; but then he expected to be considered and treated as one that could serve them. On this head the Duke of Ormond, who had high notions of his own quality, made a strange excuse (63). *That Lord,* said he *expects to be treated as if he had been born with a blue ribband, and forgets* Harry Bennet *that was but a very little gentleman.* He formed very true judgments of men, things, and circumstances, and expressed himself on them freely to his master, whose affairs went always best when Lord Arlington was most in favour. His life was diversified with a vast variety of scenes, but it must be allowed, that all of them are very properly disposed. His younger years spent in travel, not idly, but in business; his middle age in the most arduous employment in the state, in which he executed all that was proper for him to execute himself; his decline of life in an honourable retirement. In a word, his parts recommended him to the Royal favour, his fidelity preserved it, and his engaging the King to sign the treaty of London, secured his throne and the honour of the FLAG to this nation. His honours were many, because his services were great; and having raised, in the space of twenty-five years employment, a moderate, not a ministerial, fortune, he bestowed the heiress of it on the son of him from whom it came, by the Lady to whom he had the highest obligations, and left behind him various testimonies, that a man may be an excellent Courtier, and at the same time a friend to the people. Many more glittering characters than his, appear in British history, more amiable, but few. E

(62) History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 378.

(63) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 552.

BENNET (CHRISTOPHER), an eminent Physician of the XVIIth century, and author of some pieces mentioned below [*A*], was the son of John Bennet of Raynton in Somersetshire, and became a Commoner of Lincoln-college in Oxford, in Michaelmas term 1632, being then fifteen years of age. After he had taken the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, he entered upon the Physic Line, but was created Doctor in that faculty elsewhere. He was afterwards chosen a Fellow of the College of Physicians in London, where he practised with great success. Dr Bennet died in April 1655, and was buried, on the second of May, in St Gregory's church, near St Paul's in London (*a*).

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 191.

[*A*] *His writings.*] He gave the public a Treatise on *Consumptions*, intitled, *Theatri Tabidorum Vestibulum*, &c. Lond. 1654, in 8vo. Also *Exercitationes Diagnosticæ, cum historiis demonstrativis, quibus alimentorum et sanguinis vitia deteguntur in plerisque morbis*, &c. Our author corrected and enlarged a book written originally by Dr Thomas Moufet, and intitled *Health's Improvement; or, Rules comprizing or discovering the nature, method, and manner of preparing all sorts of food used in this nation.* Lond. 1655, in 4to. Dr Bennet had one or two more pieces ready for the press at the time of his death (1). T

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 191.

BENNET (Dr THOMAS) an eminent Divine in the XVIIIth century, was born in the city of Salisbury in Wiltshire, on the seventh of May 1673, and educated in the free-school there: where he made so great a progress in learning, that he was sent to St John's college in the university of Cambridge, in the beginning of the year 1688, before he was full fifteen years of age (*a*). He regularly took the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts; the latter in 1694, when but twenty-one years old: And was chosen Fellow of his college. In 1695, he wrote a copy of Hebrew verses on the death of Queen Mary, printed in the collection of poems of the university of Cambridge upon that occasion. As he was mostly considerable as a writer, this article will chiefly consist of an account of the several things he published. The first was, 'An Answer to 'the Dissenters Pleas for Separation, or an Abridgment of the London Cases; wherein 'the Substance of those books is digested into one short and plain Discourse.' Lond. 1699,

(*a*) General Dictionary, under the article BENNET (Dr THOMAS).

1699, 8vo. [A]. About the end of the year 1700, he took a journey to Colchester, to visit his friend Mr John Rayne, Rector of St James's in Colchester; and finding him dead when he came, he undertook the office of preaching his funeral sermon, which was so highly approved of by the parishioners, that their recommendation was no small inducement to Dr Compton then Bishop of London (b), to present him to that living (c). He had institution to it January the 15th, 1700-1 (d). In this large place he applied himself with great diligence and success to the several duties of his function; and being a person of great learning, of a strong voice, and good elocution, he was extremely followed and admired; and the more, as most of the other livings were but indifferently provided for: so that he became Minister, not only of his own two parishes (e), but in a manner of that whole noble, and then flourishing town. And the subscriptions and many presents he had from all parts, raised his income to near three hundred pounds a year. But that afterwards was very much reduced, as will appear in the sequel. In the beginning of the year 1701, he published 'A Confutation of Popery, in III parts. 'Wherein, 1. The Controversy concerning the Rule of Faith is determined. 2. The 'particular Doctrines of the Church of Rome are confuted. 3. The Popish Objections 'against the Church of England are answered.' *Cambr.* 8vo [B]. About the same time, he was engaged in a controversy with some Dissenters, which produced the following book of his, 'A Discourse of Schism: Shewing, 1. What is meant by Schism. 2. That 'Schism is a damnable Sin. 3. That there is a Schism between the established Church 'of England, and the Dissenters. 4. That this Schism is to be charged on the Dissenters 'side. 5. That the modern pretences of Toleration, Agreement in Fundamentals, &c. 'will not excuse the Dissenters from being guilty of Schism. Written by way of letter to 'three Dissenting Ministers in Essex, *viz.* Mr Gilson and Mr Gledhill of Colchester, and 'Mr Shepherd of Braintree. To which is annexed, An Answer to a Book intitled, '*Thomas against Bennet, or the Protestant Dissenters vindicated from the Charge of Schism.*' Cambr. 1702, 8vo [C]. This book being animadverted upon by Mr Shepherd, our author

(b) The Bishop had lately purchased that living, with several others, from Mr Audley of Beerchurch.

(c) General Dict. ut supra.

(d) Newcourt's Repertorium Eccles. Vol. II. edit. 1710, p. 170.

(e) With St James's he held St Nicolas by sequestration.

[A] *An Answer to the Dissenters Pleas for Separation,* &c.] In the preface Mr Bennet observes, that the 'Collection of Cases and other Discourses, written 'by the most eminent of the Conforming Clergy, to 'recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church 'of England, had met with such an universal appro-'bation, that he needed not speak any thing in com-'mendation of it.' —— But the Collection itself being large and dear (1), he thought it convenient to reduce it to a less bulk and smaller price, that those persons who had not either money to buy, or time to peruse, so big a volume, might reap the benefit of it upon easier terms. He next informs us, that he had used his best endeavours to avoid obscurity, and all other faults commonly charged upon Abridgments; and had omitted nothing material, though the number of sheets in his Abridgment is not the *Sixth Part* of those contained in the original. The 11th and 12th chapters, he tells us, received the corrections of Dr Sharpe, then Archbishop of York, author of the Discourses therein epitomized; and other parts were submitted to the censure of other worthy persons. Archbishop Tillotson's Discourse of *Frequent Communion* is omitted, as wholly foreign to the design of the Collection. This preface is dated from St John's-college in Cambridge, October 2, 1699. —— As for the several Tracts contained in *the Abridgment of the London Cases,* they are as follow, according to the method they are disposed in by our author. I. 'Archbishop *Tennison*'s 'Argument for Union, taken from the true interest of 'those Dissenters in England, who profess and call 'themselves Protestants (2).' II. Bishop *Williams*'s Case of Lay-Communion with the Church of England. III. Dr *Sherlock*'s Resolution of some Cases of Conscience, with respect to Church-Communion. IV. His Letter to Anonymus, in answer to his Three Letters to Dr Sherlock about Church-Communion (3.) V. Bishop *Williams*'s Case of indifferent things used in the worship of God. VI. His Vindication of the Case of indifferent things, &c (4). VII. Dr *Scott's* Cases of Conscience resolved, concerning the lawfulness of joining with Forms of Prayer in publick Worship. In two parts (5). VIII. Dr *Claggett*'s Answer to the Dissenters Objections against the Common-Prayers, and some other parts of Divine service prescribed in the Liturgy of the Church of England (6). IX. Dr *Hickes*'s Case of Infant-Baptism (7). X. Dr *Resbury*'s Case of the Cross in Baptism (8). XI. Mr *Evans*'s Case of kneeling at the Holy Sacrament (9). XII. Bishop *Fowler*'s Resolution of this Case of Conscience, Whether the Church of England's symbolizing, so far as it doth, with the Church of Rome, makes it unlawful to hold Communion with the Church of England. XIII. His Defence of the Resolution, &c. XIV. Dr *Hooper*'s Church of England free from the imputation of Popery (10). XV. Dr *Freeman*'s Case of Mixt Communion (11). XVI. Dr *Hascard*'s Discourse about Edification. XVII. Bishop *Patrick*'s Discourse of profiting by Sermons (12). XVIII. Archbishop *Sharpe*'s Discourse concerning Conscience. In two parts (13). XIX. Dr *Calamy*'s Discourse about a scrupulous Conscience (14). XX. His Considerations about the Case of Scandal, or giving offence to weak brethren (15). XXI. Dr *Cave's* Serious Exhortation, with some important advices relating to the late Cases about Conformity. XXII. Bishop *Grove*'s Persuasive to Communion with the Church of England (16). The *Abridgment* of these several Tracts is comprized in fourteen chapters, besides the Introduction and Conclusion.

(1) It was published at first in several Tracts, 4to. commonly bound in three Volumes; afterwards in one Volume, *fol.* 1698, and in three Volumes, 8vo, 1718.

(2) This is the *Introduction*, in the Abridgment.

(3) Chap. I. of the Abridgment.

(4) Chap. II.

(5) Chap. III.

(6) Chap. IV.

(7) Chap. V.

(8) Chap. VI.

(9) Chap. VII.

(10) Chap. VIII.

(11) Chap. IX.

(12) Chap. X.

(13) Chap. XI. XII.

(14) Chap. XIII.

(15) Chap. XIV.

(16) Conclusion.

[B] *A Confutation of Popery,* &c.] The author observes in his Preface, That though the nation is plentifully furnished with books against Popery in our own language, yet some treating only of one or more particular disputes, and being full of learning, and likewise very numerous, so that a good collection is scarcely to be found, and not to be purchased but at a great price; and others being too short and unsatisfactory, he had therefore thought it advisable to publish this Confutation of it; which, he was persuaded, would give the reader a full view of all the material branches of the Popish Controversy. This preface is dated from Colchester, Feb. 13, 1700-1. In the first part of the book he overthrows *Tradition,* and proves, That the Scriptures are the only rule of Faith. In the second he shews, That Transubstantiation is absolutely false, as are also the other particular doctrines of the Church of Rome, viz. Adoration of the Host, Communion in one kind, Purgatory, &c. In the third he answers the Popish objections against the Church of England; namely, 1. The Charge of Schism. 2. The Pretence of our many Divisions. 3. The pretended Novelty of our Religion. 4. The Invalidity of our Orders.

[C] *A Discourse of Schism,* &c.] In the Preface, dated Colchester, Feb. 21, 1701-2, he tells us, That he had endeavoured in that Discourse to make our tedious and intricate disputes concerning *Schism,* both short and clear, and level to the understandings of the most unlearned persons. To that end he had been obliged to explain the nature of Schism, and manage the charge of it against the Dissenters, in a *Manner* somewhat different from that of our best authors, who have formerly writ upon the same subject. However, that his *Principles* and *Notions* are the very same, which have been constantly received and maintained by the

author published, 'A Defence of the Discourse of Schism: in answer to those Objections, 'which Mr Shepherd has made in his *three Sermons of Separation*, &c.' Cambr. 1703, 8*vo* [*D*]. And, towards the end of the same year, 'An Answer to Mr Shepherd's Con-'siderations on the Defence of the Discourse of Schism.' Cambr. 8*vo* [*E*]. As also a treatise intitled, 'Devotions, *viz.* Confessions, Petitions, Intercessions, and Thanks-'givings, for every day in the week: and also before, at, and after, the Sacrament; 'with occasional prayers for all persons whatsoever.' 8*vo*. In 1705, he published 'A Confutation of Quakerism; or a plain proof of the falshood of what the principal '*Quaker* writers (especially Mr *R. Barclay* in his *Apology*, and other works) do teach con-'cerning the necessity of *Immediate* Revelation in order to a saving Christian Faith; the 'being, nature, and operation of the pretended *Universal Light within*; it's striving with 'men, moving them to prayer, and calling them to the Ministry; Regeneration, Sancti-'fication, Justification, Salvation, and Union with God; the nature of a Church; the 'Rule of Faith; Water-Baptism, and the Lord's-Supper. Diverse Questions also con-'cerning Perfection, Christ's Satisfaction, the Judge of Controversies, &c. are briefly 'stated and resolved.' Cambr. 8*vo* [*F*]. In 1707, he caused to be printed in a small pamphlet,

the Conforming Divines. 'The whole Controversy '(as he goes on) turns upon the determination of this 'single question, *Whether the Established Church does 'impose any one unlawful Term of Lay-Communion, or 'no.* If the Established Church does impose any one 'unlawful Term of Lay-Communion with her, doubt-'less she is schismatical, and the separation of the 'Dissenters is not only lawful, but necessary. But if 'the Established Church does not impose any one un-'lawful Term of Lay-Communion with her, then ''tis utterly impossible for the Dissenters to justify their 'separation from her, &c.' To confirm his sentiments, he quotes several passages out of Mr Mead's *Two Sticks made one*; Dr Bryan's *Dwelling with God*; Mr R. Baxter, and other eminent Dissenters. —— The annexed Answer to *Thomas against Bennet*, was occasioned by a book so intitled, written by a Dissenter; wherein the author endeavoured to shew, that Mr Bennet's *Confutation of Popery* was inconsistent with his *Abridgment of the London Cases*, and will vindicate the Dissenters from the charge of Schism.

[*D*] *A Defence of the Discourse of Schism*, &c.] Mr Shepherd having, among other things, intimated (17), That the Dissenters *out-preach the Clergy of the Established Church*; our author inquires, in one part of this *Defence* (18), 'Whether the Sermons of the 'Dissenters are preferable to those of the Established 'Church.' Which gives him occasion to quote passages out of the sermons of Ni. Lockyer, Provost of Eaton in Oliver's time, and of R. Gouge's, Teacher at Coggeshall, abounding with glaring absurdities, and most egregious nonsense; equal to any thing mentioned by Dr Echard in his Contempt of the Clergy.

(17) Page 74.

(18) Chap. XV. p. 80.

[*E*] *An Answer to Mr Shepherd's Considerations*, &c.] In the preface he complains, That it was his great misfortune to be engaged with an adversary, who was neither able nor willing to make the Controversy depending between them two useful to the reader. Then he adds, 'Were not *He* my neighbour, and had 'not Providence placed me in a very great town full 'of all sorts of Dissenters and Enthusiasts; I should 'have thought it unlawful for me to misemploy the 'smallest portion of my time in answering such a writer, 'as does neither understand the matter he treats of, 'nor know when he is confuted, &c.' And indeed he was a most sorry and incoherent writer. This Preface is dated March 24, 1702-3.

[*F*] *A Confutation of Quakerism*, &c.] In the Preface, dated March 10, 1704-5, he observes, That he cannot but think *Quakerism* one of the vilest and most pernicious Heresies that our unhappy nation has ever been infected with. And therefore he was heartily grieved that the Clergy of the Established Church, who have written with great learning and accuracy upon most other points, should almost wholly neglect the Quaker Controversies. ''Tis possible, adds he, some of those 'great men, who have so frequently triumphed over 'other adversaries, are of opinion, that the Quakers 'are below their notice. ——'Tis true this Sect, when 'it first appeared in the world, distinguished themselves 'by such an incredible variety of *Enthusiastick Freaks*, 'as made their persons utterly ridiculous. Their books 'also were then stuffed with such prodigious quantities 'of *Ribaldry and Jargon*, of *Bitterness*, most *un-'christian Language*, and even *Blasphemy* itself; as 'inclined all sober persons to believe, that they ought 'rather to be burnt than confuted. —— At length Mr '*William Penn*, Mr *George Keith*, and Mr *Robert 'Barclay*, arose. These dressed up their religion to 'the best advantage. The two last especially en-'deavoured to refine Quakerism.' —— Afterwards he observes, that 'Mr *Barclay*'s *Apology* is certainly the 'exactest piece that ever was written in defence of '*Quakerism*.' And This is what our author hath undertaken to confute in this book now before us. In the first nine chapters he proves, That there is no necessity of *immediate* Revelation in order to a *Saving* Christian Faith; and explains several texts that have been perverted by the Quakers, to serve their purpose. In the Xth, XIth, XIIth and XIIIth chapters, he shews, That there is no such *Universal Light* within as the Quakers pretend; and reflects upon several of their doctrines that depend thereon. The XIVth, &c. contain reflections upon divers others of their doctrines. And, from the XVIIIth to the end, he treats of Baptism. ——— This book was answered by Benjamin Lindley, in two volumes, 4to, 1710 and 1713, under the title of 'The Necessity of Immediate Revelation 'toward the Foundation and Ground of true Faith 'proved, &c.' And a passage in the Xth chapter of it (19) was severely animadverted upon by one Richard Claridge, formerly Rector of Peopleton in Worcestershire, who turned afterwards Independent and Quaker (20). Mr Bennet's words were, —— 'Whereas we 'affirm, that the Nature of the Messiah, or Man Christ, '*is compounded of the Godhead and the Manhood imme-'diately united*; our adversaries affirm, that the Na-'ture of the Messiah, or Man Christ, is compounded, '1. Of the Godhead. 2. The Light. 3. The Man-'hood, viz. Human Soul and Body; which two last, 'viz. the Light and the Manhood, they affirm to be 'immediately united to the Godhead.' —— This Claridge calls 'An assertion so grosly erroneous, that 'to use our author's own phrase (21), *it threatens de-'struction to the Gospel of our Lord, by sapping the very foundations of it*; since it lays the axe to the root of Christianity, and sets up a new and another Christ than the holy Scriptures testify of. For, 1. If the Messiah, or Man Christ, is compounded of the Godhead and Manhood, then he is, as the Socinians falsely say, a mere creature. For, composition plainly implies something made out of other things, which it was not before. And if Christ be a mere creature, then he is not God blessed for ever. And if so, what is become of the foundation of the Christian Religion? 2. If the Messiah is compounded of the Godhead and the Manhood, then he had no existence antecedent to this composition; for the thing compounded has no existence as such, before it is compounded. 3. This composition renders Christ neither perfect God nor perfect man; for if he is compounded of both, he cannot be truly either. 4. It destroys the distinction of the Godhead and Manhood in Christ, and of the essential properties of both natures; for, if they are compounded, they cannot remain distinct the one from the other, as the common opinion is. ——— Such a Christ as this, says R. Claridge, is T. Bennet's Christ, one not of two compleat and distinct Natures, but of two Natures compounded; out of which composition he fancies arises a certain third thing, which he affirms to be the Messiah or Man Christ (22).

(19) Page 113.

(20) See Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 945.

(21) Preface to the Confutation of Quakerism, p. 3.

(22) J. Whiting's *Rector corrected*, &c. Lond. 1708, 8vo. p. 129.

pamphlet, 12*mo*, 'A Discourse of the Necessity of being baptized with water, and 'receiving the Lord's-Supper; taken out of the Confutation of Quakerism.' *Cambr.* for the sake of those, who wanted either money to purchase, or time to peruse, the Confutation of Quakerism. The year following he published, 'A brief History of the joint 'use of precomposed set forms of prayer; shewing, 1. That the antient Jews, our Saviour, 'his Apostles, and the primitive Christians, never joined in any prayers, but precompos'd 'set forms only. 2. That those precompos'd set forms in which they join'd, were such 'as the respective congregations were accustomed to, and throughly acquainted with. '3. That their practice warrants the imposition of a National precompos'd Liturgy. 'To which is annexed, A Discourse of the Gift of Prayer, shewing, That what the Dissenters mean by the Gift of Prayer, *viz.* a Faculty of conceiving Prayers *extempore*, is 'not promis'd in Scripture.' *Cambr.* 8*vo*. The same year he published likewise, 'A Discourse of joint Prayer; shewing, 1. What is meant by joint Prayer. 2. That the joint 'use of Prayers conceiv'd *extempore* hinders Devotion, and consequently displeases God; 'whereas the joint use of such precompos'd set Forms, as the Congregation is accustomed 'to, and throughly acquainted with, does most effectually promote Devotion, and consequently is commanded by God. 3. That the Lay Dissenters are obliged, upon their 'own Principles, to abhor the Prayers offered in their separate Assemblies, and to join 'in Communion with the Establish'd Church.' *Cambr.* 8*vo*. (*f*) [*G*]. Towards the end of the same year he published, 'A Paraphrase with Annotations upon the Book of 'Common Prayer, wherein the Text is explained, Objections are answered, and Advice 'is humbly offer'd, both to the Clergy and Laity, for promoting true Devotion in the 'use of it.' *Lond.* 8*vo* [*H*]. The next thing he put out was, 'Charity Schools 'recommended,'

(*f*) The Preface to these two books, is dated from Colchester, Octob. 27. 1707.

[*G*] *A brief History of the joint Use of precomposed set Forms of Prayer*, &c. ——— *A Discourse of joint Prayer*, &c.] Several answers were returned to these books; namely, 1. 'A brief Reply to the Scriptural and argumentative part of Mr *Bennet's Brief* '*History of the joint Use of precomposed set Forms of* '*Prayer*, &c' by John Horseley. 2. 'A direct and 'full Reply to Mr Bennet's *Discourse of joint Prayer*, 'with a Preface, containing a short Vindication of the '*Brief Reply to Mr Bennet's brief History*, from the 'unjust and scurrilous censures of the *Censura Temporum* for the month of March 1709.' By the same author. Lond. 1710. 8vo. 3. 'Brief Remarks upon 'Mr Bennet's Brief History, &c.' By Dr Wainewright. 4. 'Some Reflections on Mr Bennet's Discourse of joint Prayer, by a Presbyter of the Church 'of England.' Supposed to be Mr Ollyffe; who asserts (23), that Mr Bennet's notion, which he so warmly espouses, is contrary to the general sense not only of Dissenters, but of all that have been acquainted with it, and seems to be a shock upon the reason of mankind. 5. Dr John Edwards, formerly our author's fellow-collegian, and a rigid Calvinist, doth also severely reflect, in the third part of his *Preacher*, on these books; and some others written by Dr Bennet (24).

(23) Page 24.

(24) Preacher, third Part, p. 4, 5, 6, 145, 146, 152, &c.

[*H*] *A Paraphrase, with Annotations, upon the Book of Common-Prayer*, &c.] As for the occasion of this work, the author himself gives it us in the following words (25). ''Tis too notorious, that the Book of 'Common-Prayer is very little understood by some, 'and very negligently used by others, even of our own 'Communion; and that the Dissenters have raised almost innumerable objections against it, hoping thereby to justify their Separation from us. The consideration of these great evils has constrained me to 'publish the following *Paraphrase*, &c. wherein the 'Text is explained, Objections are answered, and Advice is humbly offered, both to the Clergy and the 'Laity, for promoting true devotion in the use of it.' ——— His method is this. He hath printed the Morning and Evening Service, Litany, Collects, Communion, Public Baptism, and other occasional Offices, with a Paraphrase interwoven into the Text. And at the bottom of the page, Notes to explain the Text, to clear Difficulties, answer Objections, &c ——— He is of opinion (26), That a mere Deacon may pronounce the Absolution; and observes, That the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion Service, were intended and used as distinct Offices in former times; though they are now generally used at one and the same time, in one continued order, contrary to the first intention of our Church (27). At the end, there is an Appendix, containing Five Discourses. No. I. 'A Discourse of the Original of the Book of 'Common Prayer; shewing, that 'tis not taken out of 'the Mass-Book, and other Popish Liturgies.' In this he divides the matter of the Book of Common-Prayer into four parts. 1. Such particulars as are not at all to be found in any of the Popish Liturgies. 2. Such as, though they be found in the Popish Liturgies, are notwithstanding borrowed out of the Scriptures. 3. Such as, though they be found in the Popish Liturgies, are notwithstanding borrowed by them out of the Apocryphal writings, or the antient Fathers of the four first centuries. 4. Such as must be acknowledged to be found in the Popish Liturgies, and in no other book written before the year of Christ 400 (28). ——— Now, if we set aside the three first sorts of particulars, there remains in the whole Morning Prayer but about one *Fourteenth* part. All the rest is either new made, as the Confession, &c. or taken from either the Scriptures, as, *O come let us*, &c. the Versicles and Responses, &c. or the Apocryphal writings, as, *O all ye works*, &c. or the writings of the four first centuries, as the Apostles Creed, and, *We praise thee, O God*, &c. or the Greek Church, as the prayer ascribed to St Chrysostom. ——— Of the Evening Prayer about one *Eleventh* part is taken from the Popish Liturgies ——— About one *Tenth* part of our Litany, and the last and shortest prayer of the eleven subjoined to the Litany, and not one of the eight Thanksgivings following those prayers, are taken out of the Popish Liturgies. ——— Of the Collects for the day, many were taken out of the Popish Liturgies, but several amended and corrected, and a great number new made. ——— Of the Communion-Office about one *Eleventh* part, and of all the following Offices, even to the end of the Commination, almost nothing is taken out of the Popish Liturgies. ——— After which he adds, 'If such 'an inconsiderable quantity is all that we owe to the 'Papists, how can it be said that we had our Offices 'from them? It may with vastly greater reason be 'said, that they were taken out of the Scriptures, or 'wholly made new. For, if one part must give a denomination to the whole, certainly the far greater 'part ought to do it (29).' To proceed, No II. Of the Appendix is 'A Discourse of the Church's using 'Apocryphal Lessons.' No. III. 'A Discourse of 'our Church's using that which is commonly called 'the Athanasian Creed.' No. IV. 'A Discourse of 'praying against Sudden Death.' No. V. 'Of kneeling at the Holy Communion.' Under this last head he shews (30), 'that the Christians of the first ages, long before the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation was heard of, received in an adoring posture; which was either kneeling or standing, according to the difference of circumstances. And whereas it is pretended, that Kneeling at the Sacrament was introduced by Pope Honorius III, it is a mistake; for what that Pope introduced, was only a bow at the elevation of the Host, and at the carrying it to sick persons.'

(25) Preface, p. 2. This Preface is dated from Colchester, April 16, 1708.

(26) Page 27, note 22.

(27) Page 15.

(28) Page 248.

(29) Page 248, 249, 250.

(30) Page 311.

[*I*] The

'recommended, in a Sermon preached at St James's Church in Colchester, on Sunday 'March 26, 1710. Published at the request of the Trustees.' *8vo.* The same year he wrote, 'A Letter to Mr B. Robinson, occasioned by his *Review of the Case of Liturgies, 'and their Imposition.*' And, 'A second Letter to Mr B. Robinson, *&c.* on the same 'Subject.' Both printed at London 1710, *8vo.* In 1711, he published 'The Rights 'of the Clergy of the Christian Church: or, A Discourse shewing, that God has given 'and appropriated to the Clergy, Authority to Ordain, Baptize, Preach, Preside in 'Church-Prayer, and consecrate the Lord's Supper. Wherein also the pretended Divine 'Right of the Laity to elect either the persons to be ordained, or their own particular 'Pastors, is examined and disproved.' Lond. 1711, *8vo* [*I*]. He had begun a second part of this work, but it was never published. Therein, he intended to shew, that the Clergy are, under Christ, the sole spiritual Governors of the Christian Church; and that God has given and appropriated to them, authority to enact laws, determine controversies, inflict censures, and absolve from them. The pretended divine institution of lay Elders was also disproved, and the succession of the present Clergy of the Established Church vindicated. And thereto was annexed a Discourse of the Independency of the Church on the State, with an account of the sense of our English Laws, and the judgment of Archbishop Cranmer touching that point (*g*). About this time he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. In 1714, he published 'Directions for studying I. A general 'System or Body of Divinity; II. The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. To which is 'added St Jerom's Epistle to Nepotianus.' Lond. *8vo* [*K*]. The year following was published his 'Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, agreed on in 1562, and 'revised in 1571; wherein (the text being first exhibited in *Latin* and *English*, and the 'minutest variations of eighteen the most antient and authentic copies carefully noted) 'an Account is given of the Proceedings of Convocation in framing and settling the text 'of the Articles; the controverted clause of the Twentieth Article is demonstrated to be 'genuine; and the case of Subscription to the Articles is consider'd in point of Law, History, 'and Conscience. With a Prefatory Epistle to *Anthony Collins*, Esq; Wherein the egre'gious Falshoods and Calumnies of the author of *Priestcraft in Perfection*, are exposed.' Lond. 1713, *8vo* [*L*]. Before the publication of this book, he found it necessary to leave Colchester.

(*g*) It was never finished, though about four chapters of it were actually printed off.

[*I*] *The Rights of Clergy of the Christian Church,* &c.] The Preface to this book is dated from Colchester, Jan. 13, 1710-11. And the chief Heads of it are, That the Catholick Church is one, holy, spiritual, and perpetual Society, of which Christ is the Head, which was instituted by God, and of which also 'tis necessary for every person to whom the Gospel is preached, to become and continue a member. That Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Church Prayer, and preaching in Christian Assemblies, are perpetual Ordinances in the Church. That from the beginning of Christianity down to our own times, there have always been certain Officers in the Church, whose business it was to administer the Ordinances aforesaid. That from the beginning of Christianity there have been Deacons in the Church. That from the beginning of Christianity down to our own times, the Clergy have been authorized to exercise their functions by Almighty God, either immediately or mediately. That Church-authority is not derived from the people. Then, after examining the pretended instances of Lay-Ordination, he shews, That the power of ordaining is appropriate to the Clergy by Divine Right. That the Laity have no Divine Right to elect the Clergy, —— nor to chuse their own particular Pastors. Next, he examines the Scripture, and other pretences, for Lay-Baptism, and Lay-Preaching; and enquires into the validity of Lay-Baptism.

[*K*] *Directions for studying, I. A General System of Divinity,* &c.] In the Preface, dated from Colchester, Jan. 16, 1713-14, he informs us, That this 'Letter, wherein he hath given directions for studying a general System or Body of Divinity, was written in the year 1705, at the request of a young Gentleman, to whom, as the beginning shews, he had made a promise of it. Whilst it lay by him, he bestowed some leisure hours in correcting it; and at length determined to make it public, because he conceived that something of this was much wanted. —— He adds, That he hath subjoined such Directions for studying the XXXIX Articles of Religion, as will, if he mistakes not, set them in a different light, and give a more distinct and particular view of them, than may be found elsewhere.' And indeed he hath laboured to give a rational explication of them, and to render them as consistent with Scripture and truth as possible. He was 'forced to add St Jerom's Epistle to Nepotianus, because 'tis not to be met with otherwise than amongst his works, or in some collection of his epistles, which all persons can't command the use of.'

[*L*] *An Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion,* &c.] This was written by way of Answer to a Pamphlet, published in London in 1709, 8vo, and intitled, 'Priestcraft in perfection; or, A Detection of 'the Fraud of inserting and continuing this clause '(*The Church hath Power to Decree Rites and Ceremo'nies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith*) in the 'Twentieth Article of the Articles of the Church of 'England.' Supposed to be written by Anthony Collins, Esq; who made it his chief business and delight to invent what he thought would vex or distress the Clergy. That pamphlet began in the following manner. 'The Articles of the Church of England were 'agreed to and subscribed by the Archbishops and 'Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, 'in a Convocation held at London, in the year of 'our Lord, 1562, and the fifth of Queen Elizabeth. 'They were afterwards reviewed by another Convoca'tion of the Province of Canterbury, held at London 'in the year 1571, and in the beginning of that year '(which was the 13th of the Queen) they were ratified 'in Parliament under the Title of *Articles of Religion 'which only concern the Confession of the true Christian 'Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprized 'in a book imprinted, intitled,* "Articles whereupon "it was agreed, &c. 'From which Act alone arises 'their Legal Authority. These being the Authorities 'upon which the Articles of our Church stand, we 'have no other way of knowing what, and how many 'these Articles are, but from the *Records of the Pro'ceedings of the before-mentioned Convocations*, and 'from the *imprinted Book*, referred to in the Act of 'Parliament. And if we are to be governed by these, 'it will be evident that the first clause of the 20th Ar'ticle, viz. (*The Church hath a power to decree Rites 'and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of 'Faith*) printed in all our modern editions of the 'Articles since the year 1617, is a perfect Forgery, 'and never passed either the Convocaion of 1562, or 'the Convocation of 1571; nor was it contained in 'the *imprinted Book* that was ratified by Parliament. 'For, 1st, We have the *Original Manuscript* of the 'Articles which passed the Convocation of 1562, of 'which my Lord of Sarum (31) gives the following 'account, That this manuscript is without doubt an 'Original; that the hands of the Subscribers are well 'known

(31) The late Bishop Burnet, Exposition of the XXXIX Articles, p. 16.

Colchester. For, the other livings being filled up with persons of good reputation and learning, his large congregation and subscriptions fell off, so that his income did not amount to threescore pounds a year [*M*]. Wherefore, by the advice of his friends, he accepted of the place of Deputy-Chaplain to Chelsey-Hospital, under Dr Cannon. Soon after, preaching the funeral sermon of his friend Mr Erington, Lecturer of St Olave's in Southwark, it was so highly approved of by that parish, that he was unanimously chosen Lecturer in the next vestry, without the least canvassing (*b*). Upon that, he entirely left Colchester, in January 1715-16, and fixed himself in London (*i*): Where he was likewise appointed Morning-Preacher at St Lawrence-Jewry, under Dr Mapletoft. In 1716, he published a pamphlet intitled, 'The Nonjurors Separation from the publick Assemblies of the Church of England examined, and proved to be schismatical upon their own Principles.' Lond. 8*vo* [*N*]. And, 'The Case of the Reformed Episcopal Churches, 'in

(*b*) General Dictionary, as above.

(*i*) See Preface to his *Discourse of the ever-blessed Trinity in Unity*, &c. p. 2.

'known; that it belonged to Archbishop Parker (who 'was President of that Assembly, and that it was left 'by him to Corpus-Christi college in Cambridge, and 'is signed with a particular care; for at the end of it 'there is not only a sum of the number of pages, but 'of the lines in every page. And though this was 'the work of the Province of Canterbury, yet the 'Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of Durham 'and Chester, subscribed it likewise; and it is also 'subscribed by the whole Lower House. And, 2dly, 'We have an original manuscript of the Articles that 'were reviewed in the Convocation of 1571, left to 'the same college by Archbishop Parker (who was 'President likewise of that Convocation) but that is 'only subscribed by the Archbishop, and ten Bishops 'of his Province; whereas those of 1562 are sub'scribed by both Houses of the Province of Canter'bury, and some Bishops of the Province of York. 'Now that the clause of the Church's power is not in 'the beginning of the 20th Article of either of these 'manuscripts, appears from several collations that have 'lately been made of our modern printed editions 'with them. 3dly, As to the *imprinted book of Ar'ticles* that was ratified by Parliament, either it was 'never tacked to the original Record of the Act, or 'else it has been since purloined from it; for upon 'examination in the Office where the Records are 'kept, the imprinted book referred to in the Act of 'Parliament is not to be found.' This is the substance of the pamphlet before us: Let us now see what Dr Bennet's Answer thereto contains. ——— After a very smart Prefatory Epistle to Anthony Collins, Esq; dated *Chelsea, April* 20, 1715, the Doctor exhibits a collation of *all the antient copies* of the Articles, both printed and manuscript, both in Latin and English; and sets down under the text of the Articles, in English on one side, and Latin on the other, the minutest variations in those antient Copies, being eighteen in number. The *printed Latin Copy* he puts the highest value upon, is that of Reginald Wolf in 8vo, 1563, which hath the controverted clause in the 20th Article (*). —— In chap. II. he gives a transcript from the Records produced by Archbishop Laud in the Star-chamber in 1637; and of the Register of the Upper House of Convocation in 1562, published by Bishop Gibson in his *Synodus Anglicana, &c.* wherein that clause was recorded. [The original Records of the Convocation were destroyed in the great fire at London, 1666.] In chap. VII. he proves, That when the Articles were passed by the Clergy in Convocation, they were recorded in the Registry of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But this Record of the Articles in the Registry of the See of Canterbury was not subscribed, nor had the Broad Seal affixed to it (32). The author supposes therefore, that a Copy of the Articles was engrossed, in a Text-hand, and after the Broad Seal was affixed thereto, that instrument of them was deposited in some of the Royal offices (33). He shews in chap. XI. that the Articles were passed, recorded, and ratified in 1562, *in Latin* only. After having given, in chap. IV. An exact and very particular account of the Latin MS. in Bennet-college library, which was signed by the Bishops on Jan. 29, 1562. (and on which A. Collins lays so much stress) he proves, in Chap. VIII. that That MS. is no Record. And of this he alledges the following proofs. 1. 'Because Archbishop Parker had no more right or power 'to dispose of the Records of Convocation by will, 'than the Lord Chancellor has to dispose of the Re'cords of Parliament after the same manner. 2. He 'appeals to any man of common sense, whether a 'MS so frequently and so oddly corrected, sometimes 'with red lead, at other times with black ink; in 'which so many portions, great and small are struck 'out, and so many particulars inserted, nay in which 'English and Latin are mixed together, &c. could 'ever be intended for a Record in a matter of so high 'concern.' ——— Next, as to the other Bennet-college MS of 1571, our author says, 'tis no wonder it has not *the Clause*, considering it was grounded on the old unauthorized English translation, in which the Clause was first omitted. And, besides, after the 11th of May, when this MS was signed, many alterations were made in the translation, which are not in the MS. And consequently this controverted Clause might at the same time be restored to the place it had in the Record of 1562. He shews likewise, That those English Copies of the Articles printed in 1571, which have *the Clause* above-mentioned, are genuine, and those which want it are spurious (34). —— In answer to what A. Collins had said, concerning the *imprinted Book being tacked to the Record*, the Doctor observes, that the very form of the Rolls is such, that any man who has seen them would as soon expect to find, that an imprinted book had been tacked to our author's nose, as to any of the Rolls of Parliament (35).

(*) See also, p. 232.

(32) Chap. IX.

(33) Chap. X.

(34) Page 336, &c.

(35) Prefatory Epistle, p. vi.

[*M*] *So that his income did not amount to threescore pounds a year.*] The one being but about forty, and the other fifteen pounds *per annum*. And yet he declared to his friend the rev. Mr Sherlock, that he would have even been contented with them, if he could have made threescore pounds a year of them two together. Bishop Compton had indeed given him the small vicarage of Mark's Tay near Colchester, but it was no more than enough to pay for a Curate (36); and accordingly he let his Curate enjoy it.

(36) From the Gen. Dictionary, and private information.

[*N*] *In 1716 he published a pamphlet, intitled,* The Nonjurors Separation, &c.] It was occasioned by 'A 'Collection of Papers written by the late rev. George 'Hickes, D. D.' and published in 1716, wherein the Church of England was charged with Heresy, Schism, Perjury, and Treason. Dr Bennet, in the 1st chapter his book, defines *Schism* to be 'a breach of that 'union which ought to be maintained in the Christian 'Church or Society.' In the 2d chapter he shews, That Dr Compton continued rightful Bishop of London to the day of his death; since he did not cease to be Bishop of London by resignation, or deprivation, or forfeiture; nor forfeit his diocese, by maintaining communion with those Bishops, who were placed in Sees of the deprived ones; and therefore that all separation from him was a Schism. In the 8th chapter he endeavours to prove, that the Nonjurors separation from the communion of Bishop Robinson [successor to Bishop Compton] is schismatical, because they have no diocesan Bishops; and therefore those Bishops who are now possessed of the dioceses of England, are the only true and rightful Bishops, there being no other claim against them. —— But this Tract proving unsatisfactory to many persons, several Answers were given to it; namely, 1. 'The Layman's Vindication of the Church 'of England, as well against Mr Howell's Charge of 'Schism, as against Dr Bennet's pretended Answer to 'it.' Lond. 1716, 8vo. 2. Another intitled, 'Dr 'Bennet's Concessions to the Nonjurors proved to be 'destructive to the Cause, which he endeavours to de'fend, as they make the Nonjurors to be the Catho'licks, and his own Communion to be Schismatical: 'in a Letter to a Friend.' Dated October 22, 1716. Lond. 1717, 8vo. 3. Mr James Pierce, an eminent Dissenting Minister, wrote likewise 'A Letter to Dr 'Bennet, occasioned by his late Treatise concerning 'the

'in Great Poland, and Polish Prussia, considered, in a Sermon preach'd on Sunday, 'November 18, 1716, at St Lawrence-Jewry, London, in the morning, and St Olave's 'Southwark, in the afternoon.' Lond. 8*vo* [*O*]. Soon after, he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, to the vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate, London, which afforded him a plentiful income of near five hundred pounds a year [*P*]. But he had little, or at least no quiet, enjoyment of it. For, endeavouring to recover some dues that unquestionably belonged to that church, he came thereby to be engaged in tedious law-suits; which, besides the immense charges they were attended withal, gave him a great deal of vexation and uneasiness, and very much imbittered his spirits: However, he recovered a hundred and fifty pounds a year to that living. After he was settled in it, (namely in the year 1717) he married Mrs Elizabeth Hunt of Salisbury, a gentlewoman of great merit; and by her he had three daughters. The same year he published, 'A Spital 'Sermon preach'd before the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of London, in St Bridget's 'Church, on April 24, 1717.' Lond. 8*vo*. And in 1718, 'A Discourse of the ever 'blessed Trinity in Unity, with an Examination of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of 'the Trinity.' Lond. 8*vo* [*Q*]. But, from this time, the care of his large parish, and

'the Nonjurors Separation, &c.' Dated at Exeter, November 13, 1716, and printed at London, 1717, 8vo.

[*O*] *The case of the Reformed Episcopal Churches in Great Poland*, &c.] This sermon was occasioned by a Brief for the relief of those Churches. Our author observes in his sermon (37), 'That these Protestants are descended from those persons, who forsook the corruptions of the Church of Rome, by the influence principally of those eminent saints and martyrs, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who received their doctrine in a good measure from our truly famous countryman John Wicleff, to whom we are obliged for the first dawnings of the Reformation.' —— After that, he answers several objections that had been made against relieving them, particularly, that they have no true Episcopacy amongst them. In opposition to which he shews, that they regularly derive their succession from three persons who were consecrated Bishops by certain Bishops of the Vaudois (38); and that each of their Bishops is truly and properly a Diocesan, having a determinate number of Pastors with the respective congregations, over whom he exercises ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and they have not only Bishops, but also Priests and Deacons, which are three distinct orders with them as they are with us (39).

(37) Page 8, second edition, 1716.

(38) Vide *Regenvolscii* Historia Ecclef. Slavon. Provin. edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1652, p. 314, &c.

(39) Sermon, as above, p. 14, &c.

[*P*] *Which afforded him a plentiful income of near five hundred pounds a year.*] It cannot well be imagined what the author of his life (40) means, when he makes this *wise* remark upon that occasion — 'Which 'was the utmost of his preferment, tho' the whole of 'it, when the salary of Curates and other charges 'were paid, was not full four hundred pounds a year 'clear.' But surely near four hundred pounds a year clear is very noble preferment; and so Dr Bennet thought it, as appears from the Dedication to his *Discourse of the ever Blessed Trinity in Unity*; in which he 'returns his humblest thanks to his most honoured Patrons for so remarkable an instance of their favour, as he wanted words to express; namely, Their conferring upon him, in the most generous and obliging manner, one of the most principal parochial benefices in the kingdom; in which (says he) 'as I have oppor- 'tunity of doing a large share of our Great Master's 'work, and thereby earning everlasting wages (which 'is the most valuable consideration), so I reap the ad- 'vantage of a *plentiful income*, which affords me even 'a temporal reward for the labours of my present sta- 'tion.' —— It seems Dr Hoadley, the present Bishop of Winchester, was very helpful to him, though privately, in obtaining that preferment.

(40) In the General Dictionary.

[*Q*] *A Discourse of the ever Blessed Trinity in Unity*, &c.] This he dedicated 'To his most honoured patrons (41) the Rev. Dr Henry Godolphin, Dean of St Paul's, London, and Provost of Eton college; the Rev. Dr William Stanley, Dean of St Asaph; the Rev. Dr John Younger, Dean of Sarum; and the Rev. Dr Francis Hare, Dean of Worcester; the Residentiaries of St Paul's, London.' It is the only book of his that has a Dedication. 'Tis dated, as well as the Preface, from Cripplegate, London, October 23, 1717. The occasion of this work he gives us in the following words (42). 'Every body knows, that many 'writers, of different spirits and abilities, attacked 'the Doctor [Dr Sam. Clarke, author of *The Scrip- 'ture Doctrine of the Trinity*] in different manners, as 'their inclinations or judgments led them. But not- 'withstanding this variety of opposition, I heartily 'wish I could not say, that what to me seemed in such 'a case the most desirable, or rather absolutely neces- 'sary, was totally neglected. For though much com- 'mendable zeal was spent against the book *in general*, '*and divers parcels* of it were particularly questioned 'and taken to pieces; yet none of the Doctor's ad- 'versaries attempted a confutation of *his whole scheme*; 'and a thorough examination of every branch of his 'doctrine.' This, as he says, a little lower, determined him to write *a full Reply* to that celebrated Treatise of his learned friend. ——— He spends the greater part of his Discourse, in proving *the Divinity of the Son*, or Second Person; as being the principal point in the whole controversy concerning the Trinity, and that which has been the most largely and warmly debated (43). After having given the occasion and design of his work, he treats, in chap. II. of the Paternity of God; and shews, That the very God is the Father of all mankind by a *general* Paternity, of all Christians by a *particular* or *fœderal* Paternity, and of our Lord Jesus Christ by a *special* Paternity. And in chap. IV. that God was *specially the Father* of the man Jesus Christ in these two respects, because he was to him instead of an human Father, and because he raised him from the dead. See *Rom.* i. 4. Chap. III. is concerning the Union of the Divine and Human Natures in our Lord Jesus Christ; in which he delivers it as his opinion, That Jesus Christ consists of the λόγος, or *Word* of God; of an human body, and an human soul; and concludes, That our Lord Jesus Christ was, and is, very man, consisting of an human Body, and an human Soul; and that to this Man the *Word* was, and is still united (44). In chap. V. he lays down the state of the Controversy between Dr Clarke and himself, in the following words. ''Tis 'confessed on both sides, 1. That the blessed Jesus, 'has a Divine Nature, viz. the Word. 2. That 'the Word, or Divine Nature of the blessed Jesus, 'is called God.' But the question is, *Whether the Word, or Divine Nature of the blessed Jesus, be the very God*, i. e. *the One self-existent Being*. 'I affirm '*that he is*; and you deny it, making him a Being 'distinct from, and inferior to, the one self-existent, 'or very God.' Before he comes to produce texts of Scripture to establish his opinion, he examines, in chapters VI. and VII. those several texts which speak of Christ's Humiliation, or Exaltation (particularly *Philipp.* ii. 5—11); in a word, all those that seem to intimate that Jesus Christ is inferior to the Father. And, in chap. VIII. endeavours to prove, *That during the time of our Saviour's ministry, the Disciples did not believe that he was any thing more than a mere Man, conducted and assisted by the Spirit of God*. As also, in chap. IX. *That during the time of our Saviour's ministry, the Word was quiescent in the Man Christ Jesus*. Next, he examines several other texts (45), particularly *Mark* xiii. 32. *John* xiv. 28, &c. and then concludes; that there is not one text which speaks of our Blessed Saviour, in such a manner as implies his being inferior to the very God, but what either necessarily must, or most fairly may, be understood of the Man Christ Jesus, or our Saviour's Human nature only. ——— Having thus cleared the way, he shews in chap. XII. 'That the Holy Scriptures do teach, that the Word 'or

(41) Patrons of St Giles Cripplegate, and by whom it was given him.

(42) Preface, p. 1.

(43) Preface, p. 3.

(44) Page 15.

(45) Chap. X. XI.

and other affairs, so engrossed his thoughts, that he had no time to undertake any new work; except an Hebrew Grammer [R], which was published at London in 1716, *8vo*, and is reckoned one of the best of the kind. He mentions indeed in one of his books (*k*), written about the year 1716, that he had then 'several tasks' in his hands, 'which 'would find him full employment for many years;' but whatever they might be, none of them were ever finished, or made publick. He died of an apoplexy at London, October the 9th, 1728, aged fifty-five years, five months, and two days; and was buried in his own church. As to his person, Dr Bennet was tall, and of a strong and robust constitution. He was a man of strong passions, and not without haughtiness, but of very great integrity. With regard to his learning, he was a perfect master of the Eastern, and other learned, languages; well skilled in controversy, and a valiant champion for the Church of England. We are moreover informed (*l*), that we have had few scholars, who have equalled him as an exact reasoner, and an accurate textuary; and that though he had an uncommon share of knowledge in various kinds of learning, he wisely gave himself up to the improvement of those talents, in which his chief excellence lay. One of his antagonists does not scruple to own (*m*), that he could truly esteem and respect him for his valuable abilities, for his industrious application of mind to an examination and enquiry into the important matters of our Christian religion, and for divers other worthy qualities; particularly for his candour and civility; and for his resolute contempt of those false topicks of persuasion, by which ignorant and degenerate minds are led captive into error, or lose the praise of it, if it should be into truth, *viz.* all human decisions, by Councils, or Churches authority, when their judgment is not agreeable to the Holy Scriptures: in which case, he speaks as if he had the courage and honesty to oppose the most triumphant errors of the age. Finally, he declares he esteemed him, for his zealous profession of integrity, and exciting others to act honestly and openly according to their judgments, and not to use arts of disguise and hypocrisy in sacred matters.

(*k*) Discourse of the ever blessed Trinity,&c. p. 3.

(*l*) See Weekly Miscellany, No. 113.

(*m*) T. Emlyn, in the Preface to his book mentioned below, note [Q].

'or Divine Nature of our Lord Jesus Christ is the 'very God.' And in chap. XIII. 'That the Holy 'Ghost is the very God.' Chap. XIV. 'is concerning 'the Trinity in Unity.' Wherein, among other things, he affirms (46), that 'the word *Person*, when applied 'to the Son and Holy Ghost, does not signify a di'stinct intelligent Being separate from the Father. 'For though we can't exactly define what a Divine 'Person is, yet we can say what 'tis not.' He sums up the whole in these words (47), 'Briefly therefore, 'the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, are one and 'the same Being with each other: That is, though 'they are distinct in, yet they are co-essential to, and 'necessarily constitutive of, one and the same Being. 'Even as the Soul and the Body are distinct in, though 'co-essential to, and necessarily constitutive of, the 'same being, Man.' —— He hath one particular notion, besides what hath been already mentioned, and that is, He supposes that the *Human Soul* of Christ *pre-existed* before his Incarnation (48), and was the Shechinah or habitation of the Glory of God the Father. But, at the Incarnation, this pre-existing Human Soul of Christ emptied himself of the Glory he had with God before the world was; and in that state of humiliation Christ did suffer and die for the sins of the whole world (49). At the end of the book there is a short 'Examination of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine 'of the Trinity.' —— Several Answers were returned to this Discourse: The 1st by Mr Thomas Emlyn, intitled, '*Dr Bennet*'s New Theory of the Trinity examined, or some Considerations on his *Discourse of 'the ever Blessed Trinity in Unity*, and his *Examination 'of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*.' Lond. 1718, 8vo. The 2d was by Mr John Jackson, Rector of Rossington in Yorkshire, under this title, 'A modest Plea for the Baptismal and Scripture notion 'of the Trinity. Wherein the schemes of the Rev. 'Dr Bennet and Dr Clarke are compared.' Lond. 1719. 8vo. The 3d was by William Stephens, M. A. one of the Vicars of Bampton, thus intitled, 'The 'Catholick Doctrine concerning the Union of the two 'Natures in the One Person of Christ stated and vin'dicated; a Sermon preached at the Triennial Visi'tation of the Right Reverend Father in God, John 'Lord Bishop of Oxford; held at Witney on Tuesday, 'July 21, 1719. In which also Dr Bennet's late no'tion of the total Quiescence of the Divine Nature in 'our Saviour during his Ministry, is considered and 'examined.' Oxford, 1719, 8vo.

(46) Page 218.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Page 70.

(49) Page 260.

[*R*] *Except an Hebrew Grammar*, &c.] It was intitled, Thomæ Bennet, S. T. P. *Grammatica* Hebræa *cum uberrimâ Praxi in usum tironum, qui Linguam Hebræam absque Præceptoris vivâ voce (idque in brevissimo temporis compendio) ediscere cupiunt. Accedit Consilium de studio præcipuarum Linguarum Orientalium, Hebrææ, scil. Chaldææ, Syriæ, Samaritanæ, & Arabicæ, instituendo, & perficiendo.* This Grammar was designed by the author for the use of such as want to learn Hebrew without the assistance of a master. C

BENTHAM (Thomas) a learned and pious English Divine, who was Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in the XVIth century, was born about the year 1513 (if about forty-six years of age when made a Bishop (*a*) in 1559) at Shirebourne in Yorkshire (*b*), and educated at Magdalen-college in Oxford (*c*). He took his Bachelor's degree in Arts, Feb. 20, 1543 (*d*), and was admitted Perpetual Fellow of that college, November 16, 1546, and took his Master's degree in Arts the year following (*e*), about which time he applied himself wholly to the study of Divinity and the Hebrew language, in which he was extremely well skilled, as well as in the Latin and Greek tongues (*f*). A certain author tells us, he was converted from Popery in the first year of Queen Mary (*g*), but we find him very zealous against the Popish religion during the reign of King Edward VI, upon which account, and his assisting one Henry Bull of the same college, in wresting the censer out of the hands of the Choristers, as they were about to offer their superstitious incense, he was ejected from his fellowship, by the Visitors appointed by Queen Mary to regulate the university (*h*) [*A*]; soon after which he retired to Zurich, and afterwards to Basil

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 192. p. 704.

(*b*) Bale de Script. sui Temporis, p. 113. Whitlocus.

(*c*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 293.

(*d*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 67.

(*e*) Wood's Fasti, p. 71.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ut supra. Whitlocus. See note [*D*].

(*g*) Anglorum Spec. in Yorkshire, p. 889.

(*h*) Laur. Humfred. in Vita & Morte J. Juelli, edit. 1573, p 72, 73.

[*A*] *He was ejected from his fellowship by the visitors, appointed by Queen Mary to regulate the university.*] Mr Wood informs us, that he was particularly obnoxious on account of his behaviour, for in Henry the

Basil in Swizterland, and became Preacher to the English Exiles there, and expounded to them the entire book of the Acts of the Apostles (*i*), a proper subject and portion of Scripture this, as Fuller observes (*k*), to recommend patience to his banished countrymen; as the Apostle's sufferings so far exceeded theirs: this exposition was left by him at the time of his death, very fairly written, and fit for the press, but Mr Wood knew not whether it was ever printed. In exile, as at home and in college, he led a praise-worthy, honest, and laborious life, with little or no preferment. Afterwards, being recalled by some of his brethren, he returned to London under the same Queen's reign, where he lived privately and in disguise, and was made Superintendant of a Protestant congregation in that city (*l*) [*B*], whom Bentham, by his pious discipline, diligent care and tuition, and bold and resolute behaviour in the Protestant cause [*C*], greatly confirmed in their faith and religion, so that they assembled with the greatest constancy to divine worship, at which there often appeared an hundred, sometimes two hundred persons; no inconsiderable congregation this to meet by stealth, notwithstanding the danger of the times, daily, together at London, under the nose of the vigilant and cruel Bonner (*m*). At length, when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, he was soon provided for, and was, in the second year of her reign, nominated for the See of Lichfield and Coventry (*n*), upon the deprivation of Dr Ralph Bayne, a violent persecuting Papist, and had the temporalities of that See restored to him, Feb. 20, 1559 (*o*), being then about forty-six years of age. On the thirtieth of October 1556, he was created, with some others, Professor of Divinity at London, by Laurence Humfrey, S. T. P. and John Kenal, LL.D. who were deputed by the university of Oxford for that purpose (*); and in the latter end of October, 1568, he was actually created Doctor of Divinity (*p*), being then highly esteemed on account of his distinguished learning. He published a Sermon on *Matth.* iv. 1—11. printed at London, 8*vo.* Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, tells us, that our author translated into English the Book of Psalms, at the command of Queen Elizabeth, when an English version of the Bible was to be made, and that he likewise translated Ezekiel and Daniel (*q*). He died at Eccleshal in Staffordshire (*r*), the seat belonging to the See, Feb. 19, 1578, aged sixty-five years, and was buried under the south wall of the chancel of that church, being succeeded in his bishoprick of Lichfield and Coventry, by Dr William Overton (*s*). He left a widow named Matilda, but we do not expresly find that he left any children; Brown Willis, however, mentions one Thomas Bentham, that was promoted to be Prebendary of Lichfield and Coventry, about two months after the decease of the Bishop (*t*), who might probably be his own son, as we find he had several children: see the description of his tomb in note [*D*].

BENTINCK.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ut supra.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 198.

(*l*) Being, says Wood and Heylyn, the only church that the Protestants had in those times.

(*m*) Heylyn's History of the Reformation. History of Queen Mary, p. 79, 80.

(*n*) Brown Willis says, his Congé D'Elire was dated Dec. 26, 1559; his election, Jan. 15; and consecration, March 24; in Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry, Vol. I. p. 392.

(*o*) Pat. 2 Eliz. Godwin. de Præsul. p. 325, edit. 1743.

(*) Registr. K.K. f. 36. 6. MS. Wood.

(*p*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 704.

(*q*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 376, 377, anno 1559.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 704.

(*s*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 392.

(*t*) Brown Willis, ubi supra, in the Prebendaries of Lichfield and Coventry, p. 454. April 24, 1578.

the Eighth's time he was only a complier with, no promoter of, Popery; but in the first year of Queen Mary, repenting his former compliance, he refused not only to say Mass, but to correct the scholars of the university for their absence from divine service. Wood's words are these (1). *Cum Thomæ autem Benthamo Decano præciperet antedictus Readus ut Juniores propter absentiam a sacris castigaret, respondet ille se quidem simulati sub Henrico VIII, cum Pontificiis consensus pœnitentiam egisse, neque ad repudiatum denuo cultum redire statuisse; iniquum vero ducens in illos animadvertere, quorum facta sciens ac volens imitaretur. Sodalitio itaque ejectus*, &c. That when the aforesaid Sir Richard Read, one of the Visitors, commanded Thomas Bentham, *as Dean of the college*, to correct the junior scholars for their absence from divine service, he made answer, He had indeed but too much already repented his ever having given a feigned compliance to the Popish religion in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, and was resolved never to return to that forsaken worship; and that he esteemed it unjust to punish that in others, which he himself would willingly and knowingly do; which (*with his other behaviour*) was the cause of his being deprived of his fellowship, &c. To this purpose also see Laurence Humfrey in the Life of Bishop Jewell (2).

[*B*] *Made Superintendant of a Protestant congregation of that city.*] Dr Heylyn informs us of this in his History of the Reformation (3), where he tells us also, that this *Mr Bentham continued Minister of the Protestant congregation in London 'till Queen Mary died; and that by the encouragement and constant preaching of this pious man, the Protestant party did not only stand to their former principle, but were resolved to suffer whatsoever could be laid on them, rather than forfeit a good conscience.*

[*C*] *By his bold and resolute behaviour in the Protestant cause.*] For when it was strictly charged and commanded, *that no man should either pray for, or speak to, or once say, God bless them* (that is, persons condemned, or about to suffer for their religion), notwithstanding this rigid proclamation, Bentham seeing the fire set to some of them, turning his eyes to the people, said, *We know they are people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish them well, and say, God strengthen them*; and so he boldly cried out, *Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them*; upon which all the people with one accord, cried, *Amen, Amen.* The noise whereof was so great, and the cryers so many, that the officers knew not whom they were to seize on, or with whom they were to begin their accusation (4).

[*D*] *And was buried in the chancel of the church there.*] Having over his grave a stone of alabaster, with the effigies of himself, his wife and four children, inscribed with the two following verses.

Hâc jacet in Tumbâ Benthamus Episcopus ille
Doctus, Divinus, Largus, pascens, pius, Almus.
Obiit 19 Feb: 1578: (5)

Bentham the Prelate-good these stones enshrine,
A pious Pastor, and a learn'd Divine.

But the three last words, and the date of his death, is torn off. Some authors make the date of his death the 21st of February, 1578, and give us, nevertheless this his epitaph, with the date annexed, as above.

To these verses on his tomb we may likewise add the following distich, which Laurence Humfrey, in his Life of Bishop Jewell, tells us was made by a nobleman, a scholar of his, upon Bentham's being constituted Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (6).

Clarus Doctrinâ, Clarus pietate, fideque
Benthamus Christi præsul et exul erat.

Religion, learning, faith, are Bentham's fame,
Prelate and exile, Christian still the same.

To these verses we shall add another small character of him, which though repeated already in the text, may not be improperly inserted here from the original. *De Thomâ nostro sic scribit* Whitlocus, *vir fuit in omni generi doctrinæ feliciter educatus infra academiam Oxoniensem, ibique theologiam professus, inque Trans-*

(1) Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis, lib. i. p. 275.

(2) L. Humfred. in Vita, &c. J. Juelli, ut supra.

(3) Dr Heylyn's Hist. of Reformation, p. 80. History of Queen Mary.

(4) Heylyn's History of the Reformation. History of Queen Mary, p. 79, 80.

(5) Brown Willis has it Doctor in Lichfield and Coventry, p. 392.

(6) Laurence Humfred, in Vita & Morte.

marinis academiis per certos annos feliciter in studiis versatus, Linguæ sanctæ callentissimus, Græci non minus quam Latini Sermone peritus, &c (7). Of our Thomas thus writes Whitlock. — 'He was a man 'happily educated in all kind of learning at the uni'versity of Oxford, where he professedly studied 'Theology, and in foreign academies for several years, 'being no less studious and diligent, made a great 'progress in all parts of Literature, he was excellently 'well skilled in the Hebrew language, as well as the 'Greek and Latin tongues, &c.' R

(7) Godwin, de Præsulibus, p. 325, edit. 1743.

BENTINCK, or BENTHINCK (WILLIAM) Earl of Portland, &c. one of the greatest Statesmen of his time, and the first that advanced his family to the dignity of the English peerage. M. Bentinck was a native of Holland, being descended of an antient and noble family of that name in the province of Guelderland (*a*) [*A*]. After a liberal education, he was, by the interest of his friends, promoted to be Page of Honour to William, then Prince of Orange, (afterwards King William III. of England) in which station, his good behaviour and address so recommended him to the favour of his master, that he preferred him to the more honourable post of Gentleman of his Bedchamber. In this capacity he accompanied the Prince into England, in the year 1670; where, going to visit the university of Oxford, he was, along with the Prince, created Doctor of Civil Law (*b*). In 1672, the Prince of Orange being made Captain-General of the Dutch forces, and soon after Stadtholder, M. Bentinck was promoted, and had a share in his good fortune, being made Colonel and Captain of the Dutch regiment of guards, afterwards esteemed one of the finest in King's William's service, and which behaved with the greatest gallantry in the wars both in Flanders and Ireland. In 1675, the Prince falling ill of the small-pox, M. Bentinck had an opportunity of signalizing his love and affection for his master, in an extraordinary manner, and thereby of obtaining his esteem and friendship, by one of the most generous actions imaginable; for the small-pox not rising kindly upon the Prince, his Physicians judged it necessary, that some young person should lie in the same bed with him, imagining that the natural heat of another, would drive out the disease, and expel it from the nobler parts (*c*): no body of quality could be found in all the Court to make this experiment; at last, M. Bentinck, though he had never had the small-pox, resolved to run the risque, and accordingly attended the Prince during the whole course of his illness, both day and night; nothing was given him, nor was he ever removed in his bed by any other hand; and his Highness said afterwards, that he believed M. Bentinck never slept, for sixteen days and nights, he never called once, that he was not answered by him as if he had been awake (*d*). It is from this time we may date that intimacy, and particular affection, which his Highness ever after shewed to M. Bentinck, who, upon the Prince's recovery, was immediately seized with the same distemper, and attended with a great deal of danger, but however recovered, just soon enough to attend his Highness into the field, where he was always next his person; and his courage and abilities equally answered the great opinion his Highness had of him, who ever found him an excellent counsellor and faithful servant, and from hence forward employed him in his most secret and important affairs (*). In the year 1677, M. Bentinck was sent by the Prince of Orange into England, to sollicit a match with the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of James, at that time Duke of York (afterwards King James II.) which was soon after concluded [*B*]. And in 1685, upon the Duke of Monmouth's invasion of this kingdom, he was sent over to King James to offer him his master's assistance, both of his troops and person, to head them against the rebels (†). But, through a misconstruction put on his message, his Highness's offer was rejected by the King [*C*]. In the year

(*a*) History of Europe, anno 1709.

(*b*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. p. 857.

(*c*) Political Remarks on the Life and Reign of King William III.

(*d*) Life of King William, p. 55, 56. 12mo.

(*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 309.

(†) Rapin's Hist. of England. Echard, Kennet, &c.

[*A*] *Descended of an antient and noble family of that name*, &c.] He was the son of Henry Bentinck, *Heer van Diepin*, whose father *Bentinck* had also issue, *Joseph Bentinck*, a General Officer in the service of the States of Holland; and four daughters, *Eleanor*, married to the Baron of *Nienuren Huishen* in *Overyssel*; *Anne*, married to the Baron *Van Zandenburgh* in *Utrecht*; *Sophia*, wife to the Baron *Van Engelenburgh*; and *Joanna-Maria van Bentinck*, who died unmarried, anno 1705 (1).

[*B*] *To sollicit a match with the Princess Mary, which was soon after concluded.*] The Prince of Orange had unbosomed himself on this delicate affair of his marriage to Sir William Temple, when his Highness was upon the point of opening the campaign the preceding year (2). Lord Danby, however assures us (3), that it was not 'till May, 1677, that this project was ripe enough to be communicated to King Charles, nor 'till at least two months after that his Majesty gave any hopes of his allowing any treaty about it; and though the Prince sent M. Bentinck over into England about the beginning of June, to desire leave to make a journey thither as soon as the campaign was over, his Majesty civilly discouraged it, by expressing his wishes that he would first think of making a peace, and rather defer his journey 'till that was concluded. M. Bentinck was nevertheless most graciously received by the King (4), and most cordially by the Lord Treasurer, and returned home with a promise, that his Majesty would enter into a confidence with the Prince, and would send over to him a person he could rely upon to carry on the correspondence between them (5). Accordingly the Prince came over to England in October following, and in less than a month after his marriage with the Princess Mary was solemnized.

[*C*] *But through a misconstruction put on his message, his Highness's offer was rejected by the King.*] The affair was this: The Prince of Orange, we are told by Bishop Kennet (6), sent over his favourite, M. Bentinck, to acquaint King James, that though he looked upon the Duke of Monmouth to be a man of no great parts, yet that he had a warlike genius, and was better skilled in the military art than any the King had to employ against him, and therefore if his Majesty pleased, he would not only lend him his troops, but come in person to head his army. The same offer had been before communicated to Skelton the King's Minister at the Hague, who was either so jealous of the Prince, or so malicious to him, that he gave the King notice of it with a wrong turn of suspicion and fear; so that the King put off M. Bentinck with desiring him to acquaint his Master, that their common interest required the Prince's staying in Holland; and farther opened his mind to him in such terms, as sufficiently

(1) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 309.

(2) Temple's Memoirs, p. 11.

(3) Danby's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 286.

(4) Danby's Memoirs.

(5) Sir William Temple's Letters, &c. p. 45[illegible]

(6) Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 4[illegible]

year 1688, when the Prince of Orange intended an expedition into England, he sent M. Bentinck, on the Elector of Brandenburgh's death, with his compliments to the new Elector, and also to lay before him the state of affairs, to communicate to him his design upon England, and to sollicit his assistance to put it in execution, &c. In this negociation M. Bentinck was so succesful, that he carried to his master a more favourable and satisfactory answer than the Prince had expected; the Elector having generously granted even more than was asked of him (*e*). M. Bentinck had also a great share in the glorious Revolution, on which our present happy establishment is founded; in which difficult and important affair, he shewed all the prudence and sagacity of the most consummate and able Statesman. It was he that was applied to, as the person in the greatest confidence with the Prince, to manage the negociations that were set on foot, betwixt his Highness and the English nobility and gentry, who had recourse to him, to rescue them from the danger they were in [*D*]. And he was two months constantly at the Hague, giving the necessary orders for the Prince's expedition, which was managed by him with such secrecy, that nothing was suspected all the time; and never was so great a design executed in so short a time, a transport fleet of 500 vessels having been hired in three days (*f*). M. Bentinck accompanied the Prince in his expedition to England; and after King James's abdication, during the interregnum, he held the first place among those who composed the Prince's cabinet at that critical time, and that, in such a degree of super-eminence, as scarce left room for a second; and we may be sure he was not wanting, as far as his services could avail, in endeavouring to procure the Crown for the Prince his master [*E*], who, when he had

(*e*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 757.

(*f*) Burnet's History of his own Times.

ficiently discovered that he did not take his Highness's zeal for his service to be at that time seasonable. Mr Echard (7) follows the Bishop step by step in this account, but with some additional bitterness; for, according to him, Skelton looked on the Prince as one of those Politicians whose steps are always suspicious. Both copy after Father Orleans (8), who imputes his Highness's zeal on this occasion to his rage against the Duke of Monmouth for assuming the title of King, as he had just done, and which he would have us believe was contrary to the agreement between them. However this be, M. Bentinck unfortunately had his audience at Whitehall on the very day that Monmouth was proclaimed at Tauton, which to be sure gave a disrelish to his embassy, though he had also orders from the States of Holland, as well as from the Prince of Orange, to make a tender of whatever forces his Majesty should have occasion for; and it is but reasonable to think that both were sincere, for it was the real interest of the States to secure the friendship of the King; and whatever distant views the Prince had entertained, it was notoriously his immediate concern to crush as soon as possible so dangerous a rival as the Duke of Monmouth. Orleans, as Dr Burnet tells the story (9), would have us believe that King James had formed a design to get the Duke seized at the Hague, which the Prince having notice of, sent M. Bentinck to make his Grace acquainted with it, as also to furnish him with money, and that Skelton actually seized certain papers at the Duke's house, after he was withdrawn, which contained positive proofs of the correspondence which had been kept up between his Grace and M. Bentinck. He further insinuates, that there was a sort of contract between the Prince and the Duke, by which the latter stood engaged to make a transfer of whatever conquests he should make to his Highness; and that how little soever there was of the Politician in his Grace, he made such counter professions to the Prince and his republican followers, with no other view than to deceive both. Others are of opinion (10), that the Prince was not the man imposed on, but that under his shew of kindness to Monmouth there was nothing real; that he looked upon him as one who stood in his way to the Crown he had so long aimed at, and was willing to be rid of him; and accordingly took his measures for the ruin of the man he pretended to aid. But this, as well as the pretended correspondence between the Duke and M. Bentinck, is all to be looked upon as the blast of a malevolent faction. The whole course of the Duke of Monmouth's expedition contains a series of proofs that he was a meer adventurer, (and a very unfortunate one) without any alliance of any kind to support him.

(7) Echard's History of England.

(8) Orleans's Hist. of the Revolution.

(9) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II.

(10) Caveat against the Whigs, P. ii. p. 14.

[*D*] *Who had recourse to him to rescue them from the danger they were in.*] In the State Tracts of those times, there is a piece intitled, 'A Memorial 'of the English Protestants to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange, concerning their grievances, and the birth of the pretended 'Prince of Wales.' Which was sent by express to M. Bentinck, and addressed to him to be communicated to the Prince and Princess. It is without name or date, and those who sent it conclude their billet to M. Bentinck, with a compliment upon his fidelity to the Prince, and a hint, *that he might hereafter know who they were.* It is calculated to prove, that the people of England had a right to call upon their Highnesses for assistance, and that their Highnesses had an equal right to grant it.

[*E*] *He was not wanting, as far as his endeavours could avail, in endeavouring to procure the Crown for the Prince his master.*] After the throne was declared vacant upon King James's abdication, and the question arose who should fill it, several consultations were held thereupon by many who formed themselves into parties, and, among the rest, we find M. Bentinck labouring to procure the Crown for the Prince of Orange alone, as we learn from Bishop Burnet, who, speaking of Lord Hallifax's project to compliment the Prince with the Throne at the expence of the two Princesses, who were not to enjoy it 'till after the Prince's death, says thus (11). 'How far the 'Prince himself entertained this, I cannot tell; but 'I saw it made a great impression upon Bentinck. 'He spoke of it to me, as asking my opinion about 'it, but so that I plainly saw what was his own; for 'he gave me all the arguments that were offered for 'it, as that it was most natural that the sovereign 'power should be only in one person; that a man's 'wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a suitable return to the Prince for what he had done for 'the nation; that a divided Sovereignty was liable to 'great inconveniencies; and though there was less to 'be apprehended from the Princess of any thing of 'that kind, than from any woman alive, yet all mortals are frail, and might at some time or other of 'their lives be wrought on.' The Bishop says, he opposed this very warmly, and used many arguments against it; and adds, 'We talked over the whole 'thing for many hours, 'till it was pretty far in the 'morning. I saw he was well instructed in the argument, and he himself was possessed with it: So next 'morning I came to him, and desired my *Congé*. I 'would oppose nothing in which the Prince seemed to 'be concerned, as long as I was his servant, and 'therefore I desired to be disengaged, that I might 'be free to oppose this proposition with all the 'strength and credit I had (12).' To this M. Bentinck replied, 'that it was time enough for me to do 'that when any step was taken, but 'till then, he 'wished I would stay where I was.'

(11) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I.

(12) Burnet, ibid.

As M. Bentinck was at this time, as it were, the Prince's second self, we may conclude that his Highness was the prompter in this discourse; and indeed by what follows, it appears pretty plainly he was so; for we are told (13), that among other consultations held in several places about these matters, there was one appointed at Mr William Herbert's lodgings at St James's, who

(13) Burnet, Vol. II.

had obtained it, was as forward on his part, in rewarding the faithful and signal services of M. Bentinck, as the sequel of his life will demonstrate. Immediately upon the Prince's accession to the British crown, M. Bentinck was made Groom of the Stole, Privy-Purse, first Gentleman of the Royal Bedchamber, and was the first commoner upon the list of Privy-Counsellors; and, to fit him for greater honours, was soon after naturalized by act of Parliament (*g*); and by letters patent bearing date the ninth day of April 1689, two days before the King and Queen's coronation, he was created Baron of Cirencester, Viscount Woodstock, and Earl of Portland [*F*]. In the year 1690, the Earl of Portland, with many others of the English nobility, attended King William to Holland, where the Earl acted as Envoy for his Majesty, at the Grand Congress held at the Hague the same year (*h*); an assembly the most honourable to the English nation, that is any where to be read of [*G*]. In the year 1695, King William made this nobleman a grant of the lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, Yale, and other lands, containing many thousand acres, in the principality of Wales, which being part of the Demesne thereof, the grant was opposed, and the House of Commons addressed the King to put a stop to the passing it, which his Majesty accordingly complied with, and recalled the grant, promising, however, to find some other way of shewing his favour to Lord Portland, who, he said, had deserved it by long and faithful services, and this promise the King soon after made good. There was scarce any thing that came under the consideration of Parliament during the reign of King William, that made so great a stir and noise, as this affair of the grant to the Earl of Portland, and we have therefore given a more particular account of it in the notes [*H*]. It

(*g*) Hist. of Europe, anno 1709. Peerage of England. Continuation of the History of England, Vol. II. p. 58, 71. Complete Hist. Vol. III. p. 612.

(*h*) Prior's Hist. of his own Time, p. 10.

who was then ill of the Gout, and so concerned at the great Favourite's urging it was best to make the Princess no Sovereign, and only a Queen-Consort, that, rising out of bed with earnestness, he protested against ever drawing a sword on the Prince's side, if he could have imagined him capable of such usage to his wife. This so alarmed and convinced M. Bentinck of the impossibility of obtaining a point, which even so interested a Courtier as Herbert refused comply in, that in half an hour's time he brought them assurance from the Prince of his not insisting on it, and of his being content with a conjunctive Sovereignty, on condition he might have the sole administration; which last they consented to, because the Princess desired it.

[*F*] *Was created Earl of Portland.*] The isle of Portland was first dignified with the title of an Earldom in the person of Richard Weston, created Earl of Portland by King Charles I, 1632 (14); in which family the title became extinct at the death of his son Thomas, and was not revived again 'till now in the person of M. Bentinck.

(14) Collier's great Historical Dictionary, Vol. II.

[*G*] *An assembly the most honourable to the English nation, that is any where to be read of.*] King William's favourite project, during his whole government both in Holland and England, was to humble the French King, who had rendered himself formidable not only to Protestants, but even to all the Catholic Princes in Christendom. On this principle was formed the Grand Alliance, at the head of which was King William, who had the pleasure to see half Europe unite under his conduct, and a Senate of Princes meet to assist his councils and second his wishes. We need but mention the number of illustrious persons who met at the Hague upon this occasion, to form an idea of the splendor of this assembly. Besides two Electors of the Empire, there were near sixty foreign Princes, Landgraves, Dukes, Counts, Generals, &c. near twenty of the English nobility, and Envoys from most of the Kings and foreign Princes of Europe; the whole forming a more glorious constellation than any age can parallel (15).

(15) Prior's Negociations, p. 6, & seq.

[*H*] *We have therefore given a more particular account of it in the notes.*] In order to be acquainted with the nature of this Grant, and the reasons that occasioned it's opposition, we must attend to the arguments made use of by the Gentlemen who opposed it. These were collected together, and printed in a pamphlet, under the title in the margin (16). According to our Historians (17), the Earl of Portland had begged of his Majesty the grant of these Lordships, which he readily obtained, to him and his heirs for ever. The warrant for this Grant coming to the Lords of the Treasury, the Gentlemen of the county had notice of it, that they might be heard if they had any thing to object against it. Accordingly several of them attended, and were heard before the Lord Godolphin, Sir William Trumbull, Sir Stephen Fox, and John Smith, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer; when Sir William Williams, son of a Divine of that country,

(16) Speech of an antient Briton in Parliament, against an exorbitant Grant, &c. London, 1708.

(17) Kennet, and Oldmixon.

alledged, 'that these Lordships were the antient Demeines of the Prince of Wales; that the Welsh were never subject to any but God and the King; that in the Statute for granting fee-farm rents, there was an exception of the rents belonging to the Principality of Wales, which imported that the Parliament took those revenues to be unalienable; that upon creation of a Prince of Wales, there were many acknowledgments payable out of those Lordships; and though there was at present no Prince of Wales, yet he hoped to see one of the King's own body, &c.' Sir Roger Puleston argued, 'That the revenues of those Lordships supported the government of Wales, by paying the Judges and other officers, their stated salaries, and, if given away, there would be a failure of justice.' Mr Price, a Lawyer of Herefordshire, afterwards made a Baron of the Exchequer, made a long and very warm speech against the Grant. 'He said, it was of a large extent, being five parts in six of a whole county, which was too great a power for any foreign subject to have; that the people of the country were too great to be subject to any Foreigner; that there are fifty mean Lordships held under those manors, and above fifteen hundred Freeholders; that Courts were kept in all those Lordships in the King's name; that all or most of the Gentry of that county were tenants to the King, and suitors to his Court, and thereby obliged to the King by a double allegiance, their general allegiance as subjects, and their particular allegiance as tenants; and if the King gave away one, it was to be feared it would lessen the bounds of the other, since it is observable that interest and property have an ascendant over duty; that this revenue belongs to the Prince of Wales, in failure of whom it vesteth in the Crown, rather as an usufracture than a property, 'till a Prince be created; that the King having only an estate for life in possession, in the Crown, by the Act of Settlement, how can he grant away the inheritance and absolute fee of the Principality of Wales? that it was not for the King's honour or interest that he daily gave away the revenues of the Crown, and, what is more, the perpetuity of them to his foreign subjects, &c.' When he had done speaking, the Lord Godolphin asked, If the Earl of Leicester had not those Lordships in grant to him in Queen Elizabeth's time? To which Sir Robert Cotton answered, 'That the Earl of Leicester had but one of those Grants, which was Denbigh; that he was so oppressive to the Gentry of the county, that he occasioned them to take up arms and oppose him, for which three or four of his (Sir Robert Cotton's) relations were hanged; but it ended not there, for the quarrel was still kept on foot, and the Earl, glad to be in peace, granted it back to the Queen, since which it had always been in the Crown.' Lord Godolphin then said, they had offered many weighty reasons, which should be represented to his Majesty. ——— From the Treasury the

It was to this nobleman, that the horrid plot for aſſaſſinating King William, in the year 1695,

the Gentlemen of Wales attended the Grant to the Privy-Seal, where their reaſons and complaints were heard, and received with great candour and impartiality, and the Grant was ſuperſeded; but this did not content them, they muſt have it recalled, and ſo brought the affair into the Houſe of Commons, by a petition ſigned by Sir Thomas Groſvenor, Sir Richard Middleton, Sir John Conway, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Roger Puleſton, Edward Vaughan, Eſq; Edward Brereton, Eſq; and Robert Price, Eſq; the Gentleman beforementioned, who ſpoke to it in Parliament, where he was a Member, in the ſame ſtile as he had before in the Treaſury. It cannot be amiſs to give the reader the ſubſtance of this memorable ſpeech, which was much taken notice of for ſome very ſevere reflections upon the Grant and Grantee. We ſhall do this in as few words as poſſible. Among many other things, ſays he, 'If I could conceive how the glory or grandeur 'of England was, or could be, upheld by a poor land-'leſs crown, and a miſerable, neceſſitous people, I 'could then be eaſily perſuaded to believe that his 'Majeſty was well adviſed to grant away all the re-'venues of the Crown, and that his Government 'would be thereby well ſecured, and his people beſt 'protected when they had little or nothing left; but 'I am ſure they were not Engliſh, but foreign Poli-'ticians, who might revere the King, and yet hate his 'people. That the Kings of England always reigned 'beſt when they had the affections of their ſubjects, 'of which they were ſecure, when the people were 'ſenſible the King was entirely in their intereſt, and 'loved the Engliſh ſoil as well as the people's money, '&c.

'The great Lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and 'Yale, in the county of Denbigh, for ſome centuries 'have been the revenues of the Kings of England 'and Princes of Wales, and contain thirty miles in ex-'tent; the preſent rents to the Crown are but 1000 l. '*per annum*, beſides reliefs, miſes, waſtes, eſtreats, 'perquiſites of Courts, and other contingent profits; 'there are alſo great profitable waſtes of ſeveral thou-'ſand acres of rich and valuable mines, beſides other 'great advantages a mighty favourite and great Cour-'tier might make. That they had found, that not 'only the three Lordſhips, but near 3000 *l. per annum* 'of their antient inheritance was expreſsly granted; ſo 'that if all had been preſented that was comprized in 'the Grant, it had been a very noble Royal gift, 'worth at leaſt 100,000 *l.* nor was that Grant for any 'ſhort time to this noble Lord, but to him and his 'heirs for ever; and yet not much to the advantage 'of the Crown, having only a reſervation of ſix ſhil-'lings and eight-pence a year, to the King and his 'ſucceſſors.

'Theſe Royal dominions in moſt reigns have been 'attacked by great and powerful favourites; for in 'the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ſome of them were 'granted to ſome of her creatures, but attended with 'ſo many law-ſuits and general diſtractions, that the 'Queen interpoſed, and the Freeholders gave large 'compoſitions for their peace, the Queen confirming 'their eſtates by a Charter. In the fourth year of 'King James the Firſt, theſe Lordſhips were ſettled 'on his heirs, Kings of England, but his ſervants got 'ſome Grants of moſt part of that revenue, which 'proved ſo vexatious and troubleſome to the country, 'that the Freeholders came to another compoſition, 'and gave 10,000 *l.* for their peace, and had another 'Charter of confirmation of their rights, and for 'ſettling of their eſtates, tenures, &c. which was con-'firmed in Parliament in the fifth of King Charles the 'Firſt. In the late reign (*however calumniated*) 'there were many and great applications made for 'Grants of ſome lands of theſe Lordſhips, which were 'always rejected, as too powerful for a ſubject. If 'part were ſo, what would the whole be?

'Hiſtory and Records tell us, that the Grants of 'theſe Lordſhips have ever been fatal either to the 'Prince or Potentate: the one either loſing his Crown, 'or the other his head: 'Tis therefore dangerous med-'dling with ſuch ominous bounties.

'There is a great duty lies upon the Freeholders 'of theſe Lordſhips on the creation of the Prince of 'Wales; they pay a fine of 800 *l.* for miſes, which 'is ſuch a duty, ſervice or tenure, that is not to be 'ſever'd from the Prince of Wales; and it will be 'very difficult to find how this tenure can be made 'reconcileable to this noble Lord's Grant. If we are 'to pay theſe miſes to this noble Lord, then he is '*quaſi* a Prince of Wales, for this duty was never 'paid to any other; but if it is to be paid to the 'Prince of Wales, and to this noble Lord too, then 'are we doubly charged; but if it be to the Prince of 'Wales, when he has no Royalty left in that domini-'on, and not to this noble Lord, (who by this Grant 'is to have the whole Lordſhips) it relates a repug-'nancy in the tenure of our eſtates.

'Far be it from me to ſpeak any thing in derogation 'of his Majeſty's honour, or care for us. It cannot be 'expected he ſhould know our laws, who is a ſtranger 'to us, and we to him, any more than we do his 'councils, (which I wiſh we did) I mean thoſe of his 'now immediate adviſers and Miniſters, through whoſe 'hands this Grant did paſs, by adviſing the King to 'grant what by law he could not. Theſe Counſellers 'and Miniſters are guilty of the higheſt violation of the 'laws and liberties of England, and ſtrike at the very 'foundation of ſucceſſion, and tear up the Bill of rights 'and privileges by the root. It was their province 'and duty to have acquainted the King of his power 'and intereſt, that the antient revenues of the Crown 'are ſacred, and unalienable in the time of war and 'peoples neceſſities.

'The Commons of England always entertained an 'honourable jealouſy of their Prince, when they per-'ceived their expences at home or abroad, or their 'gifts or boons to favourites, to be too large and ex-'orbitant. When our Princes entertained Foreigners 'of their council and chief adviſers, the people of 'England were reſtleſs and uneaſy, 'till they were re-'moved out of the King's preſence, nay out of the 'nation; and in Hiſtory and Parliament are many in-'ſtances of this, where great men (favourites) pro-'cured to themſelves too large a proportion of the 'Royal revenues. How can we hope for happy days 'in England, when this great Lord and the other 'Foreigners, though naturalized, are in the Engliſh, 'and alſo in the Dutch councils: If theſe ſtrangers, 'thou now confederates, ſhould be of different intereſts, 'to which is it to be ſuppoſed theſe great foreign coun-'ſellors and favourites would adhere? I ſhall make 'no ſevere remarks upon this great man, for his great-'neſs makes us little, and will make the Crown both 'poor and precarious. I deſire redreſs rather than 'puniſhment; therefore I ſhall neither move for an 'impeachment againſt this noble Lord, nor for the 'baniſhment of him, but ſhall only beg, that he may 'have no power over us, nor we any dependance upon 'him. I therefore move, that an addreſs be made to 'his Majeſty to ſtop the Grant that is paſſing to the 'Earl of Portland, of the Lordſhips of Denbigh, 'Bromfield, and Yale, and other lands in the Princi-'pality of Wales, and that the ſame be not granted 'but by conſent of Parliament.'

This bold ſpeech made ſo great an impreſſion, that Mr Price's motion was carried by unanimous conſent, and on January the 22d the following addreſs (which ſhews the juſt ſenſe the Commons had of the vaſt importance of theſe Grants to the Crown, and the ill conſequences of ſeparating them therefrom) was preſented to the King by the Speaker, attended by the whole Houſe.

'May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

'WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal 'ſubjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Bur-'geſſes in Parliament aſſembled, humbly lay before 'your Majeſty, that whereas there is a Grant paſſing 'to William Earl of Portland and his heirs, of the 'manors of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and di-'vers other lands in the Principality of Wales, together 'with ſeveral eſtates of inheritance, enjoyed by many 'of your Majeſty's ſubjects by virtue of antient Grants 'from the Crown.

'That the ſaid manors, with the large and ex-'tenſive regalities, powers, and juriſdictions to the 'ſame belonging, are of great concern to your 'Majeſty

1695, was first discovered; and his Lordship, by his wise counsel and indefatigable zeal, was very instrumental in bringing to light the whole of that execrable scheme [I]. The same

'Majesty and the Crown of this realm; and that the 'same have been usually annexed to the Principality 'of Wales, and settled on the Princes of Wales for 'their support; and that a great number of your Ma'jesty's subjects in those parts hold their estates by 'Royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, 'rents, Royal payments, and services to the Crown 'and Princes of Wales; and have by such tenure great 'dependance on your Majesty and the Crown of Eng'land; and have enjoyed great privileges and advan'tages with their estates under such tenure.

'We therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, 'to put a stop to the passing this Grant to the Earl of 'Portland, of the said manors and lands; and that the 'same may not be disposed from the Crown, but by 'consent of Parliament; for that such Grant is in di'minution of the honour and interest of the Crown, 'by placing in a subject such large and extensive roy'alties, powers, and jurisdictions, which ought only 'to be in the Crown, and will sever that dependance 'which so great a number of your Majesty's subjects 'in those parts have on your Majesty and the Crown, 'by reason of their tenure, and may be to their great 'oppression in those rights which they have purchased, 'and hitherto enjoyed with their estates; and also an 'occasion of great vexation to many of your Majesty's 'subjects, who have long had the absolute inheritance 'of several lands (comprehended in the said Grant to 'the Earl of Portland) by antient Grants from the 'Crown.'

To which his Majesty was pleased to return this answer.

GENTLEMEN,

'I Have a kindness for my Lord Portland, which 'he has deserved of me by long and faithful ser'vices; but I should not have given him these lands, 'if I had imagined the House of Commons could have 'been concerned; I will therefore re-call the Grant, 'and find some other way of shewing my favour to 'him.'

It must be owned, that the Grant of these parcels of the Principality of Wales was unadvisedly, or ill advisedly, done; and the Lord Portland was blamed by the King's friends for procuring it of his Majesty; the disaffected called him in derision our new Prince of Wales; and hence the opposition made thereto was extremely just and noble, in those whose only views were the saving those lands from alienation; yet, if it had been carried on with more temper and moderation, (we might say decency) it had gained a more general applause; but Mr Price's great zeal for his country transported him beyond the bounds of decency, and his angry speech favours much of party-pique and discontent, and shews him to have been no hearty friend to the Revolution.

It was not long after King William re-called these Grants, before his Majesty found means to make Lord Portland others, in recompence for the revenues of the Principality of Wales, *viz.* a Grant of certain buildings in Whitehall for forty-five years, at the rent of six shillings and eight-pence; a Grant of the manor of Grantham in the county of Lincoln, Honour of Penrith in the county of Cumberland, manor of Dracklow and Rudneth in Cheshire, manor of Torrington in Norfolk, manors of Partington, Bristol-Garth, Homsey, Thwing, Burnisley, and Leven, in the county of York, all parcel of the antient revenue of the Crown of England; the manor of Pevensey in the county of Sussex, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, and all the lands and tenements, &c. thereunto belonging, to hold to his Lordship and his heirs; and also his majesty's manor of East-Greenwich in the county of Kent, under the rent of 4 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* a year. There was also granted to his Lordship all the little remainder of the fee-farm rents, worth to be sold above 24000 *l.* which last Grant was afterwards vacated by the said Earl (18).

(18) Debates in Parliament, by Chandler, anno 1696.

Though Lord Portland was suffered to possess these Grants quietly during King William's reign, yet there was an attempt in the next reign to have them, and other Grants of King William, re-called, in a pamphlet published in 1703, intitled, 'The Exorbitant 'Grants of William the Third examined and que'stioned; shewing the nature of Grants in successive 'and elective Monarchies; and proving by Law 'and History, that Crown-lands are inalienable, that 'resumptions were common all the world over, and 'that where a Prince hath no hereditary title, he can'make no hereditary right; and that Kings set up by 'Parliament can dispose of no lands but with consent 'of Parliament, which renders William the Third's 'Grants totally void.' This pamphlet is addressed to Queen Anne, and is declared in the Dedication to her Majesty, that it is intended to bring back those valuable branches of the revenue, which her predecessor had lopt from the Crown. It is a very bold piece, and makes very free with King William, falling foul on his miscarriages, even in the dedication. How it was received we know not, but the attempt proved vain and fruitless.

[I] *And his Lordship by his wise counsel and indefatigable zeal, was very instrumental in bringing to light the whole of that execrable scheme.*] The person who first discovered the conspiracy to Lord Portland, was one Captain Fisher (19), one of the conspirators. His first opening of the plot to his Lordship was only five days before it was to have been executed. He gave the Earl an account not only of the design itself, but also of the manner in which it was to have been executed, but peremptorily refused to tell the names of the actors, which made the King, when Lord Portland told him of it, conclude that it was only a story invented to affright him with a false alarm; and so his Majesty, notwithstanding Fisher's story, gave orders for hunting on the very day appointed by the conspirators for the execution of their bloody design, and he could not have avoided the blow had it not been for a special act of providence; for the very next day before it was to have been committed, February the 14th, Lord Portland as he was returning, from visiting his daughter the Countess of Essex, to Kensington, where the Court then was, very luckily recollected, that he had appointed a person to come to him upon business that evening in town, so he turned back again to his lodgings at Whitehall, where, besides the person he expected, he found a stranger waiting for him, who told him he had an affair of very great importance to communicate to his Lordship, and going close up to him, without further ceremony, thus bluntly accosted him. 'Pray, my Lord, persuade the King to stay at 'home to-morrow, for if he goes to hunt, he will be 'murdered.' He then confirmed Fisher's account of the plot, but insisted, as a condition of his further discovery, that he should not be made use of as an evidence. He added, that his name was Pendergrass, and that as his business required all possible dispatch, he thought he could not make his address to a person that would be more careful than his Lordship, who left no means unattempted to persuade Pendergrass to name the conspirators, which he resisted with an invincible constancy. When the Earl came to Kensington, which, notwithstanding all the haste he could make, was very late, he found the King was retired, and had given the necessary orders for hunting the next day, and even the fresh confirmation he received of the conspiracy to murder him, could scarce alter his resolution; and it was with great difficulty that his Majesty was at last overcome by Lord Portland's repeated importunities. At length the number of discoverers increasing, and their accounts all agreeing, his Majesty began to take some care of his safety, and he desired Lord Portland and Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State, who likewise had some discoveries made to him, to enquire strictly into the progress and circumstances of the design. But this did not succeed, the two principal discoverers, Pendergrass and La Rue, still peremptorily refusing to name the conspirators, which might have been of fatal consequence if Lord Portland had not found out the happy expedient to prevent it, by persuading his Majesty to give himself the trouble of examining them separately in his closet, but before witnesses, that if they should be brought to enter into particulars, it might serve to convict the criminals

(19) Blackmore's Hist. of the Assassination Plot, 8vo.

same year another affair happened, in which this noble Lord gave so shining a proof of the strictest honour and integrity, as has done immortal honour to his memory. The Parliament having taken into consideration the affairs of the East-India company, who, through mismanagement and corrupt dealings, were in danger of losing their charter; strong interest was made with the members of both Houses, and large sums properly distributed, to procure a new establishment of the company by Act of Parliament (*i*): among those noblemen whose interest was necessary to bring about this affair, Lord Portland's was particularly courted, and an extraordinary value put upon it, much beyond that of any other Peer, for he was offered no less than the sum of 50,000 pounds for his vote, and to use his endeavours with the King to favour the design. But his Lordship, possessed of a greatness of soul that placed him above corruption, treated this injurious offer with all the contempt and indignation it deserved, telling the person employed in it, that if he ever so much as mentioned such a thing to him again, he would for ever be the company's enemy, and give them all the opposition in his power. This is an instance of publick spirit not often met with, and did not pass unregarded; for we find it recorded in an eloquent speech of a worthy member of Parliament, who took occasion to relate this noble action to the House of Commons, much to the honour of Lord Portland (*k*). It was owing to this nobleman, that the Banquetting-House at White-Hall was saved, when the rest of the Palace was destroyed by fire (*). Going on thus in a course of honour and prosperity, his Lordship, in February 1696, was created a Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Kensington, the Sovereign and ten Knights being present, and was installed at Windsor on the 25th of March 1697, at which time he was also Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces (*l*); for his Lordship's services were not confined to the cabinet, he likewise distinguished himself in the field on several occasions, particularly at the battle of the Boyne, battle of Landen, where he was wounded (*m*), siege of Limerick, Namur, &c. As his Lordship thus attended his royal master in his wars both in Ireland and Flanders, and bore a principal command there, so he was honoured by his Majesty with the chief management of the famous peace of Ryswick; having, in some conferences with the Marshal Boufflers, settled the most difficult and tender point, and which might greatly have retarded the conclusion of the peace [*K*]: this was concerning he disposal of King James;

(*i*) Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 680. Oldmixon's Hist. of England, Vol. II.

(*k*) Speeches and Debates in Parliament, anno 1695.

(*) Boyer's Account of famous Men, at the end of his Life of Queen Anne.

(*l*) Peerage of England, by Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. I. p. 310.

(*m*) Journey thro' the Austrian Netherlands, 8vo. p. 47.

criminals when they should be brought to trial (20). This good advice the King followed, and having examined Pendergrass before the Earl of Portland and Lord Cutts, and La Rue before the same Earl and Brigadier Levison, succeeded so well, that the informers being no longer able to resist the awful but persuasive eloquence of injured Majesty, gave a very particular and circumstantial account of the whole affair, and discovered the names of all the conspirators, which entirely frustrated their hellish intrigues and designs.

(20) Compleat History, Vol. III. p. 704.

[*K*] *Having, in some conferences with M. Boufflers, settled the most tender point,* &c.] King William wisely considering, that the usual formalities of solemn negotiations were no small hindrance to their progress, and finding that more time was likely to be lost in this treaty than was consistent with the urgency of the affair, his Majesty resolved to shorten as much of it as related to himself, by a quicker way of negotiating, and to commit his personal interests, and those of his dominions, to the arbitration and management of the Earl of Portland on his Majesty's part, and M. Boufflers on the part of the French King. Accordingly the confederate army being encamped at Cocklebergh near Brussels, and the French not far from thence, the Earl of Portland having received the King's commands and instructions, demanded as from himself, according to Bishop Kennet (21), a private interview with M. Boufflers, which being readily granted, though other accounts make M. Boufflers the first mover in this interview (22), the two Generals met, June 10, 1697, N. S. at an equal distance from their respective camps, attended each by the same number of guards, and accompanied by several officers of note. This preliminary conference was soon after followed by three others, at the last of which, July 26, the two Negotiators, after they had been some time together in the open field, retired into a house in the suburb of Halle, and in an hour adjusted several points that the Plenipotentiaries at Ryswick would not perhaps have agreed upon in a year. The Earl of Portland told Dr Burnet himself (23), that the subject of these conferences was concerning King James, that King William desired to know how the King of France intended to dispose of him, and how he could own King William, and yet support the other; and it was said, that the Earl of Portland insisted that King James and his family should be sent out of France, which M. Boufflers would not yield to, nor would the King of France renounce the protecting him by any article of the treaty; so it was at last agreed between them, that the King of France should give him no assistance, nor give King William any disturbance on his account, and that he should retire from the Court of France, either to Avignon or Italy; that his Queen should have 50,000*l.* a year, which was her jointure settled after King James's death, and that it should now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the nation; and in this the King very readily acquiesced. These differences being adjusted, the treaty went on with much greater dispatch. On the 2d of August, Lord Portland and M. Boufflers signed the paper they had drawn up some few days before, whereupon his Majesty left the army, and dispatched the Earl of Portland to the Hague, to acquaint the Congress, 'that as for what concerned his Majesty 'and his kingdoms, all things were so adjusted with 'France, as would occasion no delay in the general 'peace; and therefore he earnestly pressed the other 'allies, and particularly the Emperor, to contribute 'all that in them lay, towards concluding so great a 'work.'

(21) Compleat History, p. 737.

(22) Hist. Europe, 1709. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 200.

(23) Burnet, ibid.

The French were so little pleased with this treaty, that they made very severe reflections on their Plenipotentiaries, and lampooned them publickly all over the kingdom, whilst the resolution and wisdom of King William were universally celebrated and admired. One of the best writers at that time in France said, 'The towns delivered up at the treaty of Ryswick, 'the enemy would not have taken in twenty years 'time (*les enemis n'eussent pas reprises en vingt ans de 'tems*).' The same author, speaking of King William's chusing the Earl of Portland to confer with M. Boufflers, says, 'King William, who knew how to take advan'tage of every thing, knew well that the Earl of Port'land had at least as good a head as M. Boufflers.' And indeed the French themselves had a much higher opinion of his Lordship than of their own minister; for the account published in France of the negotiations between those two Ministers, says, that Lord Portland having sent a trumpeter to M. Boufflers to desire a private interview, without any mention of business, it was consented to; and that the Earl having proposed to him to remove some differences there, which would require too long a time at Ryswick, the Marshal sent to know the King of France's pleasure, whose great desire for peace made him approve of the Earl's proposal, 'without considering what advantage that 'Lord might have over the Marshal in a superior ge'nius.' The account then shews the inconveniency of putting the Earl of Portland upon a level with a Marshal of France. That it was true, indeed, that the King

James; the King of France having solemnly promised, in an open declaration to all Europe, that he would never lay down his arms 'till he had restored the abdicated King to his throne, and consequently could not own King William, without abandoning him. Not long after the conclusion of the peace, King William nominated the Earl of Portland to be his Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France; which honour, though it raised the envy of those who were jealous of the extraordinary favour and affection shewed to this nobleman, yet was justly due to him, for the share he had in bringing about the late glorious treaty of Ryswick; and the King could not have fixed upon a person better qualified to support the high character he had given him, with the greatest dignity and magnificence: besides, that the French in general had a great opinion of his Lordship's capacity and merit, and no Ambassador was ever so respected and caressed in France as his Lordship was, who, on his part, filled his employment with equal honour to the King, the British nation and himself, the magnificence of his publick entry into Paris, outshining what had ever been beheld at that gaudy Court since the Duke of Buckingham's entry, when he went to demand the Princess Maria Henrietta in marriage for King Charles I (*n*). A more particular account and description of this most splendid and famous embassy of Lord Portland's, may perhaps be worthy the reader's notice, and we have therefore given it in the note [*L*]. According to the Historian cited in the margin (*o*), the

(*n*) Compleat History, Vol. III. p. 753.

(*o*) Prior's Negociations, p. 39.

King had raised Boufflers from a Cadet of Picardy to the dignity of a Duke, Peer, Marshal of France, and Knight of his Order; and so King William had raised Lord Portland from a Gentleman of Guelderland to an Earl and Peer of England, and Knight of the Order of the Garter. But then there was this difference still, that the one commanded an army, which the other never did; besides, there was also that to be said, that the French King had never owned King William. Be this as it will, the Marshal de Boufflers valued himself not a little upon his negotiations with Lord Portland; and the writer of his Life pays a great compliment to that Lord, when he says (24), 'two things 'had helped to spoil Boufflers, namely, the Marshal's 'staff, and his conferences with the Lord Portland; 'for since his negotiations with that great Minister, he 'thought himself capable even of the most important 'employments, and believed that the peace had been 'more advantageous for France, if it had been left 'solely to his management.'

(24) Vie de Boufflers.

[*L*] *And we have therefore given it in the note.*] The Earl of Portland set out on his embassy the 10th of January, and in eleven days reached Paris, having in his way thither been received with most extraordinary marks of respect (25). The guns were every where fired, companies of soldiers drawn up in several places through which he passed, and others were appointed for his guard; the officers waited upon his Lordship, and the Magistrates made him their compliments, and brought him presents. Three days after his Lordship's arrival at Paris, he was magnificently entertained at supper by the Duke de Grammont, with the Marshals de Villeroy and Boufflers, the Dukes of Valentinois, Clerembault, and Roquelaure, Count Tallard, (whom the French King had named to the embassy in England) and several other persons of the first rank and quality in France; and the next day he was admitted to a private audience of the King, Dauphin, Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, and the rest of the Royal Family, by all of whom he was received with singular marks of kindness and distinction, and afterwards entertained at dinner by the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. The 9th of March, N. S. being the day appointed for his Lordship's publick entry (26), he went privately in one of his own coaches to Rambouillet, the place from whence Ambassadors usually make their entry, as did all the English gentlemen in theirs. Upon his arrival there, the Princes of the Blood sent their coaches, and a Gentleman in each, to compliment his Excellency; as did likewise the foreign Ministers and Envoys then in France, and at three in the afternoon came the Marshal de Boufflers, who was appointed by the King to receive and accompany the Lord Ambassador in his publick entry, to the grandeur of which the Marshal contributed all he could, being himself extremely fond of pomp and pageantry, and consequently omitted nothing upon this occasion that might heighten his own grandeur, and do honour to the King his master, of which his Majesty was very sensible, and well knew he could not have chose any one so properly qualified for that purpose. If the reader will pardon the digression of a few lines, we would relate a very singular instance of the Marshal's vast profuseness and prodigality, and which perhaps is not easily parallelled (27). The King, this present year 1698, having ordered a camp to be formed at Compeigne, as was pretended, in honour of his grandson the Duke of Burgundy, he appointed the Marshal de Boufflers to command it under that young Prince; and as his Majesty knew he was a person that would even ruin himself to maintain the dignity conferred on him, made him a present of 50,000 crowns before he marched, though the camp was to continue only three weeks, which sum the King thought pretty reasonable for so short a time. But the Marshal, who affected to appear like the great Turenne, in regarding nothing but his glory, and despising wealth, lived after such a prodigious rate in the camp, that twice that large sum scarce excused him. He kept five tables, noon and night, all equally served, and abounding with the greatest rarieties and niceties in the kingdom. He had above an hundred principal cooks, besides great numbers of others who served under them; those who worked in the morning taking their rest in the afternoon. He had an infinite number of carriages in the field to bring his provisions, and two for ice only, which was brought from Paris every day. He had purveyors not only in that city, but in all the great towns within twenty-five leagues of the camp.

(25) Life of King William, Vol. III. p. 336.

(26) Hist. of Europe, 1709.

(27) Life of Boufflers.

But to return to our embassy. His Excellency the Earl of Portland, accompanied by the Earl of Westmoreland, the Lords Cavendish, Hastings, Paston, Woodstock (his Excellency's son), Lord Raby, Mr Prior, Secretary of the embassy, Mr Fielding, Mr Boyle, and several other gentlemen, proceeded to make his publick entry in the following order; the Marshal Boufflers's coach, with his Pages on horseback, and his Gentleman of the Horse before it, his servants in rich liveries went about thirty paces before the rest; then came one of the King's messengers, his Excellency's second Gentleman of the Horse, twelve sumpter horses very richly caparisoned, and led by twelve Grooms on horseback; his Excellency's first Gentleman of the Horse, followed by twelve Pages on horseback, and fifty-six Footmen, all cloathed in exceeding rich liveries; the King's coach, in which were the Lord Ambassador, the Marshal de Boufflers, Monsieur Bonneville, Introductor of Ambassadors, and the Earl of Westmoreland; the Duchess of Burgundy's, Duke of Orleans's, and Madame's coaches, and those of the rest of the Princes and Princesses of the Blood in their order, in which were their own Gentlemen of the Horse, and the English Noblemen and Gentlemen, their Footmen all in his Excellency's rich liveries, walking by the coaches; then came his Excellency's magnificent body coach empty, drawn by eight horses, before it two Swissers on horseback, and at the portals two servants on foot in his Lordship's livery, and two Gentlemen on horseback; the second and third coach with eight horses, his Excellency's chariot with six, another coach with eight, another chariot with six; in these coaches were Gentlemen who immediately belonged to his Excellency's family. The whole procession was closed by the coaches of M. de Torcy, Secretary of State, and M. Bonneville. Thus did this splendid cavalcade proceed to the Hôtel, a house reserved for the entertainment

the Earl of Portland went on this embaſſy with reluctance, having been for ſome time alarmed with the growing favour of a rival in King William's affection, namely, Keppel, lately created Earl of Albemarle, a Dutchman, who had alſo been Page to his Majeſty. And, ſays our author (*), 'his jealouſy was not ill-grounded, for Albemarle ſo prevailed 'in Lord Portland's abſence, that he obliged him, by ſeveral little affronts, to lay down 'all his employments, after which he was never more in favour, though the King always 'ſhewed

(*) Ibid.

tainment of foreign Ambaſſadors, through multitudes of ſpectators, who were aſtoniſhed at the grandeur and opulence of the Engliſh nation. Being arrived at the Hôtel, the Marſhal de Boufflers, after a ſhort ſtay with his Excellency, took his leave, and ſoon after the Duke D'Aumont came from the King with a compliment to his Excellency, and the uſual compliments were made from the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood.

Two days afterwards his Excellency was admitted to his firſt publick audience at Verſailles, whither he was conducted in the ſame manner as at his entry, and was received with the utmoſt grandeur; in the firſt court of the palace the Foot-guards were drawn up, the French on one ſide, the Swiſſers on the other, the drums beating, colours flying, and the officers ſaluting with their hats. In the ſecond court, the guard called Hoquelous were ranged, all the coaches went in, and his Excellency alighted at the chamber of Ambaſſadors, and all his retinue. After a ſhort ſtay here, M. Bonneville informing his Excellency that the King was ready to receive him, he proceeded to his audience. The Marquis Blainville, Great Maſter of the Ceremonies, received his Excellency at the foot of the great ſtairs, which were lined with the Swiſs guards, and conducted him to the guard-chamber, at the entry of which he was received by the Captain of the guard in waiting, and thence conducted to the King's bed-chamber, which was filled with perſons of the higheſt quality. According to Biſhop Kennet (28) it was a diſtinguiſhing mark of honour, that his Excellency was admitted to his audience in the King's bed-chamber, and even within the rails round the bed, where the King ſtood, with the three young Princes his grandſons, and the Count de Thoulouſe, Duke d' Aumont, and Marſhal de Noailles (29). His Excellency having made his ſpeech, covered, and delivered his credentials, the King anſwered him in very obliging terms, both in relation to his Royal Maſter and himſelf. His Excellency then preſented the Engliſh Noblemen and Gentlemen to the King, and retired; after which he had audience of the Dauphin, and all the reſt of the Royal Family, and was, together with his retinue, entertained at dinner at ſeveral tables, and in the afternoon was conducted back to Paris, with the ſame ceremonies as at his coming; the whole performed with the greateſt order and regularity, as well as magnificence. The whole French Court, not only in imitation, but by expreſs direction of the King, ſhewed his Lordſhip moſt ſingular marks of honour and reſpect. He was entertained by the Princes of the Blood and Grandees of the Court, and in his turn entertained them; and 'tis obſervable (30), that his Lordſhip was attended in all the viſits he made by the ſame numerous and ſplendid train as at his publick entry (31); and the magnificence of his table was anſwerable to the grandeur of his attendance and equipage, his Lordſhip ſeldom dining without the company of thoſe of the firſt rank in the kingdom, who admired the plenty, elegance, and order of his entertainments. There is a circumſtance mentioned by one of our Hiſtorians (32), in itſelf immaterial, and of no other concern than as it ſerves to ſhew that this noble Lord, though not an Engliſhman born, yet had the honour and credit of England as much at heart as if he had been a native of it, and indeed ſupported it's dignity better than any Engliſh Ambaſſador at the Court of France, either before or after him. 'His 'Excellency, ſays our author, had frequently ſurloins 'of Engliſh beef ſent him from Dover, which being 'landed at Calais, were diſpatched thence by meſſengers on purpoſe, to come freſh to Paris. This he did 'for the honour of England. He had alſo large quantities of the fineſt Herefordſhire cyder, and Burton ale, 'which were ſo fine, that the Cuſtom-houſe officers 'on the Seine ſaid it was *Vin d'Eſpagne*, Canary, and 'would have ſeized it if it had not belonged to his 'Excellency.'

(28) Compl. Hiſt.

(29) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(30) Compl. Hiſt.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Oldmixon.

'Tis eaſy to imagine what a mortification it muſt be to the abdicated King, and his Court at St Germains, to hear what extraordinary honours were paid to the Miniſter and favourite of the Prince who filled the throne he vainly called his. During the Earl of Portland's ſtay in France there was a review of the troops of the houſhold, at which the King, Dauphin, young Princes of France, King James, and his ſon, the titular Prince of Wales, and divers perſons of quality, were preſent; and likewiſe the Earl of Portland, not knowing that King James and his ſon would be there. This latter, by his father's directions, endeavoured to join converſation with the Lord Woodſtock; but the Earl of Portland his father, ſeeing his deſign, ordered his ſon to avoid him, as he himſelf did all thoſe that belonged to the Court of St Germains; and King James himſelf did all he could to engage Lord Cavendiſh, and the other Engliſh Noblemen to accoſt him, but they all imitated the Earl of Portland (33).

(33) Compl. Hiſt.

In the beginning of May, King William having appointed the Earl of Jerſey to ſucceed Lord Portland as Ambaſſador Extraordinary to France, his Excellency had firſt his publick, and then private audience of leave of the King and all the Royal Family (34). The King ſent his Lordſhip the uſual preſent of his picture ſet with Diamonds, but with this difference, that the ſtones were worth three times as much as is uſual in the like gifts. Beſides which, his Majeſty preſented the Earl with all the ſtamps and prints engraved at the Louvre, contained in twelve large volumes in folio; in return for which, his Excellency made the King a preſent of nine very fine Engliſh horſes (35). On the 28th of June his Excellency left Paris, and went to Chantilli, a houſe belonging to the Prince of Condé, where he was entertained in a grand manner, 'till the 11th, when he took leave of his Highneſs, and proceeding on his journey, arrived at Kenſington on the 19th. Thus ended this famous embaſſy, the expence of which, according to the French account (36), was only 100,000 crowns; but, according to our own Hiſtorians (37), almoſt three times that ſum, 80,000 *l.* and one of them writes (38), that he has been informed Lord Portland was 25,000 *l.* out of pocket more than his allowance for the charge of the embaſſy, and that his Lordſhip was never reimburſed it, but rightly adds, that he will not anſwer for the truth of this. Salmon ſays it coſt King William near 150,000 *l* (39). However this be, 'tis certain the money that was ſpent upon this occaſion was to very little purpoſe; and Mr Prior might well ſay, as he does (40), that this embaſſy was rather a matter of ceremony than buſineſs, the Earl of Portland, with all his endeavours, having been able to obtain nothing for the advantage of his Royal Maſter. His Lordſhip had it in his inſtructions, to inſiſt upon the removal of the late King James to a further diſtance from the Court of France. This demand King James concluded would be complied with, and was preparing to retire to Avignon, but Lewis XIV. would not liſten to the propoſal, though Lord Portland offered in King William's name, to give King James and his Queen an honourable penſion, and eaſe the French King of 50,000 Louis d'ors a year, which he allowed King James, beſides ſmaller penſions and appointments to his followers, amounting in the whole to a very great ſum (41). —— From hence it appears, how ill the French King obſerved his engagements with King William, it having been expreſly agreed in the conferences between Lord Portland and Marſhal de Boufflers (42), 'that the King of France ſhould give King 'James no aſſiſtance, and that he ſhould retire from 'the French Court, either to Avignon or Italy;' which the French King now abſolutely refuſed Lord Portland to comply with; and King William now ſaw he could not obtain any thing by remonſtrances, which he had neglected to ſtipulate in the treaty of Ryſwick; but this is not to be wonderd at, when we reflect how ſhort a time that treaty itſelf was found binding in it's moſt material articles.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Compl. Hiſt.

(36) Annales de la Cour.

(37) Compl. Hiſt.

(38) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(39) Salmon's Modern Hiſtory.

(40) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 38.

(41) Oldmixon, Kennet, &c.

(42) See the note [K].

[M] For

'shewed an esteem for him.' Bishop Burnet (*p*) gives this account of the affair. That the Earl of Portland observed the progress of the King's favour to the Lord Albemarle with great uneasiness; they grew to be not only incompatible, as all rivals for favour must be, but to hate and oppose one another in every thing; the one (Lord Portland) had more of the confidence, the other more of the favour. Lord Portland, upon his return from his embassy to France, could not bear the visible superiority in favour that the other was growing up to; so he took occasion, from a small preference given Lord Albemarle in prejudice of his own post, as Groom of the Stole, to withdraw from Court, and lay down all his employments. The King used all possible means to divert him from this resolution, but could not prevail on him to alter it. He indeed consented to serve his Majesty still in his State-affairs, but would not return to any post in the houshold. This change, says Bishop Kennet (*q*), did at first please the English and Dutch, the Earl of Albemarle having cunningly made several powerful friends in both nations, who, out of envy to Lord Portland, were glad to see another in his place, and it is said (*r*), that Lord Albemarle was supported by the Earl of Sutherland and Mrs Villiers, to pull down Lord Portland: however, though the first became now the reigning favourite, yet the latter, says Bishop Kennet, did ever preserve the esteem and affection of King William: though the same author had before said, that Lord Albemarle was become entire master of the King's confidence. But King William was a Prince of another sort of genius, than are those Princes who are governed by favourites; he was his own Minister in all the greater parts of government, as those of war and peace, forming alliances and treaties, which, in the main, were the effects of his own knowledge and experience, and he knew well the merit of those he employed in his service. We have before seen, that even by the acknowledgment of the French, enemies to Lord Portland and his friends, his Lordship was superior in capacity to M. de Boufflers, then a leading man at the Court of France, and there was no Minister of State then in Europe, whose character was more than equal to Lord Portland's, in policy and negociation. King William was sensible of this, and, as such a Minister, Lord Portland never lost ground in the good opinion and esteem of his master, though possibly he might in his affection or personal love; for the affections and passions of Kings are variable as other mens, and consequently the situation of favourites is very precarious, and there have been very few instances of those, who could boast a reign so quiet and undisturbed, as never to suffer any interruption or diminution of their Prince's favour. Kings see with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, and there are never wanting those about a Court, who endeavour to traduce that virtue in others, which they cannot, or will not, imitate themselves. The Earl of Albemarle had been in his Majesty's service from a youth, was descended of a noble family in Guelderland, attended King William into England as his Page of Honour, and being a young Lord of fine address and sweet temper, with a due mixture of heroism, it is no wonder his Majesty took pleasure in his conversation in the intervals of State business, and in making his fortune, who had so long followed his own; which, however, was not making him master of his confidence, as the Historian says. Bishop Burnet (*s*) says, it is a difficult matter to account for the reasons of the favour shewn by the King, in the highest degree, to these two Lords, they being in all respects, not only of different, but of quite opposite characters; secrecy and fidelity being the only qualities in which they did in any sort agree. Lord Albemarle was very chearful and gay, had all the arts of a Court, was civil to all, and procured favours for many; but was so addicted to his pleasures, that he could scarce submit to attend on business, and had never yet distinguished himself in any thing. On the other hand, Lord Portland was of a grave and sedate disposition, and indeed, adds the Bishop, was thought rather too cold and dry, and had not the art of creating friends; but was indefatigable in business, and had distinguished himself on many occasions (*t*). With another author, a pretty censorious one (*u*), his Lordship has the character of carrying himself with a very lofty mien, yet was not proud, nor much beloved nor hated by the people. But it is no wonder if the Earl of Portland was not acceptable to the English nation; his Lordship had been for ten years entirely trusted by the King, was his chief favourite and bosom-friend, and the favourites of Kings are seldom favourites of the people, on the contrary, are generally objects of national jealousy, and oftentimes of publick hatred: and as it must be owned King William was immoderately lavish to those he personally loved, of whom Lord Portland was the most distinguished instance, no doubt but his Majesty's extraordinary bounties and honours heaped upon this nobleman, raised much envy, and created him many enemies; for the amassing of wealth, and aggrandizing a family, are in themselves sufficient to render a Minister and Favourite unpopular; but as long as History has not charged his memory with failings that might deservedly render him obnoxious to the publick, there can be no partiality in attributing this nobleman's unpopularity, partly to the above reasons, and partly to his being a foreigner, for which he suffered not a little from the envy and malice of his enemies, in their Speeches, Libels, &c. of which there were some, levelled, as well against his royal patron King William, as against his Lordship, that were filled with reproaches and reflections, not only severe, but scandalous in the highest degree, and whose titles as well as contents are therefore best concealed. We shall only observe farther, that the same aversion to foreign favourites soon after shewed itself against Lord Albemarle, who,

(*p*) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 224.

(*q*) Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 754.

(*r*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 67.

(*s*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 225.

(*t*) Ibid.

(*u*) Mackey, in his Characters of the English and Scotch Nobility, p. 62.

who, as he grew into power and favour, like Lord Portland, began to be looked upon with the ſame jealouſy; and when the King gave him the Order of the Garter, in the year 1700, we are told (*w*) it was generally diſliked, and his Majeſty, to make it paſs the better, did at the ſame time confer the like honour on Lord Pembroke (an Engliſh nobleman of illuſtrious birth); yet it was obſerved, that few of the nobility graced the ceremony of their inſtallation with their preſence, and that many ſevere reflections were then made on his Majeſty, for laviſhing away a Garter on his favourite (*x*): and another writer ſays (*y*), the King loſt many friends by his attachment to Lord Albemarle, and that the creating him Knight of the Garter, gave a general diſguſt to the nobility. The King had for a long time given the Earl of Portland the entire and abſolute government of Scotland (*z*), and his Lordſhip was alſo employed, in the year 1698, in the new negociation ſet on foot for the ſucceſſion of the Crown of Spain, called by the name of the *Partition Treaty*, the intention of which being fruſtrated by the treachery of the French King, the treaty itſelf fell under ſevere cenſure, and was looked upon as a fatal ſlip in the politicks of that reign, and Lord Portland was impeached by the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1700, for adviſing and tranſacting it, as were alſo the other Lords concerned with him in it. As his Lordſhip had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in this memorable tranſaction, it cannot be amiſs to give a more particular account of it, as to it's deſign and occaſion, as well as the extraordinary and unuſual method of proceeding of the Houſe of Commons, againſt Lord Portland, and the other impeached Lords, for their ſhare therein. For this, ſee the note [*M*]. This ſame year, Lord Portland was a ſecond time attacked, together with the

(*w*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 783.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Prior's Negociations, p. 176, 177.

(*z*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 63.

[*M*] *For this ſee the notes.*] The Treaty of Partition is ſaid to have been firſt projected by the famous Count Tallard, and to have laid the foundation of his future fortunes (43): But the firſt propoſal of it was made by the French King himſelf to Lord Portland, while he was in France; and it was probably in order to make King William come the more readily into it, that Lewis endeavoured to dazzle his Majeſty's eyes by the extraordinary reception he gave to his Ambaſſador, and the marks of eſteem and affection which he ſhewed him in ſeveral letters; for, after the peace of Ryſwick, that Monarch's thoughts were wholly turned upon ſecuring in his own family the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, the King of Spain having no iſſue, and his death being daily expected; and, on the other hand, King William was no leſs bent upon preventing any ſuch ſucceſſion from taking place (44). The French King, to accompliſh his ends, kept up a very conſiderable army, and made all the neceſſary preparations for ſending out great numbers of men of war and gallies, in order to ſeize upon Spain as ſoon as the preſent Monarch was dead; and it happened that King William's whole forces at this time amounted but to ſeven thouſand men. Thus was the French King left in a condition to execute almoſt any thing. It was in his power to take poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh monarchy in the various parts of the world, before any Prince but the Emperor, whom he had little reaſon to fear, could oppoſe him. It was therefore no wonder that King William was prevailed upon to liſten to a propoſal for dividing thoſe dominions, and thereby preventing the Spaniſh monarchy, with all it's dependencies, from falling into the hands of France. His Majeſty, it is ſaid, entered into this project by the advice of Lord Portland, and, being then in Holland, ſent over to England to Lord Somers for his advice in this important affair, deſiring him to ſend over the full powers under the Great Seal, to treat with Count Tallard, who had made ſome propoſitions to his Majeſty in perſon; but withal, enjoined inviolable ſecrecy to Lord Somers, who ſoon after ſent the King a commiſſion under the Great Seal, and likewiſe ſome advice about the affair, which his Majeſty however did not ſtay to receive, for before it's arrival, Auguſt 29, N. S. (45) a treaty was concluded, and ſigned by the Earl of Portland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon on the part of England, Count Tallard on the part of France, and by eight Plenipotentiaries of the States General, to this purport: That in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituate on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the iſlands adjacent, the marquiſate of Final, the Province of Guipuſcoa, ſeveral towns and all places on the French ſide of the Pyrenees, and other mountains, with all the ſhips and gallies, &c. ſhould be given to the Dauphin in conſideration of his right (46). That the Crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places, both within and without Europe, ſhould deſcend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and that the duchy of Milan ſhould be allotted to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon (47). This treaty was not long in force, for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, appointed ſucceſſor to the King of Spain, died in February following, upon which Lord Portland ſoon after began to treat about a new partition in favour of the Archduke Charles. The Earl of Jerſey was ſent into France on this occaſion, and he and Lord Portland were joined in a commiſſion by his Majeſty, as his Plenipotentiaries, for concluding a new Partition Treaty (48), which was done in March following; the conditions of which were, I. That Spain, Flanders, and the Weſt-Indies, which by the former treaty had been allotted to the Prince of Bavaria, ſhould devolve to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon. II. That Naples and Sicily, with the reſt of the Spaniſh Provinces on the coaſt of Italy, &c. ſhould be aſſigned the Dauphin. III. That Lorrain ſhould be annexed to France, the duchy of Milan conferred on the Duke of Lorrain, and the county of Bitſche on the Prince of Vaudemont. King William and the States had certainly no other view in this treaty but to eſtabliſh the peace and tranquility of Europe, and to form a Barrier in the Netherlands for the ſecurity of the United Provinces; to which end this treaty might ſeem to be made at a very critical juncture, though by the treachery of the French it had another effect, they having very different deſigns which they clandeſtinely carried on; and while they were amuſing King William with the Partition Treaty, were labouring by all manner of means to pave the way to the Spaniſh throne for a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon; for which purpoſe they procured a Will from the dying King, ſigned the 2d of October, N. S. whereby he conſtituted the Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the Dauphin, his univerſal heir, in default of iſſue, and made other proviſions for continuing the ſucceſſion. This memorable Will was the contrivance of the Marquis d' Harcourt, and Cardinal Portecarrero, and the King ſurvived it but barely a month, dying on the 1ſt of November. The French King ſeemed at firſt doubtful whether to accept this Will, or obſerve the Treaty of Partition; but this was only a feint, for he did not long waver in his reſolution. On the 16th of November the Duke of Anjou was declared King of Spain at the French Court, and proclaimed at Madrid on the 24th of the ſame month, notwithſtanding the Pope and the Emperor proteſted againſt this ſtep; and the Engliſh and Dutch Miniſters likewiſe repreſented, that it was not agreeable to the Treaty of Partition ſo lately ſigned. Thus was the deſign of the Partition Treaty entirely defeated, and that which was intended to preſerve the publick tranquillity, was now cenſured as the ſole occaſion of breaking it. The Parliament began to ſhew their diſapprobation of it, and the ſecrecy with which it was tranſacted. The Houſe of Peers, March 20, 1700, in an addreſs, repreſented to his Majeſty the ill conſequence of it to the

(43) Life of King William, p. 334.

(44) Cole's Memoirs, p. 29, & *ſeq.*

(45) Prior's Negociations, p. 51.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Hiſt. of Europe, anno 1698. Compleat Hiſtory, &c.

(48) Prior's Negociations, p. 57.

the other favourite, Lord Albemarle, by the House of Commons, when the affair of the disposal

the peace and safety of Europe; for that, besides the occasion it might have given the late King of Spain to have made his Will in favour of the Duke of Anjou, if the treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to his Majesty and his subjects, and indeed to all Europe, by the addition of Sicily, Naples, several ports of the Mediterranean, duchy of Lorrain, &c. had been not only very great, but contrary to the pretence of the treaty itself, which was to prevent any umbrage that might have been taken, by uniting so many States and Dominions under one head: That this treaty was never considered in any of his Majesty's councils, and therefore they beseeched his Majesty, that he would for the future be pleased to admit, in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural born subjects, whose known probity and fortunes might make him and his people a just assurance of their fidelity to his service; and that in order thereto, he would be pleased to constitute a council of such persons, to whom his Majesty might be pleased to impart all affairs, both at home and abroad, which might any ways concern him and his dominions; for interest and natural affection for their country would incline them to wish the welfare and prosperity of it, much more than others who had no such ties upon them, and their experience and knowledge of their country, would also render them more capable, than strangers, of advising his Majesty in the true interest of it, &c. It is pretty plain against whom this address was designed. The Commons likewise addressed his Majesty against the treaty, and censured the negotiating it without the advice of the Parliament or Privy-Council. As things now seemed advancing to a crisis, and the Lord Portland seeing himself so visibly struck at in the Lord's address, and fearing the impending storm might fall too heavy on him, got the King's leave to communicate the whole matter to the House (49), where, being soon after charged with negotiating the said treaty, his Lordship said in his excuse, that he had not concluded the treaty alone, for besides Lord Jersey, who was joined with him in the negotiation, he had likewise, by the King's order, acquainted six of his chief Ministers with it, who were the Earls of Pembroke, and Marlborough; the Lords, Somers, Lonsdale, Hallifax, and Orford; and Secretary Vernon; to which those Peers replied, that they did acknowledge they had seen the rough draught of the treaty, but that the Earl of Portland had drawn it up himself in French; and they had never given nor refused their consent to it, because the treaty was never communicated to the Privy-Council. Many warm speeches were made upon this occasion, reflecting upon the Court; and the House of Commons were so angry, and their debates ran so high, that more than one of their Members broke in upon common decency and good manners. Mr How particularly said, the Partition Treaty was a felonious treaty, and compared it to the distribution of other mens goods among highwaymen. At length, April the 1st, they came to a resolution, 'That William Earl of Porland, by negotiating and concluding the Treaty of Partition, which was destructive to the trade of this kingdom, and dangerous to the peace of Europe, was guilty, and should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors;' and they ordered Sir John Levison Gower to go up to the Lords, and at their bar to impeach the said Earl, and to acquaint their Lordships, that they would in due time exhibit articles against him. They then desired a conference with their Lordships, at which they desired their Lordships to communicate to them, what information they had received of any transactions relating to the Partition Treaty, particularly of some transactions between Lord Portland, and Mr Secretary Vernon: Whereupon their Lordships delivered to them the two Latin commissions of powers, granted to the Earls of Portland and Jersey, for negotiating the said treaties; and also a private paper of the Lord Portland's, which he had given in himself to the House, and which shews that it was with some reluctance his Lordship engaged in this troublesome affair. It runs thus. 'At the beginning of the summer of the year 1699, when I was in Holland at my country-house, and when the King would have me be concerned in the negotiation of this treaty, being very unwilling to meddle with business again, from which I had retired; before I would engage myself, I advised with my friends in Holland, and writ into England to Mr Secretary Vernon, as my particular friend, whether it was advisable for me to engage in business again? To which Mr Vernon answered in substance, that this would engage me but for a little while; that I being upon the place, and generally acquainted with the foreign Ministers, it would be easier for the King, and properer for me to be employed in it than any body else, who must otherwise be sent for on purpose.' The Commons then proceeded to impeach the Lords Orford, Somers, and Hallifax; and, not content with this step, on the 23d of April they addressed his Majesty to remove the Earl of Portland, and the other impeached Lords from his councils and presence for ever. His Majesty could not but be very uneasy at this severe dealing with his Counsellors and Ministers; when he knew the error, if any, was only an error of judgment, and that rather of his own, than of those employed by him. But by the courtesy of England our Kings are understood to do nothing but by advice, and consequently their Ministers are supposed to be answerable for their misdeeds. The King kept his temper, and only answered, that he would employ none in his service, but such as should be thought most likely to improve a mutual trust and confidence between him and his Parliament. But as the names of those Lords still remained in the council, it might be judged the King did not intend to grant their request. Such an address had never gone along with an impeachment before; the Commons indeed had begun such a practice in King Charles the Second's time (50), where they disliked a Minister, but had not matter to ground an impeachment on, and so took this method of making an address against him; but to come with an address after an impeachment, was a new attempt; this was punishing before trial, contrary to an indispensible rule of justice, of not judging before the party is heard. The Peers of England behaved with great prudence and good affection at this critical juncture; they were alarmed at the address of the Commons, and looked upon it to be an ill precedent for persons to be censured before they were tried; besides, that it made their judicature ridiculous, when in the first instance of an accusation, application was made for a censure, and a very severe one, for few misdemeanors could deserve a harder sentence (51). For this reason the Lords thought proper to interpose with this counter-address to the King; that the Commons having impeached the Lords Portland, &c. and designed to exhibit particular articles against them, and make good the same, they desired his Majesty would be pleased not to pass any censure upon those Lords, 'till they were tried upon the said impeachments, and judgment was given according to the usage of Parliament, and the laws of the land. Thus matters rested 'till the 5th of May, when the Commons not having given in articles of impeachment against the Lords, the House of Peers began to think that their Members had been impeached by the Commons, without a serious intention of prosecuting the charge against them; they therefore sent a message to the Commons, to remind them, that there were yet no articles preferred against the impeached Lords; this extorted from them articles against Lord Orford; and soon after against Lord Somers; and on the 24th of the same month, the Lords sent another quickening message to the Commons, and after that another; representing to them, that after impeachments had so long depended, it was a hardship to the persons concerned, and not agreeable to the usual methods of Parliaments in such cases, and pressed them to make good their impeachments against Lord Portland and Hallifax. This occasioned a breach between the two Houses, the Commons insisting upon it, that they, as prosecutors, were proper judges when articles of impeachment ought to be brought up, and would not proceed faster than they thought fit. But the truth is, the Commons being defective in their proofs (52), were not forward to prosecute this accusation, and the majority of them began to wish they had never entered upon this untoward affair. In short, they found their impeachments must come to nothing, for that they had not the majority in the House of Lords to judge in them as they should direct; and therefore they had before resolved on a shorter way to fix a severe censure on the impeached Lords, by addressing

(49) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 267.

(50) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 259.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 267.

disposal of the forfeited estates in Ireland was under their consideration. It appearing upon enquiry, that the King had, among many other grants, made one to Lord Woodstock, (the Earl of Portland's son) of 135,820 acres of land; and to Lord Albemarle two grants, of 108,633 acres in possession and reversion; the Parliament came to a resolution to resume these grants; and also resolved, that the advising and passing them was highly reflecting on the King's honour, and that the officers and instruments concerned in the procuring and passing those grants, had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty; and also, that the procuring or passing exorbitant grants, by any member now of the Privy-Council, or by any other that had been a Privy-Counsellor, in this, or any former reign, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanor, and to carry their resentment still farther, the Commons fell immediately upon impeaching, as we learn from a letter wrote by Mr Prior to the Earl of Manchester (*a*), and that the persons they named were the Earls of Portland and Albemarle, and the articles upon which they were going, were for procuring for themselves exorbitant grants (*b*). This impeachment, however, did not take place, but the Commons voted an address to his Majesty, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted to his Majesty's Councils in England or Ireland. This blow, it is easy to see, was aimed chiefly at the two favourites, Lord Portland and Albemarle; but the King, not thinking it proper to receive such an address, had no other way to hinder it's being presented, but by going suddenly to the House of Lords, passing the bills that were ready, and putting an end to the session, which his Majesty did the very next day. The Partition Treaty was the last publick transaction we find Lord Portland engaged in; the next year after his impeachment, 1701, having put a period to the life of his royal and munificent master, King William III; but not without having shewn, even in his last moments, that his esteem and affection for Lord Portland ended but with his life, for when his Majesty was just expiring, he asked, though with a faint voice, for the Earl of Portland, but before his Lordship could come, the King's voice quite failed him; the Earl, however, placing his ear as near his Majesty's mouth as could be, his lips were observed to move, but without strength to express his mind to his Lordship; but, as the last testimony of the cordial affection he bore him, he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderness (*c*), and expired soon after. His Lordship had before been a witness to, and signed his Majesty's last Will and Testament, made at the Hague in 1695; and it is said (*d*), that King William, the winter before he died, told Lord Portland, as they were walking together in the garden at Hampton-Court, that he found his health declining very fast, and that he could not live

(*a*) Extract in Mr Prior's Negociations, p. 171.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 303.

(*d*) Life of King William, Vol. III. Compleat Hist. Vol. III. p. 839. Hist. of Europe, Anno 1709.

addressing to have them removed from the King's councils for ever; and their impeachments were only for form sake, and to give a colour to that address, for they really intended to let the matter sleep, thinking that what they had already done had so marked those Lords, that the King could not employ them any more, which was the chief end of their proceedings. At a conference between the two Houses, the Lord Haversham having cast some reflections upon the Commons impeachments, they now made this a plea for their delay, refusing to proceed 'till they had received satisfaction for the affront offered by that Lord, which was no more than his having said, that it was a plain demonstration, that the Commons thought these Lords innocent, since there were several Lords equally guilty, whom the Commons left at the head of affairs near the King's person, to do what mischief they were inclined to. The Commons having sent up a charge against Lord Haversham for this speech, that Lord in his answer thereto, justified what he had said, and further insisted, that the impeachment against Lord Portland could not have reference to any other treaty than that of 1699, the treaty of 1698 not being before the House of Commons 'till after the impeachment, and that the Commons had shewn themselves partial, and even unjust, in proceeding against the impeached Lords, while they suffered the Earl of Jersey, who actually signed the said treaty of 1699, as a Plenipotentiary with the Lord Portland, to stand unimpeached, and to continue at the head of affairs, as likewise Mr Secretary Vernon, Sir Joseph Williamson, &c. who were engaged in the same transactions. The Commons having exhibited articles against Lord Hallifax (but none against Lord Portland) the Peers sent another message, to put them in mind of their impeachment against Lord Portland; and finding they would not proceed to try the other impeached Lords, the Peers themselves resolved to try them, which they did, and acquitted them, and also dismissed the charge against Lord Haversham, and the impeachment against Lord Portland, there having been no articles exhibited against him. Bishop Burnet says (53), that the forbearance of the Commons to frame articles against Lord Portland was represented to the King as an expression of their respect to him, which, if true, shews that Lord Portland was yet in great favour with his Majesty. The arbitrary, and indeed, unjust proceedings of the Commons, put the nation into a high ferment, the generality of people disliking their behaviour, a bold testimony of which was given in the Kentish petition delivered to the House of Commons; and, after that, a still more daring affront was offered them by the famous Memorial, called by the name of the Legions Letter, said to be wrote in the names of 200,000 people. This consisted of complaints of a great number of unlawful and unwarrantable practices of the Commons, and among the rest were these following, which may serve to shew the sense of the people in general upon the late measures.

(53) Ibid. p. 274.

I. 'Addressing the King to displace his friends upon 'bare surmises, before the legal trial, or article proved, 'is illegal, and inverting the Law, and making execution go before judgment, contrary to the true sense 'of the Law, which esteems every man a good man, ''till something appears to the contrary.

II. 'Delaying proceedings upon capital impeachments, to blast the reputation of the persons without 'proving the fact, is illegal and oppressive, destructive 'to the liberty of Englishmen, a delay of justice, and 'a reproach to Parliaments.

III. 'Suffering saucy and indecent reproaches upon 'his Majesty's person to be publickly made in the House, 'particularly by that impudent scandal of Parliaments, 'John How, who said openly, *That his Majesty had 'made a felonious treaty to rob his neighbours*; insinuating, *that the Partition Treaty* (which was every way 'as just as blowing up one man's house to save another's) *was a combination of the King to rob the Crown 'of Spain of it's due*. This is making a Billingsgate 'of the House, and setting up to bully your Sovereign, 'contrary to the intent and meaning of the freedom 'of speech which you claim as a right, is scandalous 'to Parliaments, undutiful and unmannerly, and a 'reproach to the whole nation.'

There

live another summer, but charged his Lordship not to mention this 'till after his Majesty's death. We are told (e), that at the time of the King's death, Lord Portland was Keeper of Windsor great Park, and was displaced upon Queen Anne's accession to the throne; we are not, however, made acquainted with the time, when his Lordship became first possessed of that post. After King William's death, the Earl did not, at least openly, concern himself with publick affairs (f), but betook himself to a retired life, in a most exemplary way, at his seat at Bulstrode in the county of Bucks, where he erected, and plentifully endowed, a free-school; and did many other charities. His Lordship had an admirable taste for gardening, and took great delight in improving and beautifying his own gardens, which he made very elegant and curious. At length, being taken ill of a pleurisy and malignant fever, after about a week's illness he died (g), November 23, 1709, in the sixty-first year of his age, leaving behind him a very plentiful fortune, being at that time reputed the richest subject in Europe (h). His corpse being conveyed to London, was, on the third of December, carried with great funeral pomp, from his house in St James's square to Westminster-Abbey, and there interred in the vault under the east window of Henry the VIIth's chapel. His Lordship married (i) to his first wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, Knight-Marshal, and sister to Edward Earl of Jersey, at that time Maid of Honour to Mary, Princess of Orange, the Royal Consort of King William III, by whom he had issue three sons and five daughters, *viz.* William, who died in his infancy; Henry, second son, afterwards Earl and Duke of Portland; and another William, who died young in Holland (k). Lady Mary, the eldest daughter, married to Algernoon, Earl of Essex, and since his decease, to the Honourable Conyers d'Arcy, Esq; only brother to Robert, late Earl of Holdernesse. Lady Anna Margaretta, the second daughter, married to M. Duyvenvorde, one of the principal Nobles of Holland (l). Lady Frances Williamyna, third daughter, married to William, Lord Byron, and died March 31, 1712. Lady Eleanora, fourth daughter, died unmarried. Lady Isabella, youngest daughter, married to Evelyn Pierpoint, Duke of Kingston, and died February 23, 1727-8 (m). His Lordship, on the sixteenth of May 1700, took to his second wife, Jane (n), sixth daughter of Sir John Temple, of East-Sheen in the county of Surrey, Bart. sister to Henry, Lord Viscount Palmerston, and widow of John Lord Berkeley of Stratton; and by her (who, in 1726, was Governess to the three young Princesses, eldest daughters of his present Majesty) had two sons (o), William, one of the Nobles of Holland, who, in 1733, married Charlotta-Sophia-Hedwige-Eleonora, Countess of Aldenburgh, only daughter to Anthony, Count Aldenburgh, Seigneur de Varel, Kniphausen, &c. in Germany; and Charles-John, an officer in the service of the States-General; as also four daughters (p). Lady Sophia, married March 24, 1728-9, to his Grace Henry de Grey, Duke of Kent. Lady Elizabeth, married to Dr Henry Egerton, Bishop of Hereford, Brother to his Grace Scroop Duke of Bridgewater (q). Lady Harriot, married to James Hamilton, Viscount Limerick of the kingdom of Ireland (r). Lady Barbara unmarried.

(e) Mackey's Characters of the English & Scotch Nobility, p. 62.
(f) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 312.
(g) Ibid.
(h) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 62.
(i) Peerage of England, as supra.
(k) Ibid.
(l) Ibid.
(m) Ibid.
(n) Ibid.
(o) Ibid.
(p) Ibid.
(q) Ibid.
(r) Ibid.

There appeared about this time a pamphlet (53), supposed to be wrote by Dean Swift, upon the subject of those impeachments; in which there are these reflections. 'For a few popular orators, says he, upon the score of personal pique, or to employ their pride in seeing themselves at the head of a party, or as a method of advancement; for such men, I say, when the State would of itself be quiet, and has besides affairs of the greatest importance upon the anvil, to impeach Miltiades (Lord Orford) after a great naval victory, (La Hogue) for not pursuing the Persian fleet; to impeach Aristides (Lord Somers) the person most versed among them in the knowledge and practice of their laws, for a blind suspicion of his acting in an arbitrary manner; to impeach Pericles after all his services (Lord Halifax) for a few paltry accounts; or to impeach Phocion (Lord Portland) for no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace and security of his country; what could the continuance of such proceedings end in, but the utter discouragement of all virtuous actions and persons, and consequently the ruin of a State?' It was certainly an impolitick thing in the Parliament to put such an affront upon King William's councils, at a time when they ought in a more especial manner to have supported the credit and authority of them, since he must necessarily be at the head of the next confederacy that appeared, as he was at the last; and when the retrospecting the affair of the Partition Treaty could be of no service to the common cause, but was sure to obstruct and weaken it. But it seems pretty plain, that this affair was set on foot purely by a spirit of party and personal pique against those Lords (*), since the others equally concerned with them were not questioned. There are few prosecutions of this kind, but there is a great deal of private pique, interest, and resentment, mixed with views of publick good. The impeached Lords were the Chiefs of the Whigs, and had long reigned at Court without controul; and the Tories who succeeded them, had a view perhaps of preventing them from returning to their posts, as well as of bringing them to justice for negotiating the Partition Treaty. Bishop Burnet says (54), it was the effect of the influence and intrigues of France, which had set all it's engines at work to involve us into such difficulties and contentions at home, as should wholly take off our attention from affairs abroad; or, however, if it was not the effect of French direction, it was at least the animosity of a party, to ruin those who had served the King faithfully (55), and to discourage others from engaging so far in his interests as those Lords had done. See the articles SOMERS (Lord Somers), RUSSELL (Earl of Orford), and MOUNTAGUE (Earl of Halifax). H

(53) Discourse of the Contests in Athens and Rome.
(*) Hist. of the Revolutions of Spain, 8vo. Vol. V. p. 270.
(54) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 274.
(55) Hist. of the Revolutions of Spain, 8vo. Vol. V. p. 269, 270.

BENTINCK (Henry) second son of (*) William Earl of Portland, whilst he was a Commoner, was elected, in two Parliaments (a), in the reign of Queen Anne, one of the Knights of the shire for the county of Southampton; and on the twenty-first of July, 1710, was made Captain of the first troop of horse-guards, in the room of the Earl of Albemarle. He was created by his late Majesty, Marquis of Tichfield in Hampshire, and Duke of Portland, by letters patent, bearing date the sixteenth of July, 1716, in whose

(*) See the above article.
(a) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 312.

whose patent of creation there are these remarkable expressions, which shew the just sense his late Majesty had, of the traiterous designs of the Ministers, in the last year of the Queen, against the Protestant succession, and the liberties of our country; where, speaking of Lord Portland, then created a Duke, it is said, 'he promoted the great 'work of the succession in the Protestant line, at the utmost hazard of his fortune and 'honours, at a time when our succession was in the most imminent danger: he stood 'firm against all the promises and repeated offers of a Court, and frequently declared, 'how ready he was to resign his high post in the late Queen's guards; which he at length 'was deprived of in an extraordinary manner, as apprehending, lest, by the specious 'suggestions of gratitude, he should be prompted to enter into measures, which might 'have a tendency to betray the liberties of his country (*b*).' When the King went to Cambridge in 1717, and the ceremony of admitting and creating several degrees, was, according to custom, performed in his royal presence, his Grace the Duke of Portland was created Doctor of Laws. His Grace was also one of the Gentlemen of the late King's Bedchamber; and on the ninth of September, 1721, was appointed Captain-General, and Governor of the island of Jamaica, where his Grace departed this life, of a fever, on the fourth of July, 1726, in the forty-fifth year of his age, greatly lamented, being of a most noble, generous, and courteous disposition, and was generally esteemed one of the most accomplished Noblemen at Court (*c*); and there was this remarkable in his Grace's education, that he had for his tutors the two greatest Historians of the age, Dr La Vassor, a Father of the Oratory in France, who embraced the Protestant Religion, and left that kingdom upon it; and after him M. Rapin de Thoyras, author of the History of England (*d*) [*A*]. The success of their cares, appeared in his Grace's excellent conduct in the government of Jamaica. His Grace married the Lady Elizabeth Noel (*e*), eldest daughter and co-heir of Writhiothesly Baptist Noel, Earl of Gainsborough, by whom he had several children, and left issue two sons and three daughters; William, now Duke of Portland, and Lord George, now an officer in his Majesty's service, and to whom the late King was godfather, and was born December 27, 1715; Lady Anne, Lady Isabella, and Lady Amelia. His Grace was succeeded by his eldest son William, now Duke of Portland, who after three years travel in France and Italy, returned to England in the year 1733 (*f*).

(*b*) Oldmixon's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 620.

(*c*) Oldmixon, ubi supra.

(*d*) Preface to Rapin's History of England.

(*e*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 312, 313.

(*f*) Ibid.

[*A*] *And after him Monsieur Rapin de Thoyras, author of the* History of England.] In the Life of Monsieur Rapin, inserted in the preface to his History of England, it is said, that in 1693 the Earl of Portland, who had heard of M. Rapin's character, resolved to make him Governor to his son (the late Duke of Portland): Accordingly, when M. de Rapin thought nothing of the matter, he received in Ireland, where he then was, an order from the King to repair forthwith into England, and enter upon his employ of Governor; and his Majesty gave him a pension of 100 *l.* a year, 'till such time as he should provide for him better, which however never happened, and he enjoyed his pension only during the King's life, after which it was taken from him, and in lieu of it he had a place given him of a moderate income (1). H

(1) Preface to Rapin's Hist. of England.

BENTLEY (Richard) Doctor, and Regius Professor of Divinity, and late Master of Trinity-College, Cambridge; a great and extraordinary critic, as any the last age has produc'd [*A*], was, we find, by birth, a Yorkshire man (*a*), and son (as I have been informed) of ——— Bentley, a tradesman, *viz.* either a Tanner, or a Blacksmith, at Wakefield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. He was born in the year 1662;

(*a*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 903.

[*A*] *A great and extraordinary critic as any the last age has produced.*] In vindication of this assertion, it may not be improper here to refer to a few of those distinguishing appellations the commonwealth of Letters have been in their books pleased to bestow upon him, and few or none but himself. See *Spanheim*'s *Callimachus*, and *Julian*; *Grævius*'s *Callimachus*, his *Alberti Rubenii Dissertatio*, dedicated to Dr *Bentley* (*); *Albertus Fabricius*, his *Marinus*'s *Vita Procli*, dedicated to Dr *Bentley*; *Bibliotheca Græca*; Mr *Wolfius*'s *Dissertatio de Manichæismo hujus ævi*; his *Origen*'s *Philosophumena Olearius Philostratus*, *Gr. Lat. Hemsterhusius*'s *Pollux*, *Gr. Lat.* &c. Our own countrymen, Dr *Potter* in his *Lycophron*; Mr *Needham* in his *Hierocles*, Mr *Davis* in his *Tusculanæ Quæstiones*, &c. However, we may venture to speak the sense of all these from a learned author, whose name is particularly revered, and is sufficiently known to all that are not entire strangers to the Republic of Letters, who, besides the general epithets of *Eruditissimus*, *Præstantissimus*, *Illustris perspicacissimus*, *Clarissimus*, Πολυμαθέστατος, &c. &c. (1) has these peculiar expressions concerning him, *Vir supra captum sæculi sui Doctus: Vir egregius et maximum literarum decus: magnum hodie literarum decus et incrementum: incomparabile auctoris sui judicium et acumen, &c.* And in the same work the most learned and incomparable Spanhemius, the King of Prussia's Ambassador to her Majesty, thus stiles Dr Bentley, *Vir insigni et reconditâ doctrinâ: Vir consummatissimâ eruditione; magnum hodie literarum ac eruditæ Britanniæ decus: Vir ut exquisita doctrina et reconditis literis, ita sagacitate incredibili*, &c. — The *decisive words of that transcendant critical genius of our age*, Dr Bentley, is also applied to him by a person of no small note (2), the great Dr Clarke, who was himself so excellent a critic, and consequently an unexceptionable judge thereof, in the following words gives this opinion of the learned Dr Bentley: *Criticus unus omnes longè, longéque ——— antecellens* (3), which compliment is still greatly heightened by the learned and ingenious Dr Hoadley, Bishop of Winchester, who, after repeating them, says, *and whom every one will know by that title, without my naming him* (4). But we shall stop here, and proceed no farther in this affair; for, were we to gather together all the encomiums bestowed upon this great man and his works by the learned world, both at home and abroad, we should greatly transgress upon the bounds of our undertaking, and the patience of our readers. We have, we imagine, (if there are any who can be so ignorant as to be unacquainted with, or so envious as to doubt of, or deny, *the great abilities and profound erudition of this ornament and honour to the English nation*) produced sufficient certificates and testimonies for the point we labour to prove.

(*) Spanheim in Julian, p. 19. In Callimachum, p. 455. Ibid. p. 605. Grævii Pref. ad Callim. & Rubenii Dissertatio. See note [*B*] (7).

(1) Dr Kuster's edition of Aristophanes.

(2) Emlyn's Tracts, p. 78.

(3) Dr Clarke's Preface to his edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, 1712.

(4) The Preface to Dr Clarke's Works, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the author, by Benjamin, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, 1730.

[*B*] Was

1662; but in what school he laid the foundation, or first rudiments for that stock, he afterwards acquired, of profound learning, or who was the Preceptor, and afterwards Tutor of this great man, with some other circumstances, we have not been able to find, from want of an intimacy with some of his family, or any of his particular acquaintance. Having, at a very early age, made a surprizing progress and uncommon proficiency in the learned languages; his inclination towards, and great capacity for, critical learning, soon began to display itself; for before the age of twenty-four, he had wrote with his own hand a sort of Hexapla, a thick volume in quarto, in the first column of which was every word of the Hebrew Bible, alphabetically disposed, and in five other columns, all the various interpretations of those words, in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate Latin, Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodosian, that occur in the whole Bible; this he made for his own private use, to know the Hebrew, not from the late Rabbins, but the antient version, when, bating Arabic, Persic, and Ethiopic, he must then have read over the whole Polyglott. He had also at that time, made for his own private use, another volume in quarto, of the various lections and emendations of the Hebrew text, drawn out of those antient versions, which, though done in those green years, would have made a second part to the famous Capellus's *Critica Sacra* (*b*). July 4, 1689, we find him of St John's college, Cambridge, where he had then taken his Master of Arts degree, being that day incorporated into the university of Oxford, in Wadham-college, as such, and mentioned by Anthony Wood (though then but a young man, a good deal under thirty) as a genius that was promising, and to whom the world was likely to be obliged, for his future studies and productions (*c*). Some time after that, he was made domestick Chaplain to the Right Reverend Edward Lord Bishop of Worcester (*) (*d*). In the year 1691 [*B*], he published a Latin Epistle to John Mill, D. D. containing some critical observations relating to Johannes Malala, Greek Historiographer, published at the end of that author at Oxon. in 1691, in a large octavo, which was the first piece that our author published.—Nor was religion less indebted to him than learning; for much about this time, he had the honour to be selected out, and pitched upon, as the first person to preach at Boyle's Lectures (*e*) [*C*], (founded by that honourable

(*b*) Dr Bentley's Proposals, for printing a new edition of the Greek Testament, and St Hierom's Latin Version, with a full Answer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer; by a Member of Trinity-college, Camb. subscribed J. E. 1721, p. 19.

(*c*) Wood's Fasti, ut supra.

(*) To whose son he had for some time been private Tutor, and in whose family he tells us he spent fourteen years.

(*d*) Wood's Fasti, ibid.

(*e*) Bentley's Sermons at Boyle's Lectures, fol. Vol. I. Lond. 1739.

[*B*] *In 1691, he published his Epistle to Dr Mill.*] *Malala*'s *Chronicon* is now finished, and will be published in a few days. We owe the edition of this manuscript, taken out of the Bodleian library, to Mr Hody of Wadham-college, and Mr Bentley, Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Worcester (5). Though this book bears the date of 1691, it was not published, as we find by the preceding and following quotations, 'till February 1692. The title of the whole runs thus. *Johannis Antiocheni Cognomento Malalæ Historia Chronica è Mss Cod. Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, nunc primum edita cum interp. et notis* Edm. Chilmeadi *et triplice indice rerum, autorum et vocum barbarum. Præmittitur dissertatio de autore, per* Humfredum Hodium, S. T. B. *Coll.* Wadhami *Socium. Accedit Epistola* Richardi Bentleii *ad Cl. V.* Jo Millium, S. T. P. *cum indice scriptorum, qui ibi emendantur* 8vo. *Oxonii E theatro Sheldoniano* 1691. Mr Bentley's remarks in the letter to the Rev. Dr Mill are worthy to be taken notice of, as they correct a great number of passages of the ancient Poets, and other Greek authors, which by *Malala* are quoted very negligently; occasionally also correcting several passages from authors not quoted by *Malala*; in both which corrections the ingenious author is, for the most part, peculiarly happy (*).

It will not be improper to insert, in this place, the opinion of the learned Grævius on this Epistle, in answer to some faults found with it by Mr Boyle, or at least his party, as that *it was a confused rhapsody*, &c. (6). But as we shall have farther use for the whole passage, we will here transcribe it all, and refer to it as occasion serves (7). 'Nec manes tantum *Rubenii* 'sed omnes humanitatis cultores tibi pro hoc in se merito devinxisti. Hi nunc tuas curas in *Manilium*, *Hesychium*, aliosque scriptores desiderant, et expectant 'cupidè. Nam eruditissima illa Epistola, quam sub 'texuisti Malalæ Chronicis, tam multa recondita nos 'docuit, ut incredibilem expectationem tui ingenii 'commoverit. Nihil nobis longius est, nihil desideratius, quam ut illa videamus, quorum spem fecisti 'cùm publice omnibus, tùm mihi de tuis in *Callimacho* animadversionibus, quarum pulcherrimum specimen mihi misisti, &c.' *i. e.* that not only the ashes of Rubenius, but all lovers of polite learning, were deservedly beholden to you for retrieving the MS. and that they were in great expectations of, and longed to have your labours in MANILIUS, HESYCHIUS, and other authors; for that most learned Epistle, joined to the Chronology of Malala, has shewn us such a stock of profound learning and discoveries, as has given us incredible expectations from your genius. Nothing is more desired or wished for by us, than to see your remarks and animadversions upon Callimachus, of which you sent me a delightful specimen, as we have reason to hope made publick to all as well as me. —— This Epistle to Dr Mill, was wrote and published, by the express desire of the Right Rev. the Bishop of Lichfield (†).

[*C*] *He was selected out, and pitched upon, for the first person to preach at Boyle's Lectures.*] He was chosen into this honourable office, March 17, 1692, by the Trustees of the Hon. Robert Boyle, by Will appointed for that purpose, viz. the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Lincoln; Sir Henry Ashurst, Bart. Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant at Law; and John Evelyn, Esq; (*). His I. sermon, the Folly of Atheism, &c. was preached in the church of St Martin's in the Fields, March 7, 1691-2, on *Psalm* xiv. 1. The II. lecture or sermon was, That Matter and Motion cannot think, &c. preached at St Mary le Bow, April 4, 1602, on *Acts* xvii. 27. The III. A Confutation of Atheism, from the structure and origin of Human Bodies, was preached at St Mary le Bow, May 2, 1692, on the same text. IV. Was preached on the same text, June 6, 1692. V. On the same text, was preached September 5, 1692. VI. Was a Confutation of Atheism, from the origin and frame of the world, preached October 3, 1692, on *Acts* xiv. 15, &c. VII. On the same text, November 7, 1692. And the VIII. and last on the same subject and text, December 5, 1692. These eight sermons were, as in the text, published by particular desire, in quarto, in 1693-4. Lond. and are deservedly esteemed and ranked among the best of those performances. Mr Molyneux, and Mr Locke, in their Letters concerning the reception of his Essay on the Human Understanding, mention Mr Bentley's name and these sermons with no small respect and deference (8). 'But that your 'doctrine should be so soon heard out of our pulpits, 'is what is much more remarkable; he that even ten 'years ago should have preached, that *Idea Dei non est innata*, that the idea of God is not innate, had 'certainly drawn on him the character of an Atheist; 'yet now we find Mr Bentley very large upon it in 'his sermons at Mr Boyle's Lecture, sermon I. p. 4, 'and sermon III. p. 5.'——*To which paragraph Mr Locke writes in return* (9). 'However you are 'pleased to rejoice, that my notions have had the 'good luck to be vented from the pulpit, and *particularly*

(5) The Works of the Learned, for January, 1691-2.

(*) See an abstract of this whole work, and several instances of the usefulness of Mr Bentley's corrections, in The Works of the Learned, Febr. 1691-2.

(6) A short Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity, p. 78.

(7) See Grævius's Dedication to Dr Bentley, in the Life of Theodorus Manilius.

(†) Bentley against Boyle, Pref. p. lxxxviii.

(*) See his Pref. and his Sermons, first edit. 1693-4.

(8) Mr Molyneux to Mr Locke, Dublin, Sept. 26, 1696.

(9) Mr Locke to Mr Molyneux, 22 Feb. 1696-7.

honourable gentleman, to assert and vindicate the great fundamentals of Natural and Revealed Religion) where he successfully applied Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica*, to demonstrate the being of God, and altogether silenced the Atheists, who have ever since that time sheltered themselves under Deism. The subject of his discourses was the folly of Atheism, even with respect to the present life, and that matter and motion cannot think; or a confutation of Atheism from the faculties of the soul, from the structure and origin of human bodies, and the origin and frame of the world itself; and though but young, and even only in Deacon's Orders when called to this honour, laid the basis and foundation upon which all the successors to that worthy office have since built, making his lectures their standard. And we may, without flattery, apply to the Doctor, what is said of one of his successors in that office, *viz.* 'This was a 'province, for which, if ever any man was peculiarly fitted by natural parts and learning, 'he was the man, executing his trust in such a manner, that he at once surprized and 'instructed his most understanding hearers, exceeding the expectations of those, who 'knew him enough to expect great things from him, and laid the foundations of true 'religion too deep and strong to be shaken, either by the superstition of some, or 'infidelity of others *(f)*.' Though a task of great extent, and no small difficulty, yet he so well answered the religious and generous design of the excellent founder, and acquitted himself with so much reputation, that the trustees not only *publickly thanked* him for them, but did moreover, by especial command and desire, prevail upon him to make the said discourses publick *(g)*; upon which he gave the world a volume containing eight Sermons, which have not only undergone a number of editions, but have been translated abroad into several languages. Upon the death of Mr Justel, the Doctor was immediately thought upon to succeed him, as Keeper of the Royal Library at St James's, and accordingly, a few months after his decease, had a warrant made out for that place, from the Secretary's office, Dec. 23, 1693, and had his patent for the same in April following; and soon after he was nominated to that office, before his patent was signed, by his care and diligence, procured no less than a thousand volumes of one sort or other, which had been neglected to be brought to the library according to the Act of Parliament, which prescribes, that one copy of every book printed in England, should be brought and lodged in this library, and one in each university library.—It was about this time, and upon this occasion, of his being made Library-Keeper, that the famous dispute between him and the honourable Mr Boyle, whether the Epistles of Phalaris were genuine or not, in some measure, at first took rise, which gave occasion to so many books and pamphlets, and has made so much noise in the world. We shall endeavour to give the reader as intelligible and full an account of the motives and rise of this dispute, as our present scope will allow, in note [*D*]. This controversy upon a point of learning, in itself

(f) Hoadley's Preface to Dr Clarke's Works, and account of his Life & Writings.

(g) His Preface, to the above.

'*larly by Mr Bentley*, yet matters go not so clear as 'you imagine, for a man of no small name, as you 'know Dr Sherlock is, has been pleased to declare 'against my doctrine of no Innate Ideas, from the 'pulpit of the Temple, and charged it with little less 'than *Atheism*.' *To which Mr* Molyneux *answers* (10), 'Both Mr *Whiston* and *Bentley* are positive against the 'Idea of God's being innate; and I had rather rely 'on them (if I would rely on *any* man) than on 'Dr Sherlock. 'Tis true the latter has a great name, 'but that I am sure weighs not with you nor me.' Mr Bentley, as is observed in the text, was at that time but in Deacon's Orders.

[*D*] *We shall endeavour to give the reader as intelligible and full an account, of the motives and rise of this dispute, as our present scope will allow.*] Dr Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church, desiring Mr Boyle to put out a new edition of Phalaris (*), he readily set about it; but wanting to consult a MS. Phalaris, in the King's library, sent to Mr Bennet, Bookseller in London, to get him the MS. by applying himself to Dr Bentley in his name. After earnest sollicitations, and great delays (11), for many months, Mr Bennet at last got possession of the MS. who, imagining there was no great hurry to return it, did not immediately set the Collator to work upon it; but Dr Bentley being to go a journey into Worcestershire at that time for six months; about six days after the MS. had been delivered, called for it again, and would by no means be prevailed upon to let him have the use of it any longer, though he told him the collation was not perfected (12), and denied his request in a very rude manner (13), throwing out many slighting and disparaging expressions, both of Mr Boyle and the work. This is the case as told by Mr Bennet, Mr Boyle, &c. who thinking himself ill used, towards the end of his preface, where he is giving some account of the edition of Phalaris, and the MSS. consulted in it, added the following words: *Collatas etiam (vid. Epistolas) curavi usque ad Epist* 40. *Cum manuscripto in Bibliothecâ Regiâ, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro singulari suâ humanitate negavit.* I likewise gave orders (says he) to have the Epistles collated with the MS. in the King's library; but my collator was prevented from going beyond the fortieth Epistle, by the singular humanity of the Library-Keeper, who refused to let me have any further use of the MS (14). The Epistles being published, Dr Bentley sends a letter (as he says) the very day that he saw Mr Boyle's new Phalaris in the hands of a person of honour, to whom it had been presented, while the rest of the impression was not yet published, to Mr Boyle at Oxford, to give him a true information of the whole matter; wherein, as Mr Boyle acknowledges (15), having expressed himself with great civility, he represented the matter of fact quite otherwise than he had heard it, expecting, that upon the receipt of the letter, he would put a stop to the publication of the book, 'till he had altered that passage, and printed the page anew, which might have been done in one day at the expence of five shillings. He says he did not expressly desire Mr Boyle to take out that passage, and reprint the whole leaf, thinking that was too low a submission. To which letter Mr Boyle says he immediately returned a civil answer, to this effect,—that Mr Bennet, whom he had employed to wait upon the Doctor in his name, gave him such an account of his reception, that he had reason to apprehend himself affronted; and since he could make no other excuse to the reader for not collating the King's manuscript, but because it was denied him, he thought he could do no less than express some resentment for that denial; that he should be very much concerned if Mr Bennet had dealt so with him as to mislead him in his account, and if that appeared, should be ready to take some opportunity of begging his pardon, expressing himself (Mr Boyle says) in such a manner, that the Doctor might understand he meant to give him satisfaction as publickly as he had injured him.

(10) Mr Molyneux to Mr Locke, March 16, 1696-7.

(*) Boyle against Bentley, p. 2.

(11) But in the Epistles of Phalaris examined; the Doctor proves he had it in a month after he was Library-Keeper, and offered voluntarily, p. xviii. also 66. and says he informed him how soon he should want it, p. xxi. and 66.

(12) The Doctor denies ever hearing the collation was not perfected, p. 66. affirming, that the whole MS. would not take up above four hours collating, p. xxvi.

(13) Boyle against Bentley, p. 3.

(14) In the Pref. to Mr Boyle's edition of Phalaris.

(15) Bentley's Dissertation examined, p. 4.

itself as dry and insipid as could possibly be, was managed and interspersed on both sides, with an infinity of wit and humour, and was universally read and admired, as it justly deserved The world was at that time a little biassed in favour of the production of the young nobleman, at least as to the genteel raillery of his pieces, whether so much as to the real affair in hand, (*) *viz.* the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris, is not so easily determined; since the best judges almost universally now, (the prejudice of opinion being worn off) give it in that respect to Dr Bentley; nor does he much, if at all, fall short of Mr Boyle, in throwing a deal of life and spirit into the controversy, particularly in his answer to Mr Boyle, which is interspersed, as well as Mr Boyle's piece, with abundance of wit and humour: and is, upon the whole, reckoned much the best book. Having thus, in the text and note, given the reader some account of one of the important passages of Dr Bentley's life, or at least of a part of his works, that made a great noise in the learned world: we shall next regularly descend to give a catalogue of his works, as near as we are able, according to the date they first bore, or the years they were published in, and what remarks we may be able to gather upon each of them, we shall add by way of note. This is, we imagine, all that can be expected in the life of this eminent Critic, except what, part of his education, his preferments, and a few family affairs, will afford; as to the unhappy disagreement between his college and him, to render that, and the distinct account of him as a Critic, the clearer, we shall separate them, and first consider him with regard to his works and preferments, *&c.* and shall afterwards treat separately of his dispute with the college, with as much perspicuity, as so puzzled and intricate

(*) *Had Phalaris been the author of those ingenious Epistles which the Doctor has fully proved he has no title to, &c.* An humble Address, and serious Representation of the Present State of Trinity-college, Cambridge, in a Letter to a noble Lord, p. 21. a well wrote piece, but with much warmth against Dr Bentley.

him. — Here the matter rested for two years and a half after the edition of Phalaris, when Dr Bentley, in an Appendix to Mr Wotton's Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, inserted his Dissertation on the Epistles of Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop; asserting, that the Epistles which had been ascribed to Phalaris for so many years past, were spurious, and the production of some sophist; and partly in anger, for the sting in Mr Boyle's preface to them, falls foul with some warmth on Mr Boyle's new edition and version, saying he had, foolishly busied himself about a contemptible and spurious author, and had made a bad book worse by a very ill edition of it, &c. &c. (16) and in part of the book justifies himself as to the affair of the MS. in the following words: *A Bookseller came to me, in the name of the* Editors, *to beg the use of the manuscript; it was not then in my custody, but as soon as I had the power of it, I went voluntarily and offered it him, bidding him tell the Collator not to lose any time, for I was shortly to go out of town for two months; 'twas delivered, used, and returned; not a word said by the bearer, nor the least suspicion in me that they had not finished the collation.* (17). Thus Dr Bentley puts the affair in a quite different light by his assertions, which are replied to, and that reply again answered, and so on, 'till the whole is so perplexed and confounded, that there is no judging of, or coming at, the truth and reality of the affair (18). We may, however, adjust these accounts, and bring their differences somewhat nearer to a ballance, by considering the distance of time, viz. full three years from the beginning of this transaction to the end of the controversy, and the partiality with which each must naturally recall to his remembrance his own words, actions, and behaviour. As to the real affair, viz. the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris, it is of too great length for us to interfere at all in, or rehearse any part of the controversy; we shall only add here, as above in the text, that the Doctor is not now (whatever he might then be out of partiality to a young shining Nobleman) imagined to have the worst of the argument, or to have handled it without some merit and applause as to wit and humour; though Mr Boyle, as the humour and caprice of the age then ran, only received congratulations on this occasion. Thus Dr Garth in the Dispensary (19).

So Diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
And to a BENTLEY *'tis we owe a* BOYLE.

The Doctor had also some wags who were his enemies even at Cambridge, who drew his picture in the hands of Phalaris's guards, who were putting him into their master's bull, and out of the Doctor's mouth came a label with these words, *I had rather be* Roasted *than* Boyled (20). And Dean *Swift*, in his Tale of a Tub, has some strokes at Dr Bentley upon this occasion, but more especially in his Battle of the Books (21), where, on account of Dr Bentley's dissertation of Phalaris, &c. being annexed to Mr Wotton's Reflections on learning,

(16) Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris, *passim.*

(17) Ut supra, p. 68.

(18) The Matter being confounded with many flat contradictions, may properly be reduced to this short question, *Utri creditis, Quirites,* Dr *Bentley,* or Mr *Bennet,* the Bookseller?

(19) Dr Garth's Dispensary.

(20) Budgell's Lives of the Boyles, p. 193.

(21) The Episode in the Battle of the Books, p. 256, *&c.* in the Tale of a Tub, *passim,* particularly p. 22, 81, 93, 208.

and their being great friends, he makes Mr Wotton and Dr Bentley standing side by side, in each other's defence, to be both transfixed to the ground by one stroke of the javelin of Mr Boyle, and this he heightens by the simile of a Cook's spitting a brace of woodcocks.

But to give a regular account of the proceedings of this debate, that is, of the books as printed ——— About 1694 Mr Boyle published his very fine edition of Phalaris, with the Greek text, translated in a nervous and classical Latin stile.

About two Years and a half after this, in 1697, Dr Bentley published his Dissertation upon the Epistles of Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop, at the end of the second edition of Mr Wotton's Reflections of Antient and Modern Learning; but in the third edition, in 1705, the Dissertation on Phalaris, being of considerable bulk, is omitted, because afterwards printed by Dr Bentley entire, and added with great additions to his further defence of it, in answer to Mr Boyle; but what concerned the Epistles of Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æsop, being printed no where else, is reprinted in that and the other editions of Mr Wotton's book.

In 1698 came out Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop, examined by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq; a book more commonly known by the title of *Boyle against Bentley.* The publication of this book was hindered by Mr Boyle's business, which sent him into, and detained him in, Ireland, else he had answered Dr Bentley's Dissertation (22) sooner. The second edition of this book was published in 1742.

Then in 1699 followed Dr Bentley's Answer to the above, commonly known by the name of *Bentley against Boyle,* a curious piece, interspersed with a great deal of true wit and humour. This is at present a scarce book, and the curious have for some time expected it would be reprinted, as well as Mr Boyle's piece. These were the several pieces concerned in this great dispute, excepting some few that were published against the Doctor, hardly any of which have had the honour to come down to us even in this small period of time (*). There is one indeed of them which we have quoted, and shall quote again, therefore we shall give the title of it here, and conclude this note, which we have been obliged to stretch a little, to give a clear idea of the whole affair. ——*A short account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Justice to those authors who have written before him, with an honest vindication of Thomas Stanley, Esq; and his notes on Callimachus. To which are added, some other Observations on that Poet, in a Letter to the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq; with a Postscript, in relation to Dr Bentley's late book against him. To which is added, an Appendix, by the Bookseller; wherein the Doctor's misrepresentations of all the matters of fact, wherein he is concerned in his late book about Phalaris's Epistles, are modestly considered, with a Letter from the Honourable Charles Boyle on that Subject,* 8vo. 1699. Lond.

(22) As he tells us in the Preface.

(*) Among the rest, in 1701, a short Review of the Controversy between Mr Boyle and Dr Bentley, 144 pages, 8vo.

intricate an affair will allow of. But to return; at the expreſs deſire of his friend Mr Grævius, he ſet about, compiled, and publiſhed, his Animadverſions and Remarks on the Poet Callimachus (*h*) [*E*], making at the ſame time a collection of ſome ſcattered pieces or fragments of that author. Theſe he finiſhed and ſent over to Mr Grævius, towards the latter end of his diſpute with Mr Boyle, and Mr Grævius publiſhed them abroad in 1697 (*i*). In the year 1700, upon the death of Dr North, he was by the Crown preſented to the Maſterſhip of Trinity-college, Cambridge, which is reckoned worth near 1000 *l. per Annum*, upon which preferment he reſigned his prebend of Worceſter (*k*). But June 12, 1701, on Dr Saywell's death, was collated and made Archdeacon of Ely (*l*). What next employed his critical genius, were the two firſt comedies of Ariſtophanes; upon theſe he made ſome curious annotations, which were publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1710, as was, much about the ſame time, at Rheims, his emendations, *&c.* on the fragments of Menander and Philemon, in the feigned name of *Phileleutherus Lipſienſis*: under this character he appeared again in 1713, in remarks upon Collins's Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, a book which had made no ſmall noiſe in the world at that time, this he handles and confutes in ſo critical, learned, and yet familiar a manner, that the world may not think themſelves a little obliged to him, for theſe judicious and learned remarks, which may be reckoned among his capital pieces. But, as his appearing under that feigned and foreign title may ſeem a little inconſiſtent, with publiſhing his remarks in Engliſh upon that Engliſh pamphlet, we ſhall juſt tranſcribe enough of the preface to that work, to explain that in note [*F*]. Juſt before his Remarks on Free-Thinking, in 1711, came forth his ſo long expected and celebrated edition of Horace [*G*]. What he intended, was

(*h*) Bentley againſt Boyle, in the Preface.

(*i*) Bibliotheca Bodleiana.

(*k*) Willis on Cathedrals in the Prebends of Worceſter, p. 672.

(*l*) Willis on Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 376, in the Archdeacons of Ely.

[*E*] *His Animadverſions and Remarks on the Poet Callimachus.*] The title of which, as given in the *Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, runs thus. *Annotationes, in Callimachum ultra*, 1697. *Collectio fragmentorum Callimachi & Annotationes ad eadem ibid* (*). This was an accurate edition of that Poet, publiſhed by the learned Grævius, to whom Dr Bentley ſent over his animadverſions and remarks, great part of which he is charged with having ſtole from manuſcript remarks of the learned Mr Stanley's, which were lent him by Sir Edward Sherburn †. How this matter ſtands we ſhall not pretend to ſay, ſhall only obſerve what even on this very piece his inveterate enemies, then vilifying and writing againſt him, were obliged to yield to him as his undoubted right in this point, viz. *It ought to be acknowledged, that Dr Bentley has made* SOME *additions to Mr Stanley's Collections*; *it ought to be confeſſed that Dr Bentley has made ſome additions of his own to what was collected to his hands ſo readily*, beſides a number of obſervations which are granted him as his own. But now let us ſee, what, upon the whole, are the foreign opinions of this edition, and the Doctor's performance therein. See Grævius's preface to Dr Bentley before in note [*B*]; Mr Spanheim *in Callimachum*; *Grævii præf. ad Callim.* We have alſo ſince this been obliged by the Doctor with an edition for ſchools, &c. of this author, in octavo, in the year 1741, in which is the hymns and a parcel of the ſelect epigrams of Callimachus, joined with ſome other things. After having given us his reaſons for this edition in his preface, he adds a little Eſſay of about twelve pages, of the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

(*) Catalogus impreſſorum Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, p. 136.

† A ſhort account of Dr B's Humanity, &c. ut ſupra, p. 29.

[*F*] *To explain that in the note.*] In 1713 came out a piece, intitled, *A Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, occaſioned by the riſe and growth of a Sect, called* FREE-THINKERS. This was managed by Mr Collins, Des Maizeaux, and ſeveral others. Soon after the Doctor comes out with his *remarks upon it, in a Letter to F. H. D. D. by Phileleutherus Lipſienſis.* Before which is prefixed the following letter, of which we ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe a part.

To my very learned and honoured friend, *F. H.* D. D. at London, Great Britain.

S I R,

'YOUR many and great civilities to me ſince 'your firſt acquaintance in the Low-Countries, 'and the kind office you did me in conveying my annotations on *Menander* to the preſs, but, above all, 'your taciturnity and ſecrecy, that have kept the true 'author of that book undiſcovered hitherto, if not 'unguesſed, have encouraged me to ſend you theſe 'preſent remarks to be communicated to the pub-'lick, &c.'

He then tells us, how he came by the Diſcourſe, viz. 'that an Engliſhman juſt come from London, where this 'book was juſt publiſhed, and had made much diſcourſe, 'made him a preſent of it, knowing him to be an ad-'mirer of Engliſh books, and one that (during his ſtay 'at Oxford) had made himſelf a competent maſter of 'the Engliſh language.' Then goes on; 'I, who (as you 'well know) have been trained up and exerciſed in free 'thought from my youth, and whoſe borrow'd name, *Phi-'leleutherus*, ſufficiently denotes me a lover of freedom, 'was pleaſed not a little with ſo promiſing a title. But 'when once the curtain was drawn, and by a peruſal of 'the book, the private Cabala and myſterious ſcheme 'within became viſible and open; under the ſpecious 'ſhew of free-thinking, a ſet and ſyſtem of opinions are 'all along inculcated and dogmatically taught; opinions 'the moſt ſlaviſh, the moſt abject and baſe, that human 'underſtanding is capable of. This irkſome diſappoint-'ment that my fine preſent ſhould dwindle ſo far, as to 'be below the value of waſte paper, raiſed a haſty reſo-'lution in me to write ſome remarks on it. And I find 'I ſhall have much the ſame employment as I had be-'fore on Menander, for I am here too to deal in frag-'ments, the main of the book being a rhapſody of 'paſſages out of old and new writers, raked and ſcraped 'together by the joint labour of many hands, to abuſe 'all religion. *O infelices laborum!* Had I been at their 'conſultation, I could have furniſhed them with many 'more. And I will now inform them, that if they will 'read all Galen, and the Greek Commentators on Ari-'ſtotle, they may find two or three paſſages much fitter 'for their purpoſe than any they have brought, &c (†).'

(†) The Letter before the Remarks on Free-Thinking.

[*G*] *In 1711 came forth his ſo long expected and celebrated edition of Horace.*] This, which is alſo a very correct, elegant, and neat edition, was printed in quarto, and dedicated to Lord Oxford from Trinity-college, Cambridge, upon the very birth-day of Horace, viz. the 6th of the Ides of December In his preface to this he tells us, that having much care and buſineſs upon his hands, he was obliged to forſake more difficult ſtudies; but that he might not entirely forget his old love for the Muſes, he reſolved to undertake ſome eaſy and pleaſant work, which did not ſo much require a free and undiſturbed mind, but might rather conduce to make it ſo. Horace, he ſays, was the author he pitched upon, not ſo much that he imagined there were more faults to correct in that than in any other of the Ancients, but becauſe moſt pleaſing to the generality of his readers, and himſelf; keeping himſelf within theſe bounds, viz. only to meddle with ſuch things as ſhould belong to the genuine and right reading, altogether neglecting what the generality of Commentators have laboured in, viz. what regards the hiſtory, cuſtoms, and manners of the Ancients. This indeed he acknowledges to be a very material work, but, as already done, there was no occaſion for farther remarks in that way. He owns he adds more from his own imaginations and conjectures than from manuſcripts or books. Then proceeds to give us an account of the ſeveral manuſcripts and editions of Horace that he had conſulted.

was not properly to explain his author, but only to correct what he judged remained still corrupted in the text, as he himself tells us in his preface (*), and this, by the help and assistance, either of ancient manuscripts, old editions, or by a happy sagacity in divination and conjecture: this, it must be confessed, was a nice and dangerous undertaking, if the author had not been perfectly master of the subject and argument, the language, stile, and genius of his author; and even received originally from nature, that particular niceness of taste, and peculiarly happy talent, which is proper and requisite to succeed in such a nice and hazardous attempt; as we may see more fully at large, in the Doctor's own preface (†). Dr Bentley, however, succeeded very well, correcting a much greater number of passages, than any, or all his former interpreters, ever had done; furnishing us, in this his new edition of our elegant Roman poet, with a great number of very plausible, and highly probable, not to mention some, which are indeed certain and genuine emendations. But as the republick of Criticks, is full of curious and litigious minds and spirits, as well as rash and presumptuous ones, not to mention, that even the most able and impartial, are not in all things infallible, nor of the same opinion; there won't want some therefore, that will not every where approve Dr Bentley's guesses and conjectures [*H*]. The commonwealth of

(*) See note [*G*].

(†) Ut supra.

consulted. The title runs thus: *Q. Horatius Flaccus ex recensione, & cum notis et emendationibus, Richardi Bentleii.* It has gone through abundance of editions, and been printed according to his emendations and corrections in various sizes. We shall only further add, with reference to the Amsterdam edition, compared with the Cambridge one (23), that it seems much more convenient and better disposed, the notes being every where here placed under the text, whereas they were all before at the end of the volume, and the additions also put and inserted in their proper places, which before were only at the end of the second tome. The copies also which are printed upon large paper seem far to surpass in beauty and goodness those of England, although the larger as well as lesser ones, are both sold much cheaper than the English ever were. But what is still more considerable, the Dutch booksellers have printed in the same letter Daniel Aveman's Index of Horace's words and phrases; to which Mr Verburg has added all the various readings in Dr Bentley's edition, and has besides augmented it with 500 quotations, and striking out all there was in it relating to the conjunctions and other undeclinable particles, which no reader ever has any occasion to enquire or search for. This Index alone therefore, if there was nothing else besides, will recommend this edition, and make it preferable to the other.

(23) From the French of M. le Clerc's Judgment and Censure of Dr Bentley's Horace.

[*H*] *There won't want some therefore that will not every where approve Dr Bentley's guesses and conjectures.*] As to Foreigners, M. Le Clerc's *Judgment and Censure of* Horace is the only one we have perused on that subject, though there are doubtless some others in the foreign Journals and Bibliotheques. As to (24) M. Le Clerc's opinion, the reader has great part of it, except what relates to any particular criticisms, in the text, as also in the foregoing note. In the year following the Doctor's edition, viz. 1712, came out by various hands, the Odes and Epodes of Horace in six-penny numbers, making in the whole two volumes in octavo; the titles of which are, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace in Latin and English, with a Translation of Dr* Bentley's *Notes. To which are added* Notes *upon* Notes, *done in the* Bentleian *stile and manner:* To which, as the preface is short, and something pertinent in this place, we shall here add it. 'We humbly 'hope that the reader will encourage the following 'Essays upon several accounts. First, As they are de'signed to shew him the best author of Augustus's age 'in his native purity. Secondly, To give him a fur'ther proof how far all attempts to render him into 'English, even after the best version now extant has 'succeeded no better, must fall short of the original. 'Thirdly, to convince him how ridiculous it is to 'presume to correct HORACE without authority, upon 'the pretended strength of superior judgment in 'Poetry. And lastly, How easily such a presumption 'may be turned upon the authors, and sufficiently ex'pose them in their own way (25).' This last paragraph seems indeed to have been the greatest part of the design of this work, which is executed with a great deal of spirit and humour. These and other pieces are, we find, hinted at by the learned Johnson (author of the Grammatical Commentaries) in the following words, in his *Aristarchi Anti-Bentleiani* (26): 'Sed 'elapso anno uno, atque item altero, cum adversariis, 'quos tres vel quatuor habuit, nihil viderem argu'mento dignum prodiisse: neque de iis quidquam 'dictum in quibus Bentleius maxime peccaverat.' But a year or two being passed without any of Dr Bentley's antagonists, of which he had three or four, advancing any thing worthy of notice, having never touched upon the places where he was most faulty; Mr Johnson, as he informs us, was resolved to have a stroke or two at the Doctor himself, but was delayed three or four years by an indisposition, which also made him examine the Doctor no farther than the XXXVIIth ode, or first book of Horace, in his first part (27). This piece, as the reader may perceive by the title in the margin, is in Latin, and was printed in octavo at Nottingham, at least six years after the Doctor's edition of Horace. Before it is prefixed a Latin preface of about eighteen pages, in which he gives us reasons for undertaking this work, and for using the Doctor so familiarly, or rather rudely, as he does. This he pretends is by way of retaliation for the great men (28) Dr Bentley has made free with, where he accordingly sums up what the Doctor says of himself, and what of others. However, the *De se dicta* of Mr Johnson, even in this preface, are not inconsiderable. At the end of the first part of Mr Johnson's remarks, consisting of 108 pages, is a stanza of an old ballad, with annotations after the manner of Dr Bentley; and after that follows a second part, which goes through with an examination of the other books, Epodes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace; and tho' there is no doubt but a great many of the observations of that eminent Grammarian are very just and true, yet we can no ways agree with Mr Edmund Miller, either in his opinion of Aristarchus, or Dr Bentley's Horace. His words are these (29). 'But the Doctor has had the 'ill fortune to fall into the hands of Mr *Johnson*, who '(by giving himself the trouble of examining only 'into the first book of this applauded performance) 'has in his Aristarchus abovementioned discovered so 'much want of judgment, so many absurdities, incon'sistencies, silly affected alterations, together with so 'much carelessness, even to the writing not only im'proper but false Latin in many instances, besides a 'knavish arrogance of assuming other peoples disco'veries to himself, that he has made it plain (in much 'better Latin than his own) that the Doctor in this 'edition, as well as his other actions, had his chief 'view upon profit.' But Mr Miller's learning, taste for criticism, or books, will never hurt Dr Bentley. However, as we have now mentioned it, and shall have occasion for to take farther notice of it, we cannot help giving something of a character of it from a late ingenious author (30). *Another trifling pamphlet, in relation to this University, has been lately thrust into the world, with little design, I fear, of instruction, but rather to irritate a party sufficiently enraged against our famous Universities, and to hasten a visitation; take it, such as it is, published under the title of,* &c. But we shall wind up our observations on this noted performance of the Doctor's (which, as I remember somewhere to have read, cost himself no less time than the taking of Troy did the Greeks), with a passage *even* of the preface of Mr Johnson's Aristarchus; which shews the true merit and value of that work, and the opinion the Learned entertained of it at that time, and which it

(24) Le Clerc's Censure and Judgment of Horace, translated from the French.

(25) Preface to Bentley's Horace, notes upon notes.

(26) Aristarchi Anti-Bentleiani nonaginta Bentleii per notas universas Latinitate Lapsus fœdissimos ostendens, Præfat. p. vi.

(27) Præfat. p. vii.

(28) Præf. p. vii. to p. xviii. Bentleii *de se & aliis Dicta*.

(29) An Account of the university of Cambridge, *&c.* by Edmund Miller, p. 100.

(30) Rawlinson's English Topographer, p. 13.

of learning is now ſo free, that every one pretends a right to ſpeak his mind and ſentiment, how diſſonant or oppoſite ſoever it may prove, even to that of the greateſt and ableſt pens, or thoſe of the firſt rank and order therein. On the fifth of November, in the year 1715, the Doctor preached a ſermon at St James's againſt Popery, on which ſomebody ſoon after publiſhed Remarks, which occaſioned Dr Bentley's anſwer, intituled, Reflections on the ſcandalous Aſperſions caſt on the Clergy, by the Author of the Remarks on Dr Bentley's Sermon on Popery, &c. this was printed in the year 1717, in octavo. In the year 1716, the Doctor had two printed Letters inſcribed to him, dated Jan. 1; to which alſo were added his Anſwer; theſe were concerning his intended edition of the Greek Teſtament, giving ſome account of what was to be expected in that edition; and in them we are informed, that he intended to make no uſe of any manuſcript in this edition, that was not a thouſand years old or above; of which ſort, he had got at that time twenty together in his ſtudy, which made up, one with another, 20,000 years [*I*]; and after having had this affair in agitation for about four years, he at laſt publiſhed propoſals for it (*), which, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the times, met with prodigious encouragement from all true lovers of learning, and people of the beſt rank and quality at London. But ſoon after came out Remarks, paragraph by paragraph, on theſe propoſals, by Dr Conyers Middleton, the afterwards known author of this piece, who ſets out, by aſſuring his reader, that it was neither perſonal ſpleen, nor envy to the author of the propoſals, that drew the following remarks from him, but a ſerious conviction, that he had neither *talents* nor *materials* proper for the work, and that religion was much more likely to receive detriment than ſervice from it. The time, manner, and other circumſtances of theſe propoſals, ſays he, make it but too evident, that they were haſtened out to ſerve quite different ends, than thoſe of common Chriſtianity; and I think it my duty to obviate, as far as I am able, the influence they might have on ſome, whom big words, and bold attempts, are apt to lead implicitly into an high opinion and admiration of the merit and abilities of the undertaker. He then proceeds to criticize paragraph by paragraph on the Doctor's propoſals, of which, as it was a famous diſpute, and quite overthrew the Doctor's deſign, (though he had at firſt met with all imaginable ſucceſs) we ſhall endeavour to give the reader ſome idea, by extracting from the pamphlets that paſſed on that occaſion, below in note [*K*]. But as to matters of mere learning

(*) As below in note [*K*].

it juſtly deſerves. 'Cæteris eum in deliciis eſſe, ut 'unicum Horatii interpretem, laudibus in cælum ferri: 'librum adoleſcentibus in manus ubique tradi, quo 'demum poetæ tanti veros ſenſus, atque elegantias quo 'in multis linguæ Latinæ rationem internoſcerent (31).' Others were ſo delighted with him, that they uſed to extol him up to the ſkies, as the only Commentator (or interpreter) of Horace. His book was every where given into the hands of youth, from which alone they could come at the true ſenſe and elegancies of that great Poet, and from whence alone in many caſes they could arrive at the true knowledge of the Latin tongue.

(31) Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani Præfat. p. v.

[*I*] *Of which ſort he had got at that time twenty together in his ſtudy, which made up, one with another, 20,000 years.*] 'Mr Martin of Utrecht, ſpeaking 'upon the ſubject of this very letter, ſays, that our 'Editor is not a little indebted to his good fortune for 'having found twenty manuſcripts well told, which 'are of 1000 years ago, or above, it being one of the 'moſt extraordinary diſcoveries in this kind of Litera- 'ture that has been made in our days (32).' And again in another place (33), 'the point will be, ſays 'he, whether theſe MSS. lately diſcovered be really 'as old as Dr Bentley takes them to be, for we are 'not ignorant how difficult it is, not to ſay impoſſible, 'to paſs always in theſe caſes a certain judgment ſe- 'cure from all doubts.'

(32) Martin's Defence of his Diſſertation, in Engliſh.

(33) Ibid. p. 16.

[*K*] *As below in the notes.*] Propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St Hierom's Latin verſion. Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ *Græcè Novum Teſtamentum verſionis vulgatæ, P. Stum Hieronymum ad vetuſta exemplaria Græca caſtigatæ et exactæ* —— *utrumque ex antiquiſſimis Cod. MSS. cum Græcis tum Latinis edidit Richardus Bentleius.*

I. The author of this edition obſerving, that the printed copies of the New Teſtament, both of the original Greek and antient Vulgar Latin, were taken from manuſcripts of no great antiquity, ſuch as the firſt editors could then procure; and that now, by God's providence, there are manuſcripts in Europe (acceſſible, though with great charge) above 1000 years old, in both languages, he believes he may do good ſervice to common Chriſtianity, if he publiſhes a new edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated copies, but as repreſented in the moſt antient and venerable manuſcripts, in Greek and Roman capital letters.

II. The author revolving in his mind ſome paſſages of St Hierom, where he declares, that (without making a new verſion) he adjuſted and reformed the whole *Latin Vulgate to the beſt Greek exemplary*, that is, to thoſe of the famous Origen; and another paſſage, where he ſays, that a verbal or literal interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not neceſſary, *except in the Holy Scriptures*, ubi ipſe verborum ordo myſterium eſt, *where the very order of the words is a myſtery*; took thence the hint, that if the oldeſt copies of the original Greek, and Hierom's Latin, were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be ſtill found to agree both in words and order of words; and upon making the eſſay, he has ſucceeded in his conjecture beyond his expectation, or even his hopes.

III. The author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few places) the true exemplar of Origen, which was the ſtandard to the moſt learned of the Fathers at the time of the council of Nice, and two centuries after; and he is ſure that the Greek and Latin manuſcripts, by their mutual aſſiſtance, do ſo ſettle the original text to the ſmalleſt nicety, as cannot be performed now in any claſſic author whatever; and that out of a labyrinth of thirty thouſand various readings, that croud the pages of our preſent beſt editions, all put upon equal credit to the offence of many good perſons; this clue ſo leads and extricates us, that there will ſcarce be two hundred out of ſo many thouſands that can deſerve the leaſt conſideration.

IV. To confirm the lections which the author places in the text, he makes uſe of the old verſions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, and Æthiopic; and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the firſt five centuries; and he gives in his notes all the various readings (now known) within the ſaid five centuries; ſo that the reader has under one view what the firſt ages of the Church knew of the text; and what has crept into any copies ſince is of no value or authority.

V. The author is very ſenſible, that in the ſacred writings there is no place for conjectures or emendations; diligence and fidelity, with ſome judgment and experience, are the characters here requiſite; he declares therefore, that he does not alter one letter in the text without the authorities ſubjoined in the notes; and

learning and criticism, or dispute and malicious raillery, we shall purposely omit that, as it

to leave the free choice to every reader, he places under each column the smallest variations of this edition, either in words or order, from the received Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes Sixtus V, and Clemens VIII; so that this edition exhibits both itself and the common ones.

VI. If the author has any thing to suggest, towards a change of the text, not supported by any copies now extant, he will offer it separate in his *Prolegomena*; in which will be a large account of the several manuscripts here used, and of the other matters which contribute to make this edition useful. In this work he is of no sect or party, his design is to serve the whole Christian name; he draws no consequences in his notes, makes no oblique glances, upon any disputed points, old or new. He consecrates this work as a Κειμήλιον, a Κτῆμα ἐσαεὶ, a *Charter*, a *Magna Charta*, to the whole Christian Church, to last, when all the antient manuscripts here quoted may be lost and extinguished.

VII. To publish this work, according to it's use and importance, a great expence is requisite. It is designed to be printed, not on the paper, or with the letter of this specimen, but with the best letter, paper, and ink, that Europe affords; it must therefore be done by subscription or contribution. As it will make two tomes in folio, the lowest subscription for smaller paper must be three guineas, one advanced in present; and for the great paper five guineas, two advanced.

VIII. The work will be put to the press as soon as money is contributed to support the charge of the impression, and no more copies will be printed than subscribed for. The overseer and corrector of the press will be the learned Mr John Walker of Trinity-college in Cambridge, who with great accurateness has collated many manuscripts at Paris for the present edition; and the issue of it, whether gain or loss, is equally to fall on him and the author.

Then follows the specimen, viz. the last chapter of the Apocalypse, with a Latin version, and the various readings of the several manuscripts in the notes. Soon after these proposals, in 1721, came out Dr Middleton's remarks upon them, paragraph by paragraph, as above in the text. In these he observes our author makes no scruple to destroy the authority of all our published scriptures, crying down all the current editions as corrupt and adulterate; and then, in vindication of the former editions, Dr Middleton endeavours to prove the excellency of two or three of the principal ones, viz. the celebrated Complutensian, printed in 1515, which had all the manuscripts of the Vatican, besides many others of the greatest antiquity, procured by Cardinal Ximenes, with no small trouble and expence, from Rome, Spain, and other foreign parts; insomuch that seven only of these manuscript copies, fetched from different countries, cost him 4000 crowns (34). Next Erasmus's edition, formed by collating and comparing many of the most correct and antient manuscripts, both Greek and Latin. Dr Mill compares one of Erasmus's Greek Manuscripts to the Alexandrian itself, which is supposed to be above 1200 years old; and then instances Robert Stephens, who collected the text of his edition from no fewer than sixteen of the best manuscripts, some of which are described by him to be *ipsâ vetustatis specie pœnè adorandos*. I need not mention, says he, the many other editions we have of good note, but shall leave it to the reader to determine from these, how just and modest our author has been in this paragraph; and whether manuscripts of no great antiquity, recent and interpolated, be the proper translations of *Antiquissimæ, Emendatissimæque venerandæ vetustatis, spectatæque fidei*, for these are the epithets given to those manuscripts. Besides the last edition of the learned Dr Mill, who with incredible pains and industry for thirty years together, has drawn together in his elaborate edition, not only what had been collected by all other authors and editors before him, but the collations likewise of all manuscripts whatsoever which he had heard of, or were at all in fame in any part of Europe, there are many in his collections above 1000 years old, and in capitals too. But the author of the remarks, carries his remarks on the beginning of this article by much too far, the matter being drawn up in as tender and modest terms as the nature of the thing would bear, without any the smallest reproach or reflexion on the prior editors (35). The Doctor then reduces him to the following dilemma, no man can possibly give a better edition than those already extant; or the man that can do it, ought necessarily to say in his proposals, that the extant editions are erroneous and imperfect (36). Did not *Erasmus*, without public censure, refine by repeated editions not only upon the *Complutenses*, but even upon himself? How came *Robert Stephens*, a mere Printer, with public acceptation and applause, to refine upon them both (37)? —— The *venerable manuscripts* of the *Complutenses* did not hinder *Erasmus* from *varying* from them *in a thousand places*; nor did *Erasmus's correct and antient manuscripts* deter Robert Stephens from doing the like by his. — The world is now advanced, adds he, two whole centuries in age since the date of the *Complutensian* and *Erasmus's* edition, and as much within thirty years since that of *Robert Stephens*; within that time older manuscripts have been brought to light than those editors knew, every thing is comparatively old or recent: In those days, when no better was seen, they gave the titles of antient and venerable to manuscripts that are now scarce reckoned in the 2d or 3d rate. — But that his edition would chiefly turn upon eight Greek manuscripts, the most recent of which is one thousand years old (38), and that without the concurrence of some of these, he will scarce put one word in his text. Now of all these eight, not one was used either by the *Complutenses* or *Erasmus*, and only one of them by *Robert Stephens*, and that very negligently. As to Ximenes, seven manuscripts; 4,000,000 crowns would not buy the manuscripts that the Doctor got collated for this edition; and though he had no Cardinal's purse, spent nevertheless a thousand crowns only for the bare use of them (39), and that four of these eight manuscripts (and the four principal, abating the Alexandrian) were never collated by or for Dr Mill (40), besides having collated with his own hand a score of old Latin Testaments which he had procured at his own expence. This pamphlet, called a Defence of Dr Bentley's Proposals, for printing a new edition of the Greek Testament, &c. is again answered by Dr Middleton in his own proper name (41), by summing up, in something a stronger manner, what he had before said, and still insisting upon the excellence and antiquity of the manuscripts of the former editions, and turns the Doctor's answer wholly into pride and arrogance of himself. He then proceeds to enquire into the *true state of his materials* in this manner. — The first account I have met with of *his manuscripts*, says he (42), is in a *printed letter of his*, upon the subject of his edition, as above in the text. Thus, says Dr Middleton (43), his *twenty old manuscripts shrink at once to eight*, and he is forced again to own, that even *of these eight, there are only four which had not been collated and made use of by Dr Mill*. He ought however, methinks, to oblige *his subscribers* with a *more particular and satisfactory* account of the *four manuscripts* he pretends to; whether, though never used by Dr Mill, they were not still *collated by* Dr Kuster; whether *any one of them, or all together*, make out the whole New Testament, for 'tis a great rarity to find *any one of value* which contains *above a part of it*; and *our editor* tells us himself, that *there are very few good ones, nay, not so much as one of any antiquity*, besides the Alexandrine, *which comprehends the whole*; so that whenever he thinks fit to answer these queries, his little stock will probably be reduced once more to half; nay, he will be left, I am almost confident, with nothing more than *some piece only of the New Testament in manuscript*; for I will not pretend to deny (44), that our author may possibly have met with, and collated some few manuscripts, which Dr Mill had not heard or made use of; but what reason or pretence can this give him for such a triumph and insult over all editors before him. I might also, says Dr Middleton, properly enough observe, the many blunders and errata of the press (as remarkable in this specimen as in the very worst of our printed editions), to shew that there is no kind of inaccuracy but what may be justly charged upon it. Dr Bentley, in defence of the incorrectness of his specimen, alledges, that the proposals were drawn up in haste in one evening by candlelight, and printed next day from the first and sole draught, which haste likewise hindered him from revising

(34) Gomesius, De Rebus Gestis Ximenii, lib. ii.

(35) Dr Bentley's Proposals for printing a new edition of the Greek Testament, and St Hierom's Latin version, with a full Answer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity-coll. Cambridge, 1721, p. 11.

(36) Ibid. p. 12.

(37) Ibid. p. 13.

(38) Ibid. p. 13.

(39) Ibid. p. 15.

(40) Ibid. p. 14.

(41) Some farther Remarks, Paragraph by Paragraph, upon Proposals lately published for a new edition of a Greek and Latin Testament, by Richard Bentley, containing a full Answer to the Editor's late Defence of his said Proposals, as well as to all his Objections there made, against my former Remarks, by Conyers Middleton, D. D. price 2 s. p. 4, 5.

(42) Two Letters to Dr Bentley, and the Doctor's Answer, dated Trin. Coll. Jan. 1. 1716-17.

(43) Some farther Remarks, &c. containing a full Answer to the Editor's late Defence of his Proposals, &c. p. 8.

(44) Ibid. p. 24.

it would abundantly tranſgreſs the limits we muſt neceſſarily ſet ourſelves upon this occaſion, referring the curious reader to the tracts themſelves for a fuller account. Soon after theſe Remarks paragraph by paragraph, came out the Propoſals, with a pamphlet, intituled, A full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a member of Trinity-college, Cambridge, 1721, ſigned I. E. this Dr Middleton, and all, imagined could be none but the Doctor himſelf, as well from the ſtyle, as the letters I. E. being the two firſt vowels of Richard Bentley, and upon this ſuppoſition, Dr Middleton and others, in their future Remarks, make that one great handle of abuſing him. It is, however, ſomewhat uncertain, whether Dr Middleton might not be as much miſtaken as to the author of thoſe Remarks, as the very author of thoſe Remarks was, with reſpect to the author of the Remarks Paragraph by Paragraph, who took them to be made by Dr Colbatch [*L*]. But ſoon after this came out a pamphlet, with ſome farther Remarks, *&c.* containing a full anſwer to the editor's late defence of his Propoſals, as well as all his objections there made, againſt my former Remarks, by Conyers Middleton, D. D. As alſo, an anonymous Letter to the Reverend Maſter of Trinity-college, Cambridge, editor of a new Greek Teſtament. We alſo find, under the catalogue of the Doctor's works in the Bibliotheca Bodleiana, much about this time, ſomewhat analogous and relating to this affair, *viz.* An Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Compluteníian edition of the New Teſtament, in a Letter to Archdeacon Bentley, in 1722, 8*vo.* (*n*). As to theſe Propoſals, Dr Middleton takes upon him to ſay, that they were only publiſhed with a view 'that ſome noiſe ſhould be made in the world in his favour, to 'ſupport his declining character; by ſomething great and popular, to recover eſteem and 'applauſe to himſelf, and throw an odium and contempt upon his proſecutors, *&c* (*o*).' But another author makes us ſtill more obliged to the diſpute between him and his college, 'and next (by the help of favourers of learning, falſly ſo called) to gain an 'impunity for what he is accuſed of; it may be truly ſaid, as to whatever he has 'publiſhed, within theſe laſt ſeven years, (if there has been any merit in it) it has been 'more owing to his proſecution than to himſelf (*p*).' Was this the cauſe, as Dr Middleton, and the *learned* Mr Miller ſeem to imagine, the world is indeed not a little indebted to that college, for their quarrels and diſputes with this great man; which it is likely was done from this publick ſpirited view. And it is indeed much to be regretted, that they could not find means of continuing their animoſity and proſecutions as long as the

(*n*) As alſo Phileleutherus Londinenſis ad F. V. Prof. Amſtelod. Epiſtolæ duæ de Bentleii editione N. T. Lond. 1721. Bib. Bod. Vol. II. p. 102.

(*o*) Some farther Remarks, *&c.* p. 22.

(*p*) Miller's Account of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 100, 101.

viſing it, and ſo left ſeveral falſe accents and points in the ſpecimen; and afterwards adds, that he feared not that all men of common ſenſe and common candour would look on 340 hints in that chapter of *ſpecimen* (45), and not from two ſmall ſlips, imagine, that all thoſe agreements came by chance without the tranſlator's deſign or thought; who look more on the 30 variations that appeared before his *ſpecimen* (46), between the two texts, and are now reconciled from the beſt copies, than on two trifling variations that ſtill remain.

(45) Ibid. p. 25.

(46) Ibid. p. 32.

[*L*] *Who took them to be made by Dr Colbatch.*]

Cambridge, Jan. 20.

'FINDING myſelf to be treated after a moſt 'barbarous manner in a virulent libel, which 'bears the title of *Dr Bentley's Propoſals, with a full* '*Anſwer*, &c. upon pretence of my being the author 'of the Remarks upon the Propoſals lately publiſhed 'by Richard Bentley, &c. I think it neceſſary, upon 'ſeveral accounts, to declare as follows:

'That I am not the author of thoſe Remarks, nor 'any part of them; and that they were undertaken 'and written without my aſſiſtance or knowledge. 'That R. B. certainly knew, or eaſily might have 'known, that they were written by the Reverend and 'Learned Dr Middleton, who had owned them to ſeveral of his friends, by whoſe means he verily be'lieves that R. B. was informed that he alone was the 'author: For my own part, preſently after the Re'marks were publiſhed, I took all occaſions to declare 'as above, being obliged in juſtice ſo to do, leaſt my 'ſilence might in ſome meaſure contribute to deprive 'my worthy friend of the honour due for ſo excellent 'a performance; nor do I queſtion but R. B. before 'he began to write his libel, had been acquainted 'with what I ſaid on thoſe occaſions. That thoſe 'foul aſperſions, which are caſt upon me in almoſt 'every page, are as falſe in fact, as they are apparently 'malicious, which is notorious to all who know me, 'and to none more than R. B. himſelf. That I never 'wrote any libels againſt the Government, the Col'lege, or Maſter, as he falſely aſſerts. I never wrote 'any thing at all relating to the Government, or pub'liſhed any thing concerning the College, or Maſter, 'except a Commemoration Sermon, Dec. 1. 1717, 'which the Maſter pretended to approve of, giving it 'under his hand that the would ſubſcribe to every word 'of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have 'hitherto thought them fit only for the cognizance of 'a Viſitor.'

John Colbatch, D.D. Senior Fellow of Trinity-college, and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Cambridge (47).

(47) At the end of the Preface to Some farther Remarks, *&c.*

Cambridge, Feb. 27, 1720-1.

At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads.

'WHEREAS the Rev. John Colbatch, D. D. 'and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of this Univerſity, 'hath made complaint to us of a book lately pub'liſhed, annexed to propoſals for printing a new edi'tion of the Greek Teſtament, &c. and called a full 'Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, 'by a Member of Trinity-college, ſubſcribed I. E. 'wherein the ſaid John Colbatch conceives himſelf 'to be highly injured, as being repreſented under the 'moſt reproachful and infamous characters, and hath 'therefore applied to us for redreſs: We the Vice-'Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, whoſe names are 'underwritten, having peruſed the ſaid book, do find 'that the ſaid Dr Colbatch had juſt ground of com'plaint, it appearing to us that he is therein deſcribed 'under very odious and ignominious characters; and 'do declare and pronounce the ſaid book to be a moſt 'virulent and ſcandalous libel, highly injurious to the 'ſaid Dr Colbatch, contrary to good manners, and a 'notorious violation of the ſtatutes and diſcipline of 'this Univerſity; and, as ſoon as the author of the 'ſaid libel can be diſcovered, we reſolve to do juſtice 'to the ſaid Dr Colbatch, by inflicting ſuch cenſures 'upon the offender, as the ſtatutes of this Univerſity in 'that caſe do appoint.'

Tho. Croſs, Vice-Chancellor,	*Edw. Lany*,
John Covel,	*R. Jenkin*,
C. Aſhton,	*W. Grigg*,
Bardſey Fiſher,	*D. Waterland*,
	Wm. Savage.

[*M*] *At*

the Doctor's life, that the world might have been ſtill farther obliged to them, for ſome other performances of their learned Maſter; we ſay obliged to them, for doubtleſs as they had found out the Doctor's foible, it was only with this publick ſpirited deſign, that they gave him and themſelves ſo much trouble; and neither (it is to be hoped) through any great offence on his ſide, no more than any perſonal pique or maliciouſneſs on theirs to him, any more than to his learned predeceſſors, eſpecially Dr North, his laſt predeceſſor but one (*) in that office. The Doctor, however, was permitted to live the remainder, or laſt twenty years of his life, without proſecution, in eaſe and idleneſs, only giving us his Terence, Phædrus, and Milton, in all that time. In 1725, at a Publick Commencement on the ſixth of July, the Doctor made an elegant Latin ſpeech, on creating ſeven Doctors of Divinity, in which, at the ſeveral periods, by little notes below, is ſet forth the whole form of the creation of a Doctor of Divinity; this piece is uſually joined to his edition of Terence and Phædrus, at leaſt to the Amſterdam edition of it [*M*], in 1727, which is a very neat edition, upon a good paper and print, adorned with a curious frontiſpiece, and dedicated by Dr Bentley to the Prince of Wales. The Doctor has not only obliged us with his notes on this author, but has alſo added thoſe of the learned Gabriel Faernius, and taken great pains in amending and correcting the author, not only from thoſe the moſt antient manuſcripts, which Gabriel Faernius had procured, but alſo from whatever manuſcripts the Royal Library, thoſe of Cambridge, or any of his friends, could afford, ſome of which he aſſures us were of great antiquity, and at leaſt next, and very little inferior to, thoſe of Faernius, whoſe orthography, as the moſt antient manuſcript, he altogether follows (*q*), but has altered the text in abundance of Places, never however without giving in the notes, the manner and reaſon for ſuch alteration; then follows the Schediaſma of the metre and accents of Terence, by which the Doctor proves that Terence is wrote all in verſe, conſiſting of about nineteen pages (*r*). This however has been a matter of ſome controverſy, between the learned Biſhop Hare and our author, upon which, as diſputes ran pretty high, an ingenious author has made an obſervation which we ſhall mention below [*N*]. About the year 1732, he publiſhed his Milton's *Paradiſe Loſt*, when he was, as he ſays in his preface, about ſeventy years old (*s*). This is a very elegant and beautiful edition of that poem, and alſo the trueſt and correcteſt that has yet appeared, as to the faults in orthography; diſtinction by points and capital letters, accents and eliſion of vowels; which are all here very carefully and judiciouſly corrected, but errors in thoſe reſpects ſwarm in the prior editions. However not one word is altered in it [*O*], but all the conjectures that attempt a reformation of the genuine Milton, caſt in the margin, and explained in the notes; ſo that every reader has his free choice, whether he will accept or reject what is offered him: this, with the goodneſs of the paper and type, make this edition truly valuable, though the Doctor's remarks on this poem, have not met with the approbation from the world [*P*], that a man

(*) In the foregoing ſheet, p. 738. line 6, *for* on the death of Dr North, *read* on the death of Dr Mountague.

(*q*) See the Preface to Terence.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Vide Prefat. ad eundem.

[*M*] *At leaſt to the Amſterdam edition of it.*] This we take to be the beſt edition of it, as well as his Horace, being ſupplied with two copious indexes, and neatly printed upon an excellent paper, and ſent over there as corrected for a ſecond edition, with the Doctor's own hand. This we find from a little prefatory diſcourſe to the reader, in which, as he tells Mr Boyle (49), among a great many other places, *ejus humanitas ſingularis*, is ſaid of him ſeriouſly and candidly, as he always made it his endeavours to oblige ever Foreigners by all courteſy and humanity, and much more to encourage and aſſiſt any uſeful deſign at home. But to return to his Terence. It was firſt publiſhed here in 1726, under the following title: *P. Terentii Afri Comœdias recenſuit notaſque ſuas et Gabrielis Faerni addidit Richardus Bentleius.* To which the Amſterdam edition adds, *Editio altera, denuo recenſa ac indice ampliſſimo rerum et verborum tam in textum quam notas aucta, Amſtelodami*, 1727. To this is adjoined a beautiful edition of Phædrus, under the following title: *Phædri Auguſti liberti fabularum Æſoparum, lib. V. Publii Syri et aliorum veterum ſententiæ. Recenſuit et notas addidit Richardus Bentleius.* To which is alſo added a copious index.

(49) Phalaris's Epiſtles examined, p. 68.

[*N*] *Upon which, as diſputes ran pretty high, an ingenious author has made an obſervation, which we ſhall mention below.*] 'However, as I heartily wiſh that the 'preſent difficulties and diſcouragements to the ſtudy of 'the Scriptures, ſo accurately repreſented by Dr Hare, 'were taken away; ſo do I think no ſuch difficulties 'ought to diſcourage great and good men among the 'Clergy, from bending their own ſtudies to their own 'profeſſion, eſpecially in it's preſent circumſtances; and 'I venture to add this, that if once ſuch as theſe would 'be themſelves in earneſt with Chriſtianity, and would 'in earneſt fall to this great work, the *Collins's*, the '*Tindal's*, the *Toland's*, and the *Woolſton's*, would ſoon 'become contemptible, and the religion of our Bleſſed 'Saviour, now at ſo low an ebb, would ſoon flouriſh 'and ſpread itſelf over the world. To obſerve laymen, 'as *Grotius*, *Newton*, and *Locke*, laying out their nobleſt talents in ſacred ſtudies, while ſuch Clergymen as 'Dr *Bentley* and Biſhop *Hare*, to name no others at preſent, have been, in the words of Sir Iſaac Newton, 'fighting with one another about a Playbook (*Terence*). 'This is a reproach upon them, their holy religion, and 'holy function, plainly intolerable (50).

(50) Whiſton's Hiſtorical Memoirs of Dr Clarke.

[*O*] *However, not one word is altered in it.*] Changes indeed are ſuggeſted, and accordingly put into the margin, but not in the text, and not obtruded on the reader. They are generally in this ſtile: *It may be adjuſted thus; among ſeveral ways of change this may be one, or this may not be abſurd, or diſagreeing from the Miltonian character or ſtile.* So that the following remarks made upon his Milton in a public paper (51) cannot be reckoned of any force againſt his work, being only intended to caſt reflections upon it's author, viz. 'for a perſon, who *though allowed to be* '*a very learned Critic*, was never imagined to be a 'Poet, to publiſh his extemporary, crude, and indigeſted Criticiſms, upon the compleateſt poem in the 'Engliſh language (52), to pretend to alter and correct 'it in every page, to ſtrike out a great many verſes, 'and to put in ſeveral of his own, treating the heroic 'poem of Great Milton like the exerciſe of a ſchoolboy.'

(51) The Grubſtreet Journal.

(52) See note [*Q*].

[*P*] *Though Dr Bentley's remarks on this poem have not met with approbation from the world.*] Several papers and pamphlets publiſhed about this time, viz. in 1732, take notice and criticiſe upon this the Doctor's performance on Milton; the Grubſtreet-Journal (53) in particular has ſeveral remarks, obſervations, and criticiſms, after the Bentleian ſtile and manner, beſides ſome copies of verſes and epigrams on the ſame ſubject, both in Latin and Engliſh. But the beſt and only thing that was publiſhed material againſt it was, Dr

(53) Particularly No. 82, 87, 99, 100, 101, 108, 113, 116, 118, 125, 137, and ſeveral others.

man of his extensive genius, so deservedly distinguished for his superior talent in critical knowledge, might have reasonably expected. Yet his very antagonist, that published Remarks upon his Milton (*t*), allows he has given us some (he might have said many) useful and judicious remarks, and only says, he has made many emendations which may justly be called in question. But it may not be improper here, to take notice of some part of the Doctor's preface to Milton, which may in some measure excuse, or rather account for, the indifferent reception this book met with from the publick [*Q*], excepting what caprice and ill nature might produce, which were more upon the account of the author than of his works, but generally levelled indiscriminately at either. Besides he tells us in his preface (*u*), that the notes were made extempore, and put to press as soon as made [*R*], so that any thing very great could not surely be expected, especially by such who took him up on this occasion, and would hardly in any case allow him even common merit and learning. These are all the critical works that the learned Dr Bentley published, or such only as came to our knowledge, for it is not to be doubted but that he wrote and published several others, which perhaps some of his friends may be better acquainted with. He tells us he had prepared a new edition of the poet Manilius for the press [*S*], which he had published, had not the dearness of paper, and the want of good types, and some other occasions, hindered him (*w*). He had also some design of publishing an edition of Hesychius, as we find by Mr Grævius's letter to him, in which he was so well read, as to assure Dr Mill, he could if he pleased, correct five thousand faults in that author (*x*). His emendations on the Tusculan Questions of Cicero, are adjoined to Mr Davis's edition of that author. This being all we have been able to gather from his critical works, we shall now proceed to enquire into the complaint of maladministration, urged against him by the college, which was the occasion of a long suit, whether

(*t*) Dr Pearce's Reviews of the text of Milton. See remark [*P*].

(*u*) See note [*R*].

(*w*) Differtation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, with an Answer to the Objections of the Hon. Charles Boyle, Esq; p. xliv. xlix. lxii. See note [*B*](7).

(*x*) Epistle to Dr Mill, p. 39.

Dr Pearce's *Review of the text of Milton's Paradise Lost; in which the chief of Dr Bentley's emendations are considered, and several other emendations and observations are offered to the public.* This was published at three different times, in three different parts. In the preface to which, he tells us (54), 'that having been 'conversant in Milton's poetical writings, and having 'carefully examined the emendations which Dr Bent-'ley offered to the world in his new edition of Para-'dise Lost, he thought it not improper to communi-'cate his observations to the public on this occasion. 'Dr Bentley is deservedly distinguished for his superior 'talents in criticism; they are owned by the unani-'mous consent of the learned world, and have gained 'him a reputation which is real and substantial; but 'this will be understood with exception to what he 'has done on Milton's poems. — In the emendations, 'which the author of these sheets offers as from him-'self, he never ventures farther than to propose words 'of the like sound, which a blind Poet's ear may be 'presumed to have been sometimes mistaken in, when 'the proof-sheets were read to him, and but few of 'this sort are mentioned; the greatest part arises from 'the alteration of the points, in which it is not im-'probable that Milton trusted much to the care of the 'Printer and Revisor.'

(54) The Preface to Dr Pearce's Review.

[*Q*] *Which may in some measure excuse, or rather account for, the indifferent reception this book met with from the public.*] For above sixty years, says he, this poem, with such miserable deformities by the press, and not seldom flat nonsense, passed upon the whole nation for a perfect and faultless composition; the best pens in the kingdom contending in it's praises, as eclipsing all modern essays whatever, and rivalling, if not excelling, Homer and Virgil; the reason of which he looked upon to be, that it's readers first acceded to it, possessed with awe and veneration from it's universal esteem, and have been by that deterred from trusting to their judgments; and even in places displeasing, rather suspecting their own capacity, than that any thing in the book could possibly be amiss. Who durst oppose the universal vogue? and risk his own character, while he laboured to exalt Milton's? I wonder rather that it is done even now: Had these notes been written forty years ago, it would have been prudence to have suppressed them for fear of injuring one's rising fortune; but now when seventy years *Jamdudum memorem monuerunt*, and spoke loudly in my ears,

Mitte leves spes & certamina divitiarum,

I made the notes extempore, and put them to the press as soon as made, without apprehension of growing leaner by censures, or plumper by commendations. (55).

(55) The Preface to Dr Bentley's Milton.

[*R*] *That the notes were made extempore, and put to the press as soon as made.*] Upon which some of his opposers observe, that it was six years before the publication that Dr Ashenhurst declared at Bristol, that Dr B. was then engaged in making notes on Milton; nor did he speak of it as a work just then begun, for he had not then seen the Doctor for two or three years; so that this work may have cost him as many years labour as even his Horace. The person who received this account from Dr Ashenhurst is ready to attest the truth of it, when called upon so to do (56). This might possibly be the case, and yet the Doctor's assertion be true; for the Doctor might probably acquaint Dr Ashenhurst with his scheme while yet in embryo, before perhaps at all carried into execution, when he had only in reading made a few cursory remarks, between which, indisposition in a person of the Doctor's age, or a hundred other things, might intervene to delay his setting about it in earnest, and going methodically through with it from beginning to end; so that Dr Ashenhurst might perhaps be acquainted with the scheme, and the Doctor reported to be absolutely employed about it, and yet the notes in a manner made extempore, and even put to the press as soon as made.

(56) Grubstreet Journal.

[*S*] *He tells us he had prepared a new edition of the Poet Manilius for the press.*] Which design being known abroad, first occasioned his acquaintance with Sir Edward Sherburn, who had formerly translated the first book of that Poet into English verse, and explained it with a large commentary, and had besides got together several old and scarce editions of that Poet; besides those, he had purchased at Antwerp by means of a Bookseller a whole box full of papers of the famous Gaspar Gevartius, who undertook an edition of the same Poet, but was prevented by death. All these Sir Edward Sherburn sent to Dr Bentley for the use of his intended edition of Manilius; among which papers, he tells us, he found none of any consequence, except a treatise about Theodorus Mallius; written, as he had good reason to believe, by Albertus Rubenius, whose posthumous works the learned Grævius was then publishing; this therefore, with Sir Edward's leave, he sent over to him, who promised to take care to let the *world know to whose kindness they were obliged for this piece*, but entirely forgot this; dedicated it to Dr Bentley, and never so much as mentioned Sir Edward's name. This gave occasion to the Doctor's enemies to accuse him of falsifying his word to Sir Edward Sherburn (57), by not letting Mr Grævius know from whence he had it, and not desiring him to make an honourable mention of Sir Edward, as the person that had obliged the world with it. But Mr Grævius clears him of this aspersion, and confesses his own forgetfulness and neglect of what Dr Bentley had expresly wrote to him on this subject (58).

(57) See the Account of Dr Bentley's *Humanity*, &c. p. 27, 28; and Boyle against Bentley, p. 16.

(58) Grævii Epistola Richardo Bentleio.

[*T*] *These*

whether the Crown or the Bishop of Ely was General Visitor. A party in the College, displeased at some regulations endeavoured by the Master, began to talk of the fortieth statute, *de Magistri (si res exigat) Amotione*, and to cabal about complaining to the Bishop of Ely: the Master hearing this, went to Bishop Patrick, then at Ely, to acquaint him with their design; the Bishop told him, he had never heard before, that, as Bishop of Ely, he had any thing to do in the Royal College of Trinity; called his Secretary to him, and bid him seek if there was any precedent of it in the Bishop's archives; but not one was found, not so much as a copy of Trinity-college Statutes. Upon that, the Doctor lent him one, and for that Bishop's time the matter was dropped. But in his successor Dr More's time, the party found great encouragement to apply to the Bishop; which they accordingly did in 1709, and a vast number of articles about dilapidations, but not one of immorality, bribery, or fraud, were exhibited against the Master; these, as below in note [T], contain a good deal of malice, and many vilifying

[T] *These as below in the notes.*] I received this appeal from the Fellows of Trinity-college, by the hands of Mr Edmund Miller, the tenth of February, 1709. JOHN, Ely.

The Petition of the Fellows of Trinity-college against Dr Bentley.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Ely, Visitor of Trinity-college in Cambridge, upon the fortieth chapter of the College Statutes, intitled, *De Magistri (si res exigat) amotione*.

The humble petition and complaint of the Vice-Master, Senior Fellows, and many of the Doctors in Divinity and Masters of Arts, Fellows and Members of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of the University of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Members of the said College, against Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, now Master thereof,

Shew,

'THAT the Fellows, and all the Members of the said College, having for many years lived with a great respect and love to their former Masters, and in a perfect amity one with another; in the year of our Lord God 1700, when the said Dr Bentley first came to be their Master, the peace of the said College was soon disturbed, by his demanding and taking of the said College several unusual and great sums of money, which he applied to his own use; and almost every year since, by his continual making new demands of profits and perquisites for himself, and by his taking, and threatning to take away, sometimes with the forced consent of the governing part of the College, and sometimes without any consent at all, several known privileges and perquisites from the rest of the College in general, and even Fellowships and Scholarships from several in particular, and by threatning and assuming to inflict several unstatutable and (before his time) unheard-of punishments upon several of the Fellows, for no other reason but because he heard they talked against his proceedings; and by his using violence and unworthy methods, whereby he has prevailed with some few of the College to espouse his separate interest, the peace of this royal and ample foundation has not only for many years been wholly broken, but the statutes have been violated, and the goods of the College wasted, and many of the Fellows reduced to great necessity, by his lessening the value of their fellowships, which were before but very small; nevertheless, the Fellows and Members of the said College, out of a peaceable disposition, and being persuaded by the said Dr Bentley's fair promises, which he constantly made upon gaining any new advantage, that they should enjoy peace and quietness for the future; and out of respect to those that made him their Master, though they could not be wholly silent, they were unwilling publickly to complain to their superiors, 'till now again this last year the said Dr Bentley, not only making another exorbitant demand of profits to himself, but, in order thereto, endeavouring to make an alteration almost throughout the whole College in their dividends and dues, whereby they are maintained, and which they and their predecessors have for many years enjoyed, and that in a partial manner, and by such methods as are before mentioned. We are necessitated at this time to petition and complain to your Lordship, promising within a convenient time to lay before you, in such method as you shall appoint, the several particulars, wherein the truth of what is here alledged will manifestly appear; humbly craving in due time such sentence as to your Lordship's wisdom and justice shall seem meet.'

Feb. 6, 1709. Signed by 30 of the College.

This the Bishop sent immediately to Dr Bentley, viz. on the 11th of February, and the Doctor answered it on the 13th (59); but as there were several pieces published on both sides on this occasion, we shall endeavour to give the reader some account of them (60).

(59) This Letter is dated at her Majesty's Library, Febr. 12, 1709-10.

(60) Mr Rawlinson, in his English Topographer.

'A true Copy of Articles against Dr *Bentley*, exhibited to the Right Rev. Father in God *John More*, Lord Bishop of Ely, by many of the Fellows of Trinity-college in Cambridge; together with the College Statute, *de Amotione Magistri*, and several other clauses of the College Statutes, with References to the Articles. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'The present State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, in a Letter from Dr *Bentley*, Master of the said College, to the Right Rev. *John*, Lord Bishop of Ely. Published for general information by a Gentleman of the Temple. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'Some Remarks upon a Letter, intitled, The Present State of Trinity-college in Cambridge. Written by *Richard Bentley*, D. D, now Master of the said College, to the Right Rev. *John*, Lord Bishop of Ely. With some Remarks also upon the Preface, pretended to be written and published together with the Letter by a Gentleman of the Temple, by Mr *Miller*, Fellow of the College. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'Some Considerations humbly offered to *John* Lord Bishop of Ely, on a Book, intitled, The Present State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, by Dr *Bentley*; by a Master of Arts, and Fellow of the said College. Lond. 8vo.

'The true State of Trinity-college, in a Letter to a residing Fellow of that Society; wherein the trifling impertinencies, malicious aspersions, and bold falsehoods of Dr *Bentley*, are answered in such a manner as they deserve. Published for the information of the Students, Scholars, and Fellows of both Universities. Lond. 1710, 8vo.'

Besides these, the first of which alone we were not able to procure, we also find the following ones published at this time, and upon this account, all which we have consulted and made use of in this work.

'A full View of Dr *Bentley*'s Letter to the Lord Bishop of Ely, in a Discourse to a Friend; wherein the whole strain of that celebrated piece throughout is fairly, familiarly, and largely considered, by *Tho. Blomer*, M. A. Fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge. 1710.

'A true and impartial Account of the present differences between the Master and Fellows of Trinity-college, Cambridge, considered. In a Letter to a Gentleman, some time Member of that Society, 1711.

'An humble and serious Representation of the Present State of Trinity-college in Cambridge. In a Letter to a noble Lord.'

But to return to the subject of the petition at the beginning of the note. The Doctor, far from being guilty of what he is charged with in that petition, seems to have been rather their great benefactor, laying several sums of money out of his private purse in

fying aspersions, and were the subject of many pamphlets pro and con upon that occasion, *viz*. His Lordship received the charge; intending to proceed upon it, which he conceived himself sufficiently authorized to do, required Dr Bentley's answer, which he declined for some time to give (*y*), pleading want of form in the charge; because other members of the college, besides the Seniors, had joined in the accusation, and the Seniors themselves, as he alledged, had never yet admonished him, from whence he inferred, that all proceedings on such a charge, and whatsoever should follow on the same foot, would be *ipso facto* null and void (*z*); but the Bishop, it seems, did not think this plea to be material, for he insisted upon Dr Bentley's answer to the charge, who, upon that, began to question what authority his Lordship had over him; and by a petition presented to the late Queen, prayed 'that her Majesty would take him and the college into her protection, against the Bishop's pretensions, and maintain her sole power and jurisdiction 'over her royal foundation and the Masters thereof.' This petition was referred to the then Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and they ordered fully to consider the matter, and report their opinions thereupon. Notice was given at the same time to the Bishop, that her Majesty having taken this affair into her cognizance, his Lordship was to stay proceedings 'till the Queen's pleasure was further known. Mr Attorney and Sollicitor-General, took some time to consider, and were of opinion, the Bishop had power over the Master; but this report not proving satisfactory to some persons then in power, a letter was brought to the Bishop from Mr Secretary St John, dated 18 June 1711, acquainting him, 'that the matter of the petition of Dr Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity-college 'in Cambridge, together with the report of Mr Attorney and Mr Sollicitor-General, 'being then before the Queen, and ordered to be taken into consideration by my Lord 'Keeper, assisted by her Majesty's Counsel learned in the Law, her Majesty thought it to 'be a business of such weight and consequence, that she had commanded him (the 'Secretary) to signify her pleasure to his Lordship, that he should stop all further pro'ceedings, according to her Majesty's direction.' But the Master seeing that all dicipline and studies would be lost in the college, if that controversy was not one way or other decided, applied to the then Ministry, to take his trial under any Visitor the Queen should appoint, or if none would be so appointed, that he might have leave, *salvo jure regio*, to be voluntarily tried under the Bishop. Upon this, the inhibition was taken off by Mr Secretary St John, by order of the Queen, signifying, *that his Lordship was at liberty to proceed, so far as by the law he might.* But his Lordship did not think fit to proceed, 'till he was served with a Rule of Court from the King's-Bench, in Easter term 1714, to shew cause why a writ of Mandamus should not issue out against him. The Bishop being then at Ely, was applied to by joint-messengers on both sides, to make a step to the college, and there he might have ended the matter in two days. But this was not thought so proper, and Ely house at London was pitched on, where, instead of two days, the trial lasted at least six weeks, and the college paid a thousand pounds for it; three learned Lawyers, who

(*y*) *A Vindication of the Bishop of Ely's visitatorial Jurisdiction over the College in general, and over the Master thereof in particular*, p. 18; this however does not appear, since his Answer was given in within three Days after the Petition had been given to the Bishop. See note [*T*].

(*z*) The present State of Trinity-College, in Cambridge, in a Letter from Dr Bentley to the Bishop of Ely, 1710, p. 10.

in repairing and beautifying the College, which by his care has been greatly ornamented and improved; but the chief thing that he had disgusted them by was, his prudent regulations of several enormous and expensive abuses, in open breach and violation of the Statutes; for this, rather than any real suffering on their part, or male-administration on his, *seems* the chief of their quarrel or uneasinesses grounded; and their several letters, remarks, and considerations on this letter and subject, seem rather actuated by a spirit of private malice, envy, revenge, or personal pique (*); but we cannot here enter into the whole affair *pro* and *con*, but, after reading over the several pieces wrote against him, must partly imagine, (if not too much biassed in his favour by his great learning) that the case was in a great measure as we have above stated it. The reader, to be convinced of this, need only read over the Doctor's letter to the Bishop of Ely, and almost any one of the pieces wrote against him above mentioned. But on this subject we cannot introduce any thing more to the purpose than the following quotation: 'When I remember the state of that College before Dr Bentley came to it, and compare it 'with the flourishing condition of it at present, I am 'amazed at the vile ingratitude of those narrow-'soul'd wretches, that, not content to defraud that 'great man of the honour and thanks due to him, for 'recovering a Society to some splendour and figure, are 'not ashamed to talk as if Trinity had been ruined by 'one that has been visibly so great a benefactor to it. 'What a devotion to malice and stupidity must these 'people pay, that after so many noble improvements 'that Dr Bentley has made in this College, in every 'possible particular, can have the face to say such 'things of him, as in the confession of one of their 'tribe here, shamelessly describing his own talent this 'way, *hardly any man but himself would bear the* '*scandal or odium of, for all his preferments and* '*learning*. Has the utmost malice of a few railing 'incendiaries ever produced any thing that should lessen Dr Bentley in any man's esteem? No, nor ever 'will, but amongst such as a great and generous spirit 'passes with for a proud and haughty one; who, because Trinity-college is one of the handsomest in 'Europe, cry out plunder and dilapidation; and are 'ready to swear that he has impoverished the Society, 'because it is twelve hundred pounds a year the 'richer merely by his good management. The Gen'tlemen of that Society are sensible, I believe, that 'it would be a long panegyric to give Dr Bentley all 'the praises due to him upon the account of his 'mastership; and though there are some few, even 'amongst those who have been the most obliged to 'him, of different taste and sentiment, 'tis not to be 'wondered at: There is a *Genus Hominum*, that, 'whether from the natural make and constitution of 'the men, or from a certain acquired antipathy to 'merit, seem incapable of doing justice to it in others. 'When men will quit their gratitude to take up the 'most absurd prejudices, there is no persuading them 'that ten dividends are not more than twenty, or that 'two or three and twenty lads a year admitted in Dr 'M—gue's time, are not more than forty in Dr B's. 'It is a reflection to the honour of that College that it 'afforded but four Fellows, and those, without flat'tery, none of the wisest, that could entertain such a 'stupid notion of duty, privilege, and conscience, as 'to give their votes for their Master's degradation. 'And a famous Lawyer, that was of the counsel 'against him at his trial, has since, as I have heard, 'declared, that he was sure Dr Bentley must be a very 'good and virtuous man, since, in the course of that 'trial, nothing inconsistent with that character could 'be proved against him (61).

[*U*]. *The*

(*) See Oldmixon's Hist. and Reign of the Stuarts, p. 629.

(61) A Review of the Proceedings against Dr Bentley, in the University of Cambridge; in Answer to a late pretended full and impartial Account, &c. pag. 69, 73, 74.

who could know but very little of the matter, being admitted on each side, to make eloquent harangues, answers, and replies, upon questions arising from above fifty articles, in which there was scarce any thing material, that might not easily be determined, upon a bare inspection of the college Statutes, Registers, and Books of Accompts. The trial being ended, and the cause ripe for sentence, the Bishop's death prevented his giving judgment [*U*]. Thus the matter dropped for the present, but was afterwards revived in the year 1728, when new articles of complaint against Dr Bentley, charging him with having in many instances made great waste of the college revenue, and violated the Statutes, all founded on the 40th of Elizabeth, were again exhibited to my Lord of Ely, as specially authorized and appointed to receive the same, and to proceed thereupon. Though the matter was long before decided in favour of the Crown, as having the general visitatorial power [*X*]. Upon which, a petition was subscribed by the college, and presented

[*U*] *The Bishop's death prevented his giving judgment.*] Some time after the Bishop's death came out the following piece: 'A true account of the Present 'State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, under the 'oppressive government of their Master, *Richard Bentley*, late D. D. Lond. 1720, 8vo.' The Gentleman who wrote this piece, having thought fit to acknowledge it, and do justice to one who was suspected as the author of it, gave the following publick notice to the world.

Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1719-20.

'WHEREAS the Master of Trinity-college is 'prosecuting the author and publisher of a 'book, intitled, *A true account of the Present State 'of Trinity-college in Cambridge, under the oppressive 'government of their Master* Richard Bentley, *late* 'D. D. For preventing all unnecessary trouble and expence in such prosecution, I hereby voluntarily acknowledge myself to be the sole author of the said 'book; and do declare, that the several facts therein 'mentioned, are no other than what have either been 'proved upon the Master at a public trial before the 'late Bishop of Ely, (who died before sentence was 'given) or will certainly, with many more of the 'same kind, be charged and proved upon him by the 'Fellows, whenever there shall be a Visitor assigned 'for that purpose, for which they have long been petitioning; and I solemnly protest, that I had no 'other view in writing the said book, but to promote 'and bring on such a visitation, by shewing the necessity of it, and to do justice to my worthy oppressed 'friends of that College (whereof I was not long 'since a Fellow) which they are not able to do for 'themselves, but at the hazard of their own Fellowships; (the Master having, since the publication of this 'book, attempted to deprive a Reverend and Learned 'Member of the Seniority, for the bare suspicion of 'his being the author of it) and I do affirm, that I have 'said nothing material in the said book, but under 'the utmost conviction of it's truth, either from my 'own knowledge, or upon the best evidence and information, as will easily appear whenever there shall 'be occasion; and if in the mean while the Master, 'or any of his friends, will undertake to answer me 'in print, I hereby promise either to defend and 'prove every article alledged against him, or to make 'him the satisfaction of a publick recantation.'

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.

[*X*] *Though the matter was long before decided in favour of the Crown, as having the general visitatorial power.*] The Statute by which the Bishop of Ely claimed a visitatorial power, was, the 46th of Edward the VIth (62); but from the general visitatorial power, if not from the particular one of the Master, he was thus excluded by the opinion of the most eminent in their profession (63). 'We are of opinion, that these 'Statutes of King Edward VI. were not of perpetual 'obligation, or unalterable, but were alterable by the 'Statutes made by Queen Elizabeth, they being accepted and acted under by the College. — We are 'of opinion the Statutes of Queen Elizabeth are valid, 'and were intended as a complete body of Statutes for 'that College, and the original Statutes made by King 'Edward VI, expressed to have been under the Great 'Seal, being now without the same, from which they 'may be presumed to have been cancelled on the 'making of those of Queen Elizabeth; and the 'Bishops of Ely, from the making of the Statutes of 'Queen Elizabeth, having never exercised or claimed 'the power of a Visitor, we humbly apprehend the '46th chapter of the Statutes of King Edward VI, '*de visitatore*, was omitted in the body of Statutes of 'Queen Elizabeth; — and we are humbly of opinion, 'that her Majesty, with the acceptation of the College, if the Statute *de visitatore* be in force (64), 'may repeal the same; but her Majesty's declaration 'without such acceptance will not be effectual.'

(62) A Vindication of the Lord Bishop of Ely's visitatorial Jurisdiction over Trinity-college in general, and the Master in particular.

(63) As the Bishop acknowledges in his Petition, Nov. 2, 1728.

Anno, 1711-12.

Tho. Powys,	*J. Conyers,*
Edw Northey,	*Tho. Lutwych,*
Rob. Raymond,	*John Ward* (65).
Nich. Hooper,	

(64) That is, whether the Bishop had a visitatorial power over the Master in particular, tho' not over the College in general.

(65) The Case of Trinity-college in Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Bishop of Ely be General Visitor, p. 24.

First, we shall observe how forceable the argument used by the Queen's counsel is, that Edward's Statutes by being without the Broad Seal now, which once was affixed to them, must from thence be presumed to have been cancelled (66). Besides, the Crown always nominates the Master of Trinity, but the Fellows and Scholars are chosen by the College: Is it not then absurd to think that the Crown should so carefully resume to itself the power over the Fellows and Scholars whom it does not elect, and abandon the Master alone, it's own Elect and Nominee, to an external visitation? The result of all is, that since Queen Elizabeth, no Bishop of Ely meddled in Trinity-college before the present Master's voluntary trial under Bishop More. Fellows and Scholars have the King only for their Visitor; the Master, if this 40th Statute be in force, is to have both King and Bishop too. That being absurd and impossible, it was put as a question to the Queen's learned counsel, Whether the Crown could not take from the Bishop that imagined power over the Master, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal; and the answer was, That by Letters under the Great Seal, the Queen might annul this 40th Statute, the cause of the disturbance, and make the Crown sole visitor of the Master, as well as the College, if the College accepted them, 'and that the College now desires and petitions 'for; but in reverse, if the King should be induced to 'give the right of the Crown by Letters Patent to the 'Bishop, the College, to say the least, would have the 'extremest reluctancy to accept such Letters, they being 'thereby abjoined from the more immediate care of the 'Crown, which even from the date of Elizabeth's Statutes, had been always thought to have the visitatorial power over them, and has accordingly exercised it. 'The College have before declared under their Common 'Seal in their petition to his Majesty, and they now do, 'that they don't desire to avoid any enquiry into the 'state of their Society, or the conduct of any Members 'thereof, being earnestly desirous that the same may be 'made by any legal authority; which legal authority, 'or general visitatorial power over them, for the reasons 'above-mentioned, they apprehend to be vested in the 'Kings of this realm, as successors to the Royal Founder 'of their Society. If this point be determined, as the 'Society hope it will, by the King's most honourable 'Privy-Council, the Master and Fellows of the said Society, in vindication of their own honour, and in 'justice to themselves, humbly propose forthwith to beseech his Majesty, to condescend to nominate Commissioners, to visit and enquire into the state of the said 'Society; or if it be not proper to be determined by 'the honourable Privy-Council, they hope, as the right 'of the Crown is in question, *an issue at Law*, or such 'other method, as in their wisdom shall seem most 'proper, will be by them directed; so that the question

(66) Ibid. p. 17.

sented to his Majesty under the Common-Seal, the 10th of August 1728, and the cause carried before the King in Council; for the college itself now engaged as party in the cause against the Bishop, and above fifteen hundred pounds out of the revenues of the college, was spent in carrying it on. This being referred to a Committee of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, Dr Fleetwood, then Lord Bishop of Ely, on the second of November 1728, also presented a petition to his Majesty, to be heard touching his right, which was likewise referred to the said Committee. The Lords Committee, just before the day appointed for a hearing, *viz.* March 13, 1728, had a printed pamphlet put into their hands, intitled, *The Case of Trinity-college; Whether the Crown or the Bishop of Ely be General Visitor* (*a*)? at the end of which, as well as in their petition, the college applied to the King, to take the visitatorial power, (as by the opinion of Counsel he might with their consent) into his own hands, that they might be only visited by the Crown, but not with a view or intent of avoiding a visitation or enquiry into the state of the society, for which they were very pressing, both in their petition, and at the end of this pamphlet. On the fifteenth, the Cause came on before the Lords of the Committee of Privy-Council, but was from thence referred to the King's-Bench (*b*) [*Y*], where the May following it was tried by way of Prohibition, and after a long pleading, the Judges unanimously determined it in favour of the Bishop, as to his visitatorial power over the Doctor (*c*); and the June following, the Fellows exhibited their articles of complaint against him before the Bishop of Ely, his Lordship having two assistants, *viz.* Sir Henry Penrice, and Dr Bettesworth (*d*). But it being urged, that the Bishop was going to exercise a general visitatorial power, another petition was preferred to his Majesty and Council, by the Master and Fellows, and a further hearing appointed in this cause, in the Court of King's-Bench, in November 1729, &c (*e*). and in November 1731, we find the cause had gone against the Bishop of Ely, by his taking out a writ of Error, for carrying the cause by appeal into the House of Lords (*f*). The Crown, however, at last, to put an end to the dispute and disturbance (as fully impowered (*g*) to do) took both College and Master, according to their petition, into it's own jurisdiction and visitation, and here the matter ended. ——— The proceedings of the University against him in the year 1717 also, made much noise in the world, and were represented as violent and unjustifiable, as the effects of a power falsely usurped, or scandalously abused, being influenced by the malice of a party disaffected to the government (*h*), were the cause of great ferment and uneasiness in the University, and raised the curiosity, and drew the eyes of the whole nation upon them; for which reason we shall beg leave to be a little particular and full in our account, that we may give the reader a just idea of them. In October 1717, the day after his Majesty's visit to the University, when several Doctors in Divinity, named by mandate, were attending in the senate-house to receive their degrees. Dr Bentley, on creation, made a demand of four guineas from each of them, as a fee due to him as Professor [*Z*], over and above a broad-piece, which had by custom been allowed as a present on this occasion; and absolutely refused to create any Doctor, 'till this fee was paid him. This occasioned a long and warm dispute, 'till at last many of them, the Doctors, and Dr Middleton among the rest, consented to pay the fee in question, upon this

(*a*) See note [*X*].

(*b*) Monthly Chronicle for March, 1729.

(*c*) Monthly Chron. for May, 1729.

(*d*) Ibid. for June, 1729.

(*e*) Ibid. for November, 1729.

(*f*) Ibid. for November, 1731.

(*g*) See note [*X*].

(*h*) See Oldmixon's History and Reign of the Stuarts, p. 629.

'stion now depending, Whether the Crown or the 'Bishop of Ely be General Visitor, may receive a full 'and a proper determination (67).

[*Y*] *On the 15th the cause came on before the Lords of the Committee of Privy-Council, but was from thence referred to the King's-Bench.*] The Attorney and Sollicitor-General were Counsel for the Master and the Fellows, and Dr Henchman and Mr Fazakerley for the Bishop. There was a very full Committee of Council, and, after hearing the arguments of the Counsellors on both sides, *An Act for regulating the Privy-Council* (68) was read; which, among other things, says, 'That neither his Majesty, nor his Privy-Council, have, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power 'or authority, by English bill, petition, article, libel, 'or any other way whatsoever, to examine, or draw 'into question, determine, or dispose of lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods or chattels, of any the 'subjects of the kingdom, but that the same ought to 'be tried and determined in the ordinary Courts of 'justice, &c.' Whereupon the Lords declined making any order or report.

[*Z*] *Made a demand of four guineas from each of them, as a fee due to him as Professor.*] In answer to such as may plead the illegality and unstatutableness of demanding this fee, it may not be improper to ask, 'What 'Statute had Dr Gooch for taking two guineas as Vice-'Chancellor, of each of the King's Doctors that went 'out under him? What Statute had Dr Grigge, when 'he was Vice-Chancellor, to demand of each of those 'Doctors that went out under him, two guineas *quatenus* Secretary to the Duke of Somerset, and two more '*quatenus* Vice-Chancellor? Dr Grigge could take 'four guineas, because of his double capacity; and 'when he was succeeded by Dr Gooch in the Vice-'Chancellorship, he still demanded his two guineas '*quatenus* Secretary, and Dr Gooch claimed the 'other two, as being Vice-Chancellor. The Proctors, the Register, the Beadles, had some their two 'guineas, others, one guinea, from each Doctor; by 'what statute? For 'tis known the Register's fee is 'but six-pence by Statute, and the others proportion-'able. Dr Bentley may be condemned for claiming 'these four guineas; but then Dr Gooch must be 'condemned for exacting two guineas; and Dr Grigge 'for exacting four guineas, and all the rest for exact-'ing their guineas equally. These fees are all equal-'ly unstatutable, and equally unjust.' Besides, the Vice-Chancellor gave orders (as the Impartial Account tells us) 'that any other Doctor of Divinity 'should perform the ceremony, by which you are not 'to understand that the Vice-Chancellor transferred 'the Professor's right to Dr Fisher; so that according 'to this notion, it is a province that does not more 'statutably belong to the Professor than to any other 'Doctor. Since then the office belongs to the Profes-'sor as a Doctor of Divinity only, and may consequently be performed by any other Doctor, then 'might he refuse to do it, but on his own terms, and 'might set what price he pleased upon his own labour. 'From whence it appears, that the University could 'not oblige him to do it at any fixed rate, and even 'had no authority to command him to do it at all; 'and though the Professor may be condemned for ex-'acting such a fee, he may be fully justified in it upon 'this supposition (69).'

[*A*] *The*

(67) The Case of Trinity-college, Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Bishop of Ely be General Visitor, p. 17, 18.

(68) The Statute of 16 Car. I. cap. 10.

(69) The Case of Dr Bentley, &c. p. 13, 14, 15, 32, and 33.

this condition, that he should restore the money if it was not afterwards determined to be his right. In the next meeting, those who had paid the fee were created, but he refused to create such as would not pay it; upon which Dr Grigge, then Vice-Chancellor, gave orders, that some other Doctor should perform the ceremony instead of him, and accordingly Dr Fisher, the Master of Sydenham-college, created several for the usual gratuity of a broad-piece; they sent, at the same time, a state of the Case to the Chancellor, the Duke of Somerset. Dr Bentley still insisted upon his claim; but at last, instead of money, was content with a note from the rest, promising the payment of it, if it should be determined for him by the King, or any authority delegated from him; and at last submitted to create one of the King's Doctors, who came last, and some others who commenced afterwards, without either fee or note. Matters went on thus for near a twelvemonth, the Doctor being in quiet possession of the money and notes; but nothing being determined about his right or title to it, Dr Middleton thought he had reason to expect his money again, and accordingly (as it is said) made (*b*) a demand of it, first by letter, which was taken no notice of, and afterwards in person, and then applied to the Vice-Chancellor for a decree, which, from the tender regard the Vice-Chancellor had for Dr Bentley, he was some time before he could obtain. At length, however, the decree was granted, and a known enemy of Dr Bentley's employed to serve it (*i*), who went to Trinity-lodge on Tuesday the twenty-third of September, but whether through ignorance in his own business, or that he believed Dr Bentley, who told him that it signified nothing, not having the consent of nine heads to it, or that he had some other design than that of arresting him, he leaves the arrest, decree, *&c.* with the Doctor, and came away without executing the Vice-Chancellor's orders at all (*k*). Dr Bentley was afterwards arrested by another Beadle, on the first of October, with a second decree, which doubtless argued the invalidity of the first. The Professor supposing the authority of the arrest not sufficient, refused to submit to it; but on farther consideration obeyed the writ, and put in bail. Every body, but such as were let into the secret, expected this four guineas affair would end here. Friday the third of October being appointed for the trial, the Doctor only appeared there by his Proctor, which was looked upon as a contempt of the Vice-Chancellor's jurisdiction [*AA*]. Dr Middleton, therefore, by the leave of the Court, appointed

(*b*) A full and impartial Account of all the late Proceedings in the University against Dr Bentley, p. 9.

(*i*) A Review of the Proceedings, *&c.* p. 14.

(*k*) Ut supra, p. 15.

[*AA*] *The Doctor only appeared there by his Proctor, which was looked upon as a contempt of the Vice-Chancellor's jurisdiction.*] The Doctor's non-appearance in person being alledged against him as a chief article in this affair, it may not be improper to search a little into this. One author tells us, 'No man can appear in our court by his Proctor, who does not first appear in person, (unless it be in case of sickness) and desire the Judge to assign him a Proctor (70).' Another informs us, 'His non-appearance was such an instance of contempt, as has seldom been known in the University; and that to tell us, as Dr Bentley did afterwards, that he had sent a Proctor to appear for him, is so far from excusing, that it aggravates his offence; for by our express Statutes, and the practice of the Court, no party can be in judgment, or allowed to appear by proxy, 'till he has personally asked and obtained the Judge's leave to constitute a Proctor; and if the plaintiff be present, which was the case, and the defendant absent, his Proctor cannot be admitted: And farther, if either party shall presume to procure or retain one to act for him, contrary to the tenor of the Statute, he shall, if the plaintiff, for that very reason lose his cause; if the defendant, be looked upon as convict, and censured accordingly (*)—Now it seems it is the constant practice to dispense with a debtor's personal appearance; so that the Professor could not be charged with any contempt on that account, unless the Vice-Chancellor had given him notice that he was resolved to set aside that practice, which is as sacred to other Courts as a Law. But in truth the Statute supposes no contempt, but says expressly, that in that case the defendant shall be held convict, but not as the Impartial Account adds, (without authority) and censured accordingly. For, as the plaintiff not appearing shall lose his cause, the defendant shall forfeit his debt; or, as it is ordered in a later Grace, (of greater force, where it differs from it, than the old Statute or Decree before us, which was never confirmed by Royal authority) shall forfeit his bail-bond. Nor can a Vice-Chancellor put even that Statute in execution, if the Proctor be ready to swear, that his client is detained by sickness, or any other lawful reason, from making his appearance in Court. So that, including all the circumstances, if the Vice-Chancellor had resolved at this time to break through the practice of his Court, he could not, without a direct breach of Statute, (which he is equally bound to observe with every other Member of the University) have punished him, in the manner he did, for non-appearance. Besides, it cannot be pretended, that this drew on the suspension, because the Vice-Chancellor declared, that he postponed that affair of the debt, and then ordered the Beadle's deposition to be read; on which an unlucky record was made, bearing witness, that the Professor was accused of contempt as contained therein. How ridiculous then must these vindicators of the Vice-Chancellor appear, who ground their arguments on the truth of a fact, which is contradicted by his own declaration, by the very acts of his Court (71).' It is asserted by the two authors quoted in this note, who wrote against Dr Bentley, that the Statutes justify the Professor's punishment on account of contempt, which must either consist in his non-appearance, or in the matters alledged against him in the Beadle's deposition; for the former, that could only be punished by the forfeiture of his bail-bond; for, besides what we have just mentioned of Statutes, he was arrested for a debt; in which circumstances no man can be guilty of contumacy, for the person of the debtor is required either of his bail, or the arresting officer. The debtor himself is not at all concerned. Dr Middleton brought an action of debt against him, to this the Doctor gave bail; in which case the Statutes of the University are express, that if the person arrested does not appear, his bail is answerable, which is common likewise to all Courts in England. Now as the Doctor did not appear, and no favour was shewn, why did not the Vice-Chancellor secure to Dr Middleton his debt in a statutable way, by laying hold on the bail? Why should Dr Bentley be suspended for not appearing, when the Statute expressly provides for the security of the creditor another way, and therefore did not require the appearance of the debtor. Can a Court be contemned by forfeiture of the bail-bond? An action for debt is here plainly confounded with a process for crimes and misdemeanors, by insisting on personally asking and obtaining the Judge's leave to constitute a Proctor, and on the contempt of the Court in not appearing, &c. whereas they ought to prove it an incivility and disrespect to the Vice-Chancellor, or to any Judge, to forfeit a man's bail-bond. Was this cleared up, the proceedings might be a little justified perhaps, in condemning Dr Bentley uncited and unheard, and in making

(70) The Proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and University of Cambridge, against Dr Bentley.

(*) The Impartial Account, p. 16.

(71) The Case of Dr Bentley, Regius-Professor of Divinity truly stated, &c. p. 26, 27.

appointed Mr Cook his Proctor, who accused Dr Bentley of contempt for not appearing, and moved for some censure upon it, and called for the Beadle to make a return of the first decree (*l*); but he being confined in his chamber, by a fit of the gout, there made an affidavit, by improving some circumstantial talk he had with the Doctor and some other gentlemen (*m*), the subject of which was, a complaint of the ill usage he had met with in his attending at Dr Bentley's lodgings, who amongst other things (he deposed) said to him, *I will not be concluded by what the Vice-Chancellor and two or three of his friends shall determine over a bottle* (*n*) (thereby reflecting on the clandestine way they had proceeded against him, without the formal consent of such a number of Heads, as he thought necessary to make a statutable (*o*) arrest); for this expression, the Vice-Chancellor *suspended* the Doctor from all his degrees [*BB*], who had no citation, no hearing, not so much as any notice, from any hand, of what was then doing; declaring, he would vacate his Professorship in two or three days, if he did not make his humble submission (*p*). 'Three Court-days are allowed for this submission, *viz.* the 7th, 9th, and 15th of October. On the two former days his name was not mentioned, and on the last, the Vice-Chancellor would certainly have forgot to summon him, if he had not been reminded by his brother the Dean of Chichester. That same day the Vice-Chancellor requires the Professor to submit, and own himself rightly suspended. So that, he first puts it out of the Professor's power to vindicate himself, and then commands him to confess a fault that he had not been guilty of, and to acknowledge the justice of a sentence, that has no precedent here, nor any parallel in History. The only remedy that was now left, the Professor applied to, *viz.* an appeal to the Delegates of the University [*CC*]; which was arbitrarily refused him. But thinking it prudent to have the sanction of the University to back him, the Vice-Chancellor calls a Congregation, tells his own tale, and has the pleasure to behold the madness of the people (*q*). For this he had also another very strong motive, *viz.* to prevent the Professor's being ever restored by the single power of any succeeding Vice-Chancellor, by engaging the University to proceed, where he had left off; and after an illegal suspension, to assume a power of degrading (*r*). The 15th of October, the third Court-day after the suspension, the Vice-Chancellor informed the University of the steps he had taken, and the message he had sent the Professor, which was, *That he required him to come and acknowledge his crime, the legality of his suspension, and humbly beg to be restored to his degrees*; to which the gentleman (he said) had returned no answer; and then he commanded it to be registered, that he would deliberate farther of what was to be done, towards the maintenance of the University privileges and his own authority. Eight Heads were present in the Consistory, *viz.* two Visitors of Bennet-college, Dr Cowel and Dr Balderston; three late Chaplains to his Majesty, Dr Laney, Dr Adams, and Dr Sherlock; the rival Professor, Dr Fisher; the Masters of Clare-Hall, and St John's-college, Dr Grigg and Dr Jenkins. These gentlemen, at a consultation the same afternoon, in the Master of Peterhouse's lodge, appointed a Congregation the next morning 'to

(*l*) A full and impartial Account, p. 16.

(*m*) A Review of the Proceedings, &c. p. 15.

(*n*) These words the Vice-Chancellor was pleased to insist upon as criminal, on account of which his suspension, and consequently degradation followed.

(*o*) The Case of Dr Bentley truly stated, p. 3.

(*p*) Ut supra, p. 4.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 11.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 9.

making it a term of his re-admission, that he should own the justice of the sentence of suspension.—As to the case of a contempt offered with respect to the Decree, Beadle, &c. it must be a contempt offered to the first writ, which was in reality acknowledged to be no writ; for if the first was good and lawful, why was a second granted? Should a legal writ be contemned? But 'tis a sure indication, that they are conscious of having taken a wrong step, when they grant a second writ upon the same action, without endeavouring to vindicate the contempt of the first. The contempt then was the contempt of a writ, which the Vice-Chancellor himself did at first contemn, for to the second writ Dr Bentley surrendered himself. Now if the first arrest was not valid, the usage of the Beadle can never be interpreted a contempt of any jurisdiction, because in that case he had no right to act as an officer. But suppose the arrest valid, a process ought to have been issued out, if it had been a matter of a criminal nature; but he had no citation.

[*BB*] *The Vice-Chancellor suspends Dr Bentley from all his degrees.*] The latter part of the Journal for that day runs thus: *Exhibuit depositiones* Edw. Clarke, *Bedell. Arm. quibus depositionibus lectis,* Cook *accusarit contemptum dicti rev. viri, prout in iisdem continetur; & dominus ad ejus petitionem pronunciavit rev. virum suspensum ab omni gradu suscepto* (72). From this account of the suspension, it appears that the Vice-Chancellor pronounced Dr Bentley suspended from all his degrees, at the petition of Mr Cook, Dr Middleton's Proctor, (in a cause of debt) who accused Dr Bentley of contempt, contained in the depositions of Mr Clarke the Beadle. As to the suspending him at the desire of Mr Cook, *ad ejus petitionem*, how this came into the Acts is a little surprising; since Mr Cook said to some of his brother Lawyers, if that may be credited, soon after it was over, that *he was as much surprized* at the suspending of the Doctor *as they*; and never desired any such thing, nor so much as thought on it. Moreover the Vice-Chancellor knew he was talking in relation to the debt affair only; for he interrupted him, waving the hand, and told him, that he would postpone *his* cause, and consider only Dr *Bentley*'s great *contempt* of the *authority* and *jurisdiction* of the University, in calling a regular meeting of the Heads, to which he himself was invited, the Vice-Chancellor and his friends, over a bottle, &c. he then appealed to the Heads there present, and they giving their consent, *he was suspended* (73).

[*CC*] *The only remedy now left, the Professor applied to, viz. an appeal to the Delegates of the University.*] 'The first step which this contemner of the University jurisdiction took, was, to appeal to the University itself, from the irregular sentence of it's officer; who out of great concern, no doubt, for their rights and privileges, absolutely refused to let them be judges of what, in the plenitude of his own power, he had been pleased to order, and refused the Doctor the *appeal*; which refusal was plainly as great an insult upon the privileges of the University as could be, in direct opposition to all manner of Statutes, an appeal being allowed from the Vice-Chancellor to the Body in all cases, without any one exception, nor has he ever any power at all to hinder it; it cannot be refused to any one that thinks himself injured, and will make it, and belongs to the Delegates to determine whether the ground of it be just or not; if it be, to give him relief; if not, then, and not 'till then, to remit the appellant to the Vice-Chancellor: Therefore when Dr Gooch hindered the Professor's appeal, he both denied him a right that he had by Statute, and was guilty of the very crime, upon pretence of which he suspended him, viz. contempt of the authority and jurisdiction of the University (74).'

[*DD*] *The*

(72) The Journal of the Court.

(73) A Review of the Proceedings against Dr Bentley, p. 27.

(74) The Review of the Proceedings against Dr Bentley, p. 66, 67.

'to degrade the Professor. But, when the time came, a friend of the Professor's being 'that day one of the Caput, other business was proposed but not concluded. On Friday 'morning, no mention was made, as ought to have been, of the proceedings at the last Con- 'gregation, but the grand affair being found practicable, was proposed to the Caput [DD].' And in the afternoon a vote of the body deprived the great Bentley of all the privileges, honours, and degrees, that he had received from it, and lost perhaps more honour than it took from the Professor. But if the suspension of Dr Bentley was arbitrary, unstatutable, and illegal, (as we imagine we have almost convinced the reader from text and notes) how much more so must the consequence of it, the degradation of this great man, from all his degrees, rights, and titles, in the university be. Upon this Dr Bentley (which we shall still venture to call him) drew up a petition, which he presented to his Majesty, Oct. 30, 1718, complaining of the proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and University, begging his Majesty's relief and protection, as supreme Visitor of the University. The King, in Council, taking the said Petition into consideration, was pleased to order the same to be sent to the Reverend Dr Gooch, Vice-Chancellor; who was thereby directed to attend his Majesty in Council, on Thursday the sixth of November, 1718, to give an account of the proceedings which occasioned this complaint; on which day the case was heard between the University and the Doctor, before King and Council, and afterwards referred to a committee of Council. But the Ministry being unwilling to interpose their authority, with regard to the proceedings, the matter was farther referred, in a judicial way, to the Court of King's-Bench, where we imagine it was kept some time in agitation; at length, however, the proceedings of the University were reversed by that Court, and on February the 7th, 1728, the Court of King's-Bench sent down a Mandamus to the university of Cambridge, to restore Mr Bentley, Master of Trinity-college, to all his degrees, and whatever he had been deprived of, *&c.* according to a prophetick passage at the end of one of the pamphlets, at that time printed in his defence: 'When our 'present heats are over, I question not, but our *Professor's Case* will be looked upon with 'another eye, if it be not already seen, that the honour of the University was made a 'pretext only, to cover the resentments of some particular persons amongst it's members; 'as the determination of it lies at present before a judgment, where merit and not malice 'is likely to be regarded; we shall in a little time, I make no doubt, with a more *scho-* '*lar-like* pleasure than can be perceived in *this* usage of the learned Bentley, congratu- 'late ourselves upon his restoration to his well-merited honours.' — As to his particular preferments, and the exact times thereof, with the more private affairs and occurrences of his life, we shall be able to add very little upon that head, from want, as we before hinted, of an intimacy with some of his particular friends and acquaintance; all that we can farther add, to what we have before given, is, that in 1692, when under thirty years of age, we find him Tutor in Extraordinary to the Bishop of Worcester's son, and afterwards Chaplain to that learned Prelate, in whose family he spent fourteen years, with no small credit and applause. Mr Boyle hints (*s*) at his having been Amanuensis to the Bishop, but Dr Bentley tells us he never used one, and denies ever being in that capacity to any one. At the time of his being with the Bishop, he held a correspondence, not only with the most learned men of his own nation, but also with many foreigners, who even at that early age, gave him such testimonies of the great regard and esteem they had for his learning and abilities, as few besides himself can produce. Before he was made

(*s*) Boyle against Bentley, p. 223.

Library-

[DD] *The grand affair found practicable was proposed to the Caput.*] The *Caput*, mentioned above, is a Committee of six persons chosen from different parts of the University, to consult and determine of what is proper to be proposed to the University, the Vice-Chancellor always being one. Every Grace, before it can be offered in congregation, must pass the scrutiny of the *Caput*, where each Member has a negative upon it; the Vice-Chancellor is the only person can propose any to them. The Grace was no sooner proposed to the *Caput*, but without any difficulty, or the least scruple, consented to; and so hearty were they in the cause, that it was proposed to expel Mr Bentley the University. This was not however done, which is very strange, since we are told they were all unanimous in the opinion, that he had statutably deserved it, and that there wanted neither precedent, nor power, nor consent, for doing it (75). However, the Grace for degradation, which is as follows, was thought the most proper way. This was accordingly read and approved by the *Caput*, and concluded the business of the morning.

(75) A full and impartial Account of the Proceedings, &c. p. 39.

A Copy of the GRACE.

'CUM Reverendus vir, Richardus Bentley, Col- 'legii Trinitatis magister, ad summos in hac 'Universitate titulos et honores vestro favore dudum 'promotas, adeo se immemorem et loci sui et vestræ 'authoritatis dederit, ut debite summonitus ad com- 'parendum et respondendum in causâ coram Pro-Can- 'cellario obedientiam, recusaveret, ministrum Univer- 'sitatis summonentem indignis modis tractaverit, Pro- 'Cancellarium et Capita Collegiorum, opprobriis im- 'petiverit, jurisdictionem denique Universitatis, longo 'usu, Regiis Chartis, et autoritate Parliamenti stabili- 'tatem pro nihilo habendam esse declaraverit; cum- 'que idem Richardus Bentley super his causis ab omni 'gradu, suspensus fuerit, et postea per tres dies juridi- 'cos expectatus comparere tamen neglexerat; placeat 'vobis ut dictus Richardus Bentley ab omni gradu, ti- 'tulo et jure in hac Universitate dejiciatur & exclu- 'datur.'

In the second meeting of the Congregation, in the afternoon, the Grace was again read, and voted in both Houses.

It passed in the Regent-house	Placets ——	40
	Non Placets —	15
It passed likewise in the Non-Regent-house (76).	Placets ——	62
	Non Placets —	35

(76) An Account of the Proceedings against Dr Bentley, as delivered to his Majesty in Council.

But though the majority which voted the degradation was considerable, viz. 102 voices against 50, he had the honour to have for his friends, all that were remarkable for their steady affections to the government (77).

(77) The Case of Dr Bentley, &c.

[EE] *For*

Library-Keeper to his Majesty, he was, we find by Mr Boyle, Library-Keeper to a learned Dean (*t*). He was Chaplain in Ordinary to King William III, as also to Queen Anne; had a good rectory in the Isle of Ely, and about the year 1729, was elected Regius-Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, for which chair, when he stood candidate, he held a very famous lecture [*EE*]. Soon after he was preferred to the mastership of Trinity, he married his Lady, by whom he had several children; she bore an excellent character, and died before him, in the year 1740. He died aged eighty years, on the fourteenth of July, 1742, and is buried in Trinity-college chapel [*FF*].

(*t*) Boyle against Bentley, p. 189.

[*EE*] *For which chair, when he stood candidate, he held a very famous lecture.*] Wherein he entirely gave up that famous text in the first epistle of St *John*, chap. v. 7. concerning the *Three that bear record in heaven*, and publickly proved it be spurious. Mr Emlyn wrote an exprefs treatise on that subject, at the desire of Dr Clarke and Mr Whiston, to which treatise Dr Bentley also alluded in this famous lecture; on which occasion Dr Waterland being asked, 'Whether Dr Bentley's 'arguments did not convince him;' replied, 'No; for 'he was convinced before (78).'

(78) Historical Memoirs of the Life of Dr Samuel Clarke, by Mr Whiston, p. 101: See also, An Epigram of Dr Bentley's, &c. ut supra, p. 21.

[*FF*] *And is buried in Trinity-college chapel.*] The inscription on the stone that covers him is only this:

H: S: E.
Richardus Bentley
S: T: P: R.
Obiit xiv. Jul. 1742.
Ætatis 80.

These are all the monumentary honours of this great man, who indeed needed not the inscription of a tomb-stone to transmit his memory to posterity. R

☞ The reader is desired to correct a mistake in this Life, in page 740, line 4 in the text, *for* at St James's, *read* before the University.

BERNARD (NICHOLAS) a learned Divine of the last Century, was born in England, and educated in the university of Cambridge, where he took the Degree of Master of Arts; and was incorporated (*a*) to the same Degree at Oxford, on the fifteenth of July 1628. He was created Doctor of Divinity of the university of Dublin, (as we think) but of this, or the time when it was done, we cannot speak with any certainty, for the reasons given in the remark [*A*]. He was ordained (*b*) by Primate Usher, in the year 1626, in St Peter's church, Droghedah, while he was only a Bachelor of Arts, and made his Chaplain, and soon after, by the Primate's interest, was promoted to the Deanery of Ardagh. His Grace having daily opportunities of taking notice of the parts, and the solidity of learning and judgment of Mr Bernard, employed him in making collections for some works he was then meditating, and more particularly for the Antiquities of the British Churches, which did not appear in publick 'till the year 1639. The Primate always expressed great friendship and esteem for him, and upon taking his leave of him at Droghedah in 1640, gave him (*c*) 'A serious Preparative against the 'heavy Sorrows and Miseries that he should feel before he saw him again, and spoke of 'them with that confidence, as if they had been within his view.' This serious discourse of the Primate's, proved in the event to be a prophecy [*B*]. The year following he published a book and a sermon, which gave offence to some of the over-rigid bigots of the Church of England [*C*]; but the Primate had too just and generous a way of thinking to withdraw from him his favour or countenance, for adhering strictly to the truth. The same year was published a pamphlet of his writing, upon a fact of which he was an eye-witness [*D*]. In the summer of 1642, having lost most of his substance, he returned safe to

(*a*) Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 244.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Bernard's Life of Primate Usher. See also Harris's Bishops, p. 109.

[*A*] *Cannot speak with any certainty for the reasons given in the remark.*] The registries of the university of Dublin, preceding the times of the Restoration, are not in being; but as Dr Bernard was Chaplain to Primate Usher, from the year 1626 to the death of that learned Prelate, it is probable he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity some time before the year 1641, when he fled out of the kingdom at the time Droghedah was besieged by the Irish rebels, in which he had taken refuge, or soon after.

[*B*] *This discourse of the Primate's proved in the event to be a prophecy.*] It is taken notice of as a prophecy both by Dr Bernard, and Mr Parr, another chaplain of the Primate's, in the Lives they wrote of that Prelate, and by several other writers; and so is an expression of his in a sermon preached in the year 1601. upon Ezekiel iv. 6. *And thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year*; which words of Ezekiel, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jews, he applied to Ireland, and made use of this observable expression, *i. e.* 'From this year I reckon 'forty years, and then those whom you now embrace 'shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity.' Which time exactly answered to the rebellion which broke out forty years after. This matter bore heavy on his mind, as appears by his preparative to Dr Bernard, who suffered greatly in the rebellion the year following, was stripped of the greater part of his substance, drove from his ecclesiastical preferments, obliged to take shelter in Droghedah under the protection of the English army, was often in danger of his life, and at length, in the summer of 1642, made his escape to England to attend on the Lord Primate.

[*C*] *Gave offence to some of the over-rigid bigots of the Church of England.*] The book and sermon mentioned in the text were, I. *The Penitent Death of a woful sinner; or, The Penitent Death of John Atherton, late Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, who was executed at Dublin the 5th of December*, 1640; *with some Annotations on several passages.* Lond. 1641, 4to. 1642, 8vo. II. *A Sermon preached at the burial of John Atherton, the next night after his execution, in St John's Church, Dublin.* Lond. 1641, 4to. 1642, 8vo. Dr Bernard had the best opportunity in the world of knowing the truth of the fact for which Bishop Atherton suffered, having attended him in his exemplary preparation for death, and in his last moments; and he gives us his behaviour and confession fairly and honestly; yet some, out of a mistaken zeal for religion, think the story ought not to have been related though it were truth, as if religion suffered, because all the members of it are not Saints; and one gentleman (1) is so hardy as to deny the fact, though the Bishop confessed it. These things are the effect of bigotry, and only becoming the schools of the Jesuits. See this matter fully told in the article ATHERTON.

(1) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 67.

[*D*] *Was published a pamphlet of his writing, upon a fact, of which he was an eye-witness.*] This pamphlet was a letter to a friend in Dublin from the siege of Droghedah, dated the 7th of January, 1641, and published immediately after.

[*E*] Present

to England to attend on the Lord Primate, and carried with him a welcome present in those times of calamity and distress, for which the whole kingdom of Ireland may with justice be said to be his debtor [*E*]. Upon his arrival in England, he was presented (*d*) by the Earl Bridgwater, to the rich rectory of Whitchurch in Shropshire, and after the declension of the Royal Cause, was made Chaplain to the Protector, one of his Almoners, and Preacher to the Society of Gray's-Inn. Being thus comfortably settled, in the year 1642, he found leisure, from his pastoral charge, to publish a few small treatises [*F*], mentioned in the remarks. After the Restoration of King Charles II, in 1660, being not satisfied of the thorough and firm settlement of the State of Ireland, he was terrified from venturing himself into it again, and therefore declined returning, and taking possession of his deanry, and continued at Whitchurch to his death, which happened in the winter of 1661. He left behind him several monuments of his industry, besides those before mentioned, a catalogue of which, from Anthony Wood (*e*), may be consulted underneath [*G*].

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

[*E*] *Present—for which Ireland may be said to be his debtor.*] The furniture of the Primate's house at Droghedah, and, which was more welcome, his choice library of books were secured by the care and diligence of Dr Bernard. After the Primate's death the library was removed to Ireland, and is now deposited in the college of Dublin for the use of the kingdom.

[*F*] *He found leisure to publish some treatises.*] These were, I. *The whole proceedings of the Siege of Droghedah in Ireland; with a thankful remembrance of it's wonderful delivery, raised with God's assistance, by the prayers and sole valour of the besieged; with a relation of such passages as have fallen out there, and in the parts near adjoining. To which is added an Appendix, concerning other occurrences fallen out since.* London, 1642. Dublin, 1642, 4to. Again Dublin, 1736. II. *A Dialogue between Paul and Agrippa.* London, 1642, 4to.

[G] *A catalogue of his works from Anthony Wood.*] They are—A farewell Sermon of Comfort and Concord, preached at Droghedah, printed 1651, 8vo.—The Life and Death of Dr James Usher, late Archbishop of Armagh, Primate, and Metropolitan of all Ireland, in a Sermon preached at his funeral in the abbey of Westminster, on the 17th of April, 1656. Lond. 1656, 12mo, afterwards enlarged. — The Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland; concerning first, the extent of Christ's death and satisfaction; secondly, of the Sabbath, and observation of the Lord's-day, and of Ordination in other Reformed Churches, with a vindication of him from a pretended change of opinion in the first, some advertisements upon the latter, and, in prevention of further injuries, a declaration of his judgment in several other subjects. Lond. 1657, 8vo. —This treatise was answered (3) by Dr Peter Heylyn, in a book, intitled, *Respondet Petrus*; or, The Answer of Peter Heylyn, D. D. to so much of Dr Bernard's book, intitled, The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. as he is made a party by the said Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath. London, 1658, 4to. —He also published several Letters which passed between him and Dr Heylyn, —and published and enlarged several posthumous works of Dr Usher, as His Judgment on Babylon, being the present See of Rome, Rev. xviii. 4. with a Sermon of Bishop Bedell's upon the same words, London, 1659. —Devotions of the antient Church, in seven pious prayers, &c. London, 1660, 8vo. — *Clavi trabales*, or Nails fastened by some great masters of assemblies, confirming the King's Supremacy, the Subject's Duty, and Church Government by Bishops; being a collection of some pieces written on these subjects by Archbishop Usher, Mr Hooker, Bishop Andrews, and Dr Hadrian Saravia; with a Preface by the Bishop of Lincoln, London, 1661, 4to.

(3) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 283.

BERNARD (EDWARD) a most learned Astronomer, Linguist, and Critick, in the XVIIth century, was born at Perry St Paul, commonly called Paulers-Perry, near Towcester in Northamptonshire, on the second of May 1638 (*a*). He was the son of Joseph Bernard, Rector of that parish (*b*), and Elizabeth, daughter of John Lenche or Linche, of Wyche in Worcestershire, both of them of good parentage. He had his first education at Northampton, where his father removed some time after his marriage. But before he was six years of age his father died. Whereupon his mother sent him to London to his uncle; who took care of his education, and placed him, in 1648, in Merchant-Taylors-School, of which the most famous William Dugard was then Head-Master (*c*). Here he continued seven years [*A*], namely, 'till June 1655, when he was elected Scholar of St John's-college in Oxford (*d*). By this long stay at school, he had the advantage of laying-in an uncommon fund of learning; so that, when he first went to the University, he was master of the beauties and propriety of the Greek and Latin tongues, very conversant in the classical authors, and not unacquainted with Hebrew. He had also by frequent use gained a tolerably good Latin style for his age; and could make verses well. This poetical faculty remained with him as long as he lived; so that even to his dying day, he used sometimes to divert himself in making epigrams, which were smart and witty (*e*). But when he came to be settled in the University, he slighted this, which he looked upon as comparatively trifling, and applied himself with the utmost attention and diligence, to the more useful studies of History, Philology, and Philosophy; particularly to Philology, which he had a very great inclination to, and of which he was infinitely fond. Therefore, he first carefully read over, and attentively perused, the Greek and Latin authors, with the commentaries and emendations of the most famous antient and modern Criticks. Then, not satisfied with the knowledge of the languages of Greece and Rome, he would also be acquainted with Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic; and that not in a superficial manner, but so as thoroughly to understand them (*f*). Next, he turned his thoughts to the Mathematicks, of which he learned the elements under the most celebrated Dr J. Wallis; but by his own indefatigable application soon made himself master of every branch of that useful science. Three years after his admission into the University, he was made

(*a*) Vita clarissimi & doctissimi Edwardi Bernardi, &c. Scriptore Tho. Smitho, S. T. P. at the end of Bishop Huntington's Epistles, Lond. 1704, 8vo; p. 1. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 1084.

(*b*) Dr Smith says, *he thinks* his father was Rector of that parish — *in isto viculo, ut puto, sacrum parochi munus obibat* — Vita &c. p. 1. but Mr Wood styles him *Gentleman*, ubi supra.

(*c*) Vita, &c. ut supra.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 4.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

[*A*] *Here he continued seven years.*] He staid two or three years in the upper form, that he might have an opportunity of being chosen into St John's college (1).

(1) T. Smith, ubi supra, p. 3.

made Fellow of St John's-college (*g*). February the 12, 1658-9, he took his Degree of Bachelor of Arts (*h*), and that of Maſter, April the 16th, 1662 (*i*) : and was now much eſteemed and beloved, on account of his great parts and learning, and his remarkable ſweetneſs of temper (*k*). In the year 1667, he was choſen one of the Proctors of the Univerſity : and on the 9th of June, 1668, took his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, in compliance with the ſtatutes of the founder of St John's-college (*l*); but ſo great was his modeſty, that he could not be prevailed upon to take his Doctor's degree 'till ſeveral years after (*m*). About December 1668 he went to Leyden, in order to conſult ſeveral oriental manuſcripts, left to that Univerſity by Joſeph Scaliger and Levin Warner; and particularly to examine the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh books of Apollonius Pergæus's Conic Sections, of which the Greek text is loſt, but are preſerved in the Arabic verſion of that author. This verſion, the learned James Golius had brought from the Eaſt, and it was now in the poſſeſſion of his executors; who finding that Mr. Bernard's chief deſign in coming to Holland, was to conſult that manuſcript, allowed him the free uſe of it. Whereupon he tranſcribed the three books abovementioned, and the diagrams; intending to publiſh them at Oxford with a Latin verſion, and proper notes, with a view to ſupply the defect of the Greek, and correct the errors of the Arabic tranſlation (*n*), but he was hindered from putting his deſign in execution [*B*]. During his ſtay in Holland, he contracted a friendſhip with the Profeſſors, and other eminent and learned men, at Leyden. At his return to Oxford, he applied himſelf with freſh vigour to his ſtudies; and collated, or examined over again, the moſt valuable manuſcripts in the Bodleian library, which he had already collated, as well for his own uſe, as that of his friends. And ſo obliging was he in this reſpect, that he ſpared neither time nor pains, to ſerve the learned. This obliging temper, joined to his exact judgment and approved fidelity, induced all ſuch as publiſhed any antient authors, to deſire his obſervations, or emendations from the manuſcripts at Oxford; which he very readily imparted to them, and indeed oftener than ſome did acknowledge. By this means, he came to be engaged in a very extenſive correſpondence with the learned men of moſt countries (*o*). About the year 1669, the famous Chriſtopher Wren, LL. D. Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, being appointed Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's works, and like to be much detained in London, obtained leave from the Vice-Chancellor to nominate a Deputy, and pitched upon Mr Bernard; which engaged the latter to a more intenſe application to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy (*p*). In 1672, the Preſident and Fellows of his college, preſented him to the rectory of Cheame in Surrey. The February following, Dr Peter Mew, Preſident of that college, being advanced to the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, appointed our author one of his Chaplains (*q*) Hereby, he was put into the direct road to good preferment, but he loſt all views and hopes of it, by accepting of the place of Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, vacant by the reſignation of Sir Chriſtopher Wren [*C*], into which he was admitted April 9, 1673 (*r*). About this time, there was a noble deſign formed in the Univerſity of Oxford, of collecting together, and publiſhing, all the antient Mathematicians : this was chiefly promoted and encouraged by the worthy Dr John Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, and Biſhop of Oxford; who endeavoured to obtain a ſubſcription for the ſupport of that extenſive work. Mr Bernard, who had it very much at heart, and firſt formed the project of it, collected together all the old books upon that ſubject, publiſhed ſince the invention of printing, and all the manuſcripts he could diſcover in the Bodleian and Savilian libraries; and diſpoſed them in order of time, and according to the matter they contained (*s*). Of this he drew a Synopſis, or Scheme, wherein the whole was divided into fourteen volumes; and preſented it to Biſhop Fell [*D*]. For a ſpecimen of this noble deſign, he publiſhed a few ſheets of Euclid in folio, containing the Greek text and a Latin verſion, with Proclus's Commentary in Greek and Latin, and learned ſcholia and corollaries, and the figures neatly and accurately engraven on copper, at his own expence (*t*). And in order to promote the ſtudy of Aſtronomy, which he looked upon as his proper profeſſion, he undertook an edition of the *Parva Syntaxis Alexandrina* [*E*]; in which, beſides Euclid, are contained the ſmall treatiſes of Theodoſius, Autolycus, Menelaus, Ariſtarchus, and Hipſicles : but this was never publiſhed (*u*). In the year 1676, at the recommendation of the Earl of Arlington, he was ſent to France by King Charles II, to be Tutor to the Dukes of Grafton and Northumberland, natural ſons of that King, by Barbara Villiers, Ducheſs of Cleveland, who then lived with their mother

(*g*) Ibid. p. 4.
(*h*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 122.
(*i*) Ibid. col. 148.
(*k*) Vita, &c. as above, p. 8.
(*l*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 171. and Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 9.
(*m*) Ibid. p. 10.
(*n*) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 11.
(*o*) Ib. p. 13, 14.
(*p*) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 14.
(*q*) Ibid. p. 15.
(*r*) Ibid. p. 15, 22.
(*s*) Ib. p. 23.
(*t*) Ibid. p. 25.
(*u*) Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 23—25.

[*B*] *He was hindered from putting his deſign in execution.*] But this book was publiſhed at length by the learned Dr Edmund Halley, (at Oxford, 1710, fol.) who has given a Latin tranſlation of the three laſt books out of Arabic, and ſupplied by his own ingenuity and induſtry the eighth book, which was entirely loſt.

[*C*] *Vacant by the reſignation of Dr Wren.*] For, by the ſtatutes of the founder, (Sir Henry Savile) the Profeſſors are not allowed to hold any other office, either eccleſiaſtical or civil, that they may conſtantly apply themſelves to their proper ſtudies, and not be diverted from them (2).

(2) Smith, Vita, &c. as above, p. 16.

[*D*] *Of this he drew up a Synopſis or Scheme,* &c.] It was publiſhed by Dr Tho. Smith, at the end of his Life of our author, under the title of *Veterum Mathematicorum Græcorum, Latinorum, et Arabum, Synopſis. Collectore Viro clariſſimo & doctiſſimo, D. Edwardo Bernardo.* And, at the end of it, there is a catalogue of ſome Greek writers, who are ſuppoſed to be loſt in their own language; but are preſerved in the Syriac or Arabic tranſlations of them.

[*E*] *Parva Syntaxis Alexandrina.*] Or Μικρὸς Ἀ-στρονόμος, of the contents of which there is an account in the *Veterum Mathematicorum Synopſis*, mentioned in the laſt note, p. 17.

[*F*] Of

mother at Paris. But being a man of a meek spirit, and great modesty, though however without the least moroseness, he was not so acceptable in that station, as a person of a more gay and courtly temper would have been (w). Therefore, after about a year's stay there, he returned to his beloved retirement at Oxford; having, in that voyage, reaped the pleasure and advantage, of becoming acquainted with the learned in France [*F*], of collating several antient and valuable manuscripts, and of buying many scarce and curious books for his own library (x). Upon his return to Oxford, he resumed his studies with greater alacrity. And though, according to the duty of his professorship, he spent most of his time in the Mathematicks; yet he had a much greater inclination to History, Chronology, and Antiquities. This made him undertake a new edition of Josephus [*G*], which, however, for some reasons, was never compleated. In 1683, he went a second time to Holland, in order to be present at the sale of Nicholas Heinsius's library by auction; where he purchased, at a great price, several of the classical authors, that had been either collated with manuscripts, or illustrated with the marginal notes of Joseph Scaliger, Bonaventure Vulcanius, the two Heinsius's, and other great Critics (y). There he renewed, or contracted, an acquaintance with several persons of eminent learning [*H*]; and so taken was he with the civilities and humanity of the Dutch, and the great opportunities in that country, of making considerable improvements in Oriental learning, that he almost determined to settle at Leyden; if he could have been chosen Professor of the Oriental tongues in that university; but missing of that, he returned to Oxford. He began now to be weary of the dry and unentertaining study of Astronomy, which, as he complained, rendered life neither better nor more happy; and his health declining with his years, he was willing, upon proper terms, to resign his professorship to Mr Flamstead or Mr Halley, who had cultivated that science with great industry and wonderful success, and with the applause of all Europe. But not being able to obtain any other settlement, he was forced to hold his place eight years longer (z). October 30, 1684, he was prevailed upon to take his degree of Doctor in Divinity (a). In 1691, he was presented, by his good friend and patron Dr Mew, Bishop of Winchester, to the rich rectory of Brightwell in Berkshire. That benefice lying about nine miles from Oxford, he could conveniently reside at either place, according to the different seasons of the year; and for that purpose he was persuaded by his friends to keep his house in Oxford. Soon after he resigned his professorship, after having enjoyed it eighteen years, and was succeeded therein by David Gregory, Professor of the Mathematicks at Edinburgh (b). In 1692, he was employed in drawing up a Catalogue of the manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland [*I*]. August 6, 1693, he married a handsome young Lady, named

(w) He was but ill used, and called in contempt *the Schoolmaster*, ibid. p. 27.

(x) Ibid. p. 25, 27.

(y) Ibid. p. 41.

(z) Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 29—45.

(a) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 225.

(b) Vita, &c. p. 47.

[*F*] *Of becoming acquainted with the Learned in France.*] Particularly with Peter Carcau, Keeper of the King's library; Henry Justel, Ismael Bullialdus, Daniel Huet, afterwards Bishop of Avranches; John Mabillon, Paschasius Quesnel, Andrew Dacier, Eusebius Renaudot, &c (3).

[*G*] *This made him undertake a new edition of Josephus.*] Several years before, Bishop Fell had resolved, with our author's assistance, to print at the Theatre at Oxford a new edition of Josephus, more correct than any of the former. But, either for want of proper means to compleat that work, or in expectation of one promised by the learned Andrew Bosius, this design was for a while laid aside. Upon the death of Bosius it was resumed again; and Mr Bernard collected all the manuscripts he could procure out of the libraries of Great Britain, both of the Greek text and Epiphanius's Latin translation, and purchased Bosius's valuable papers of his executors at a great price. Then he published a specimen of his edition of Josephus, and wrote great numbers of letters to his learned friends in France, Holland, Germany, and others countries, to desire their assistance in that work. He laboured in it a good while with the utmost vigour and resolution, though his constitution was much broken by his intense application to his studies. But this noble undertaking was left unfinished, for these two reasons. First, Many persons complained of Epiphanius's translation, because it was defective and not answerable to the original in many places, and required a new version, or at least to have that of Gelenius revised and corrected. Secondly, Great faults were found with the heap of various readings that were to be introduced in this edition, and with the length of the commentaries, in which whole dissertations were inserted without any apparent necessity, that ought to have been placed at the end of the work, or printed by themselves. These things occasioning a contest between Mr Bernard and the Curators of the Oxford-press, the printing of it was interrupted; and at last the design of having it done at the expence of the University, was quite broken off by the death of Bishop Fell. However, about six or seven years after, Mr Bernard was prevailed upon by three Booksellers of Oxford to resume that work, and to publish it in a less form upon the model of his specimen; but they not being able to bear the expence of it on account of the war, after a few sheets were printed off, desisted from their undertaking (4). These repeated discouragements hindered the learned author from proceeding further than the *four first books*, and *part of the fifth*, of the Jewish Antiquities; and the *first book, and part of the second*, of the Destruction of Jerusalem; which were printed at the Theatre at Oxford in 1686 and 1687, and published in 1700, fol. In the notes, the learned author shews himself an universal scholar, and discerning critic; and appears to have been master of most of the Oriental learning and languages. These notes have been incorporated into Mr S. Havercamp's edition.

[*H*] *He renewed, or contracted, an acquaintance with several persons of eminent learning.*] Namely, J. G. Grævius, Frederic Spanheim, James Triglandius, James Gronovius, James Perizonius, Theodore Ryckius, Servatius Gallæus, Evaldus Rulæus, and especially Nicholas Witsen, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, who presented him with a Coptic dictionary, brought from Egypt by Theodore Petræus of Holsatia; and afterwards transmitted to him in 1686 the Coptic and Ethiopic Types, made of iron, for the use of the printing-press at Oxford (5).

[*I*] *He was employed in drawing up a catalogue of the manuscripts, &c.*] He had rather the oversight than the drudgery of making this catalogue, which had been begun by other hands. The most considerable share he had in this work, was the drawing up a most useful and compleat alphabetical Index; to which he prefixed this title, *Librorum manuscriptorum Magnæ Britanniæ & Hiberniæ, atque externarum aliquot Bibliothecarum Index secundum alphabetum Edwardus Bernardus construxit Oxonii*, An. Dom. CIƆIƆCXCVI. In this Index he mentions a great numbeer of valuable Greek manuscripts, which are to be found in several foreign libraries, as well as our own

(3) Vita, &c. as above, p. 27, 28.

(4) Vita, &c. p. 29—35.

(5) Ibid. p. 43, 44.

named Eleanor Howell, descended from the Princes of Wales (*c*), with whom he lived very happily. In September 1696, though he had been for some time afflicted with the stone, and almost worn out with infirmities, he resolved to take a third voyage to Holland, accompanied only with his wife, in order to be present at the sale of Golius's manuscripts [*K*], a great number of which he purchased at the request and expence of Dr Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin (*d*). After six or seven weeks stay in Holland, he returned to London (*e*), where having continued about a fortnight, to refresh and recover himself from his voyage, he removed to Oxford about the end of November. There he immediately fell into a languishing consumption, attended with a dysentery, which put an end to his life, January 12, 1696-7, before he was quite fifty-nine years of age (*f*). Four days after he was interred in a very solemn manner in St John's-college chapel, his pall being held up by six Doctors, among whom were his former colleague, Dr Wallis, and his successor Dr Gregory; and his corps was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of the university (*g*). A monument of white marble was soon after erected for him by his widow [*L*]. The works he published were as follow: I. 'Tables of the Longitudes, Latitudes, right Ascensions, and Declinations, of the chief 'fixed Stars, according to the best ancient Observers, written in Latin to Dr Robert 'Huntington, Provost of Trinity-college, Dublin, in a Letter dated March 25, 1684, 'and published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 158. p. 567.' II. 'The Obliquity of the Ecliptic from the observations of the Ancients; in Latin. Inserted in the 'Philosophical Transactions, No. 163. p. 721 [*M*].' III. A Latin Letter to Mr John Flamstead, containing observations on the Eclipse of the Sun, July 2, 1684, at Oxford, inserted also in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 164. p. 747. IV. A Treatise, 'of 'the ancient Weights and Measures,' printed first at the end of Dr Edward Pocock's Commentary on Hosea, Oxford, 1685, fol. and afterwards reprinted in Latin, with very great additions and alterations, under this title, *De mensuris & ponderibus antiquis Libri tres*, Oxon. 1688, 8*vo* [*N*]. V. 'Private Devotions; with a brief Explication of the 'Ten Commandments,' Oxford, 1689, 12*mo*. VI. *Orbis eruditi Literatura a charactere Samaritico deducta*; printed at Oxford from a copper-plate, on one side of a broad sheet of paper: containing at one view, the different forms of Letters used by the Phœnicians, Samaritans, Jews, Syrians, Arabs, Persians, Brachmans, and other Indian Philosophers, Malabarians, Greeks, Cophts, Russians, Sclavonians, Æthiopians, Francs, Saxons, Goths, &c. all collected from ancient inscriptions, coins, and manuscripts: together with the abbreviations used by the Greeks, Physicians, Mathematicians, and Chymists. VII. *Etymologicum Britannicum*, or derivations of the British and English words from the Russian, Sclavonian, Persian, and Armenian Languages; printed at the end of Dr Hickes's Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica and Mœso-Gotthica, Oxon. 1689, 4*to*. VIII. He published Mr William Guise's *Misnæ pars prima, ordinis primi Zeraim tituli septem*, Oxon. 1690, 4*to*. IX. *Chronologiæ Samaritanæ Synopsis* (*h*), in two Tables; the first, containing the most famous epocha's, and remarkable things, from the beginning of the world; the second, a catalogue of the Samaritan High-Priests from Aaron. The author sent it to the most learned Job Ludolphus, who had it published in the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiensia*, April 1691, p. 167, &c. He also was author of the following things; X. *Notæ in fragmentum Seguierianum Stephani Byzantini*; or, Notes on a fragment of Steph. Byzantinus in the library of Monsieur Seguier, Chancellor of France: part of which, relating to Dodone, were published by the great James Gronovius, at the end of his *Exercitationes de Dodone*, or Dissertations on Dodone, *Lugd. Batav.* 1681. XI. *Annotationes in Epistolam S. Barnabæ*, Notes upon St Barnabas's Epistle, published in Bishop Fell's edition of that author, Oxon. 1685, 8*vo*. XII. Short Notes, in Greek and Latin, upon Cotelerius's edition of the Apostolical Fathers, printed in the Amsterdam edition of them. XIII. *Veterum Testimonia de Versione LXXII Interpretum*, i. e. the Testimonies of the Ancients concerning the Greek Version of the Old Testament by the Seventy, printed at the end of *Aristeæ Historia LXXII Interpretum*, published by Dr Henry Aldrich, Oxon. 1692, 8*vo*. (*i*). XIV. He translated into Latin, the Letters of the Samaritans, which Dr

(*c*) Wood's Ath. col. 1084.

(*d*) Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 49, 51.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 52.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 53.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 54.

(*h*) Mr Wood gives it the title of *Chronici Samaritici Breviarium*, which is wrong, col. 1085.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. col. 1085.

own, that men of learning might know where to have recourse to them. Those foreign libraries are, those of Augsburgh, Heidelburgh, now removed to the Vatican at Rome, Leyden, the Emperor Leopold's at Vienna, of the Princes di Medici at St Laurence and St Mark at Florence, of the University of Padua, of Monsieur Seguier, Chancellor of France; and the Vatican at Rome. He prefixed a learned Preface to this Index, shewing the great usefulness of it (6). This catalogue was published at Oxford in 1697, fol.

[*K*] *In order to be present at the sale of Golius's manuscripts.*] His executors had unwisely refused a very considerable sum offered them for the whole library, twenty-eight years before, by the University of Cambridge; and now they were selling them by auction (7).

[*L*] *A monument of white marble was soon erected for him by his widow.*] In the middle whereof there is the form of an *Heart* carved, circumscribed with these words, according to his own direction a little before he died, HABEMUS COR BERNARDI; and underneath, E. B. S. T. P. *Obiit Jan.* 12, 1696. The same is also repeated on a small square marble, under which he was buried (8).

[*M*] *Tables of the Longitudes, Latitudes*, &c. and, *The Obliquity of the Ecliptic*, &c.] The Latin titles of these two pieces are, I. *Canon præcipuarum e Stellis fixis secundum observata Majorum*. II. *Observata ex Græcis, Arabicis, Persicis, Judaicis, Latinisque Scriptoribus de obliquitate Zodiaci*.

[*N*] *De mensuris & ponderibus antiquis libri tres*, &c.] At the end of this edition are subjoined two Letters to the author. One from Nicholas Fatio de Duillier, containing a new description of the *Brazen Sea* of Solomon, with a draught of it. The other from Dr Thomas Hyde, concerning the Weights and Measures of the Chinese.

(6) Vita, &c. ubi supra, p. 47, 48, 61, 62, 63.

(7) Ibid. p. 49.

(8) Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 54.

[O] He

Dr R. Huntington procured them to write to their *brethren*, the Jews in England, in 1673, while he was at Sichem (*k*). Dr Smith having obtained a copy of this translation, gave it to the learned Job Ludolphus, when he was in England, who published it in the Collection of Samaritan Epistles, written to himself and other learned men (*l*). Besides what hath been here mentioned, he also assisted several learned men in their editions of books, and collated manuscripts for them [*O*]. He left behind him in manuscript many books of his own composition, with very large Collections [*P*]; which, together with the books enriched in the margin with the notes of the most learned men, and collected by him in France and Holland, were purchased by the Curators of the Bodleian Library, for the sum of two hundred pounds. They likewise bought a considerable number of curious and valuable books out of his library, which were wanting in the Bodleian, for which they paid one hundred and forty pounds. The rest of his books were sold by auction, all men of letters striving to purchase those which had any observations of Dr Bernard's own hand (*m*). As to this learned man's character, Dr T. Smith, who knew him well, gives him a very great one. He was, says he (*n*), of a mild disposition, greatly averse to contests and quarrels: and if he happened to be where disputes ran high, he would deliver his opinion with great modesty, and in few words, but entirely to the purpose. He was a candid judge of other mens works: not too censorious even on trifling books, if they contained nothing inconsistent with good manners, virtue, or religion: But when wit, learning, or good sense shone in them, he was always ready to give them their due praise. Though he was a true son of the Church of England, and a zealous asserter and advocate of it's apostolical doctrine, from which no considerations, offers, or advantages whatsoever, could ever have tempted him to depart; yet he judged favourably and charitably of Dissenters of all denominations. He wished, that peace and unity might be restored among the Churches of a different communion, by removing the causes of those disputes wherewith the Christian world is rent asunder, and purging Christianity of the leaven of the Schoolmen's opinions; but, without hurting pure and uncorrupt Christianity as delivered in the Gospels, or intrenching upon the rights of Bishops. His piety and prudence never suffered him to be hurried away by an immoderate zeal, in declaiming against the errors, or most specious innovations of others. His piety was sincere and unaffected, and his devotions both in publick and private, were very regular and exemplary (*o*). Of his great and extensive learning, his works are a sufficient evidence: and

(*k*) See *Vita D. R. Huntingtoni Scriptore Tho. Smitho*, edit. Lond. 1704. 8*vo*. p. 12, 13.

(*l*) Vita D. E. Bernardi, as above, p. 42.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Vita, &c. ubi supra, p. 54, 55.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 59.

[*O*] *He assisted several learned men in their editions of books*, &c.] Particularly the learned Paschasius Quesnel, in his edition of the works of Leo Magnus (9); and collated Palæphatus and Cornutus, with the manuscripts, for the use of the learned Dr Tho. Gale, who published them among his *Opuscula Mythologica, Ethica, & Physica* (10).

[*P*] *He left behind him in manuscript many books of his own composition, with very large collections*, &c.] Which were as follow, I. *Chronicon omnis ævi, sive Canon Chronicus*; a very learned and laborious work in several tables, comprehending the most famous Epocha's of all nations, the *Fasti Consulares*, and a Chronology from Christ for several centuries. II. *Calendarium Ecclesiasticum & Civile plerarumque Gentium*. The chief of these nations were the Greeks and Romans, Persians, Arabians, Syrians, Copts, and Ethiopians. He gave the copy of this to a Bookseller of Leipsic, who promised to have it printed, but it never appeared. III. *Index Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ & Hiberniæ* (11). IV. 'Large Commentaries 'on the private Devotions, drawn from the Ecclesiasticks of the three first centuries of Christians, and 'from the Gentile authors, Greek and Latin, and 'Oriental.' He put this other title to this manuscript, 'Private Devotions; with a brief Explication of the 'Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the 'Apostles Creed, in seven books.' V. *Observationes varii generis*. VI. *Notæ ad Scriptores veteres tam sacros quam profanos*. VII. *Etymolog. Græcum & Latinum*. VIII. *Lexicon Ægyptiacum*. IX. *Lexicon Russicum*. X. *Euclides, Græcè & Latinè*. In 1694 he prepared for the press all Euclid's works; and revised, corrected, and collated with the Greek and Arabic copies, his *Data*, (of the Paris edition, 1625, 4to.) for which he had a very great value. XI. *Syntagma de Mathesi*; or, the Principles and Elements of the Mathematicks, left unfinished. XII. *Dissertatio de Literaturâ*; or, Collections on the Letters and Alphabets of several nations. XIII. *Linguarum insularum Britanniæ & Hiberniæ origines Persicæ & Armeniacæ*. XIV. In the Polyglott Bible, which he had in twelve volumes, he had inserted the Synopsis Criticorum, the Armenian Version, and other books of Scripture, in their proper places, for the more easy comparing of them. And in the margin had made critical Notes and Scholia, and collated the original with the Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Versions, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and also with the manuscripts, and the writings of the Fathers. This most valuable sett of books was permitted to go out of the kingdom; it being bought, at the sale of Dr Bernard's books, by the learned Olaus Wormius of Denmark, for the sum of twenty pounds (12). XV. He collated the four first books of Apollonius's Conic Sections (13), with the Arabic Version, and with the Greek, which he added in the margin; and translated the three last into Latin. To this he added the Lemmata of Archimedes in Arabic and Latin, with figures and notes, and a learned Preface. XVI. He collated Aristarchus the Samian, concerning the magnitudes and distances of the Sun and Moon, published in Latin at Pisauro in 1572, 4to, with the Arabic Version, and with the Greek Original, which he added in the margin from a manuscript. This book was published at Oxford in 1688, by Dr Wallis. XVII. He also collated Vitruvius, and Cleomedes's tract of Meteors, with the manuscripts, and made notes on the last, taken from the antient Scholiast. XVIII. He compared the book of Sacred Liturgies, *Liber divinarum Liturgiarum*, published by Robert Stephens at Paris, in 1560, fol. especially the Liturgies of St Basil and St Chrysostom, with the manuscripts. XIX. He wrote notes on the whole English Liturgy; and also Commentaries and Annotations on several chapters and verses of the Bible. XX. He intended to have composed a large Commentary on the whole book of Psalms, of which he published a specimen. XXI. He designed to publish the Psalter in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with the old French and Roman Versions, and one made immediately from the original, and likewise with the Coptic. For that purpose, having met with the Psalter published by Jac. Faber Stapulensis in 1508, he procured Father Mabillon to collate the French and Roman Versions, and the Hebrew in that edition, with a manuscript of good authority in the monastery of St Germain's. XXII. Collections of Arabic Proverbs, translated into Latin, partly by himself, and partly by Dr Pocock. XXIII. Notes on the *Glossaria Græco-Latina & Latino-Græca*, published by Vulcanius in 1600. For this purpose, in 1676, when he was at Paris, he collated an old Greek and Latin Lexicon, which

(9) Vide Pasch. Quesnel Præfat. ad opera S. Leonis magni.

(10) Vide Præf. ad Lectorem, prefixam Opuscul. Mythol. &c.

(11) See above, note [*L*].

(12) Vita, &c. p. 71, 72.

(13) They were published in Latin at Bologna, in 1556.

(p) See *Testimonia & Elogia*, &c. at the end of Dr Bernard's Life by Dr T. Smith.

and on this account he has been much applauded both at home and abroad (*p*). Mr Wood, in particular, says of him (*q*), that he was 'a person admirably well read in 'all kind of ancient learning, in Astronomy and Mathematicks, a curious Critick, an 'excellent Grecian, Latinist, Chronologer, and Orientalian.'

(q) Athenæ, Vol. II, col. 1084.

which is to be found at the end of some Tracts of Cyril, with a manuscript in the library of St Germain des Prez. XXIV. Observations on *Gerardi Vossii Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ*. And he intended once to write an Etymological Canon of the origin and variations of that language; and to reprint Henry Stephen's *Thesaurus* of the Greek tongue, or rather to compile a new work of that kind. In a word, he collated, or made curious observations on all the ancient and modern books he read. C

BERNARDI (JOHN) was the son of Count Francis Bernardi, Resident here in England from the republick of Genoa, and was descended from a very antient and honourable family, created, for their services to the House of Austria, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in 1657, and was very early enured to misfortunes and imprisonment; for his father being disgusted at some ill usage he received from the government of Genoa, refused to return thither, and being himself a native of England, retired into Worcestershire, where he settled; and being a great lover of gardening, spent a considerable fortune in improvements of that kind, which, however, did not so far amuse or divert him, as to extinguish his sense of the injuries he had received, which soured his temper to such a degree, that he frequently confined his son John, for very slight causes, to a dark room, where he allowed him only bread and small beer for several days, which hard usage so wrought upon his disposition, that he resolved, at all events, to leave his father's house, and to throw himself into the world, though a perfect child (*b*). Accordingly, in 1670, he quitted his father's seat, with a full resolution never to return thither while the old man lived. He travelled that night sixteen miles in the road to Coventry, and as day-light began to appear, he took shelter in the house of a Wheelwright, who, upon hearing his melancholy story, promised to conceal him, which he performed, and put him into a little room from whence he could look upon the road; and in which he had not been long before he saw his father on horseback, who enquired of the Wheelwright, if he had seen such a boy as he described, which being answered in the negative, prevented the young man from being carried back to confinement (*c*). When the second night came on, he set out again for Packington-hall, the seat of Sir Clement Fisher, who married the famous Mrs Jane Lane, very instrumental in preserving King Charles II, after the fatal battle at Worcester (*d*). But on his coming thither, being informed that Sir Clement and his Lady were in London, he followed them up to town, and was very hospitably received; the Lady having been very kind to him at his father's, and often intreated the old gentleman to deal more indulgent with his son, and to afford him a liberal education. He was by her recommended to a near relation, Capt. Littleton Clent, who was then in garrison at Portsmouth, who took him into his company, and caused him to be taught his exercise as a soldier, which gave him the first taste for a military life. While he was under the protection of this gentleman, he very narrowly

(a) Bernardi's History of his own Life, p. 1. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 156, 157, 158.

(b) Bernardi's Life, p. 5.

(c) From M. Bernardi's own mouth.

(d) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III, p. 419—421.

[*A*] *For their services to the House of Austria, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire.*] The family of Bernardi was originally of Lucca, where they had flourished from the year 1097, and from about the year 1384, had enjoyed the most considerable offices in that Republick; particularly that of Standard-bearer, which with much reputation and fidelity they discharged. Philip de Bernardi, the grandfather of the person of whom we are speaking, resided twenty-eight years with a publick character in England, and is said to have rendered important services to the House of Austria, more especially the Spanish branch of it, at the imminent hazard of his life. He likewise married in this kingdom Mary Damport, of an antient and honourable Catholick family, by whom he had issue two sons, Philip and Francis, the latter of which was the father of our Major Bernardi. In consideration of the services and circumstances before-mentioned, the Emperor Ferdinand II, by letters patent signed with his own hand, and under his imperial seal, dated the 24th of September, 1629, in the eleventh year of his reign over the Empire, the twelfth over Hungary, and the thirteenth over Bohemia, created him Knight and Count of the Holy Roman Empire, with remainder to his sons Philip and Francis, and his and their heirs and successors, male and female, in lawful wedlock begotten, ratifying and confirming their hereditary nobility and antient coat-armour, which is thus blazoned in the patent, viz. the shield quarterly, the first and fourth Or, charged with an eagle displayed, sable, crowned of the field, respecting each other, their beaks open, langued gules, holding in their fore-paws a reed proper; over all in an escutcheon gules, two battle-axes saltirewise, the shield adorned with two crests each on an open helmet, issuing out of an imperial crown, that on the left a demy lion crowned, as in the field; that on the right a black eagle crowned as in the field, respecting each other; and the mantling on the left, from the top of the helmet on the outside, Or, and gules, lined with argent and azure; on the right side, from the top of the helmet on the outside, Or, and sable; lined with sable and argent covering the whole shield. Amongst other privileges granted by this patent, there are these, that himself and his descendants have the liberty of using red wax in all letters, writings, deeds, patents, and other instruments; that they shall be exempt from all jurisdiction, except that of the Imperial Aulick Council; that they shall have a power of nominating and appointing Publick Notaries and ordinary judges throughout the empire, administering to them an oath of office set forth in the said patent; that they may legitimate and restore in blood all bastards and other spurious issue, except those of Princes, Counts, and Barons, giving them thereby full power to inherit; to grant liberty to slaves; to restore infamous persons to credit; to create Doctors in Divinity, Law, Physick, and Philosophy, and other inferior degrees, after due examination, in as ample manner as the Universities of Vienna, Paris, Pavia, or any other University, or even his Imperial Majesty, could do; to grant armorial ensigns, or coat-armour, to any persons at their pleasure; and all other privileges and immunities of right belonging to, or which have been exercised by Counts or Knights of the Empire (1).

(1) All these particulars are extracted from the Patent, which is published at large in Latin and English, in the Appendix to Bernardi's Life.

[*B*] Which

narrowly escaped a misfortune, which had put an early end to his troubles and his life [*B*]. On the conclusion of the Dutch war, Captain Clent being broke, was no other way in a condition of expressing his kindness for Mr Bernardi, than by making him a present of twenty pounds. But the loss of his patron was not the only mischief which befel him in the year 1673, for he had the small-pox soon after, which reduced him very low both in constitution and fortune (*e*). In this distress he addressed himself to his godfather, Col. Anselme, who proposed to him going over to Holland, with which he readily complied, and soon after his arrival, entered as a private soldier into the service of the States, and then listed in one of the English independent companies. He was in the famous action of Seneff, in which the Prince of Condé fell on the rear of the Prince of Orange's army, and took part of his baggage, but after an obstinate engagement was obliged to retire (*f*). He was also present at the siege of Oudenarde, and afterwards at that of Grave, where he served in the company of Capt. Philip Savage, and had his share in a very dangerous attack on the counterscarp, in which he was wounded. The place surrendered on the twenty-ninth of October, 1674. Soon after this, the English troops in the service of the States being regimented, Mr Bernardi obtained an Ensign's commission from the Prince of Orange, dated the second of February, 1675, in the company of his godfather, who was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Disney's regiment (*g*). In June following, he was removed, with his godfather, to another regiment, commanded by Sir John Fenwick, and at the close of the year, had the misfortune to be wounded in endeavouring to part two gentlemen in a duel. He was present, the succeeding year, at the siege of Maestricht, where he had the misfortune to lose the sight of one of his eyes, and to be shot through one of his arms, the bones of which were shivered to splinters, when taking his arm in the lappet of his coat, he crowded back to the breach, and fell down to the bottom among the dead. A soldier of his, seeing him fall, jumped after him, took him up in his arms, and carried him to the surgeons in the trenches, where he was dressed. The Prince of Orange being informed of his behaviour, and that the Lieutenant of the Major's company of that regiment was killed in the attack, gave his commission to Mr Bernardi. But it appearing afterwards that the Lieutenant was only taken prisoner, he missed of this preferment. In April 1677, he married a Dutch lady of a good family, with whom he lived comfortably eleven years. He had a share in the next campaign in the battle of St Omers, and at the close thereof, was appointed Lieutenant in Capt. Philip Savage's company, in which he first served by a commission from the Prince of Orange, dated September 6, 1677. He was present the next year in the battle of Mons, which was the last action in the war. After the peace, his godfather, Col. Anselme was so reduced, as to be obliged to serve as a private man under Mr Bernardi, who allowed him double pay, and excused him from duty (*h*). In 1683, Mr Bernardi was made Captain-Lieutenant in Col. Monk's company, and at this time he was in so great favour with the Prince of Orange, that upon the death of Capt. Jasper Paston, brother to the Earl of Yarmouth, he had his company given him by a commission from the Prince, dated the seventeenth of November, 1685, which was confirmed by a commission from the States, dated the third of December following. At this time his circumstances were very easy, and he had just reason to be thankful to Providence for the condition he was in, having obtained by his merit a company at the age of twenty-seven, the profits of which, together with his wife's fortune, brought him in a clear revenue of five hundred pounds a year (*i*). But it was not long that he continued in this easy and happy situation, for King James II, in the year 1687, having conceived some displeasure against the States-General, demanded the six regiments of British troops that were in their service, and which had been so for fifteen years (*k*). This the States refused, but at the same time did not constrain the officers to serve them against their will, though care was taken to represent to them, in very strong terms, the difference between remaining upon a settled establishment, and returning home upon an uncertainty [*C*]. This had such an effect, that out of two hundred and forty officers that were

(*e*) Bernardi's Life, p. 12.

(*f*) Life of King William III. p. 37–41.

(*g*) See the Copy of this Commission; in the Appendix to Bernardi's Life. See also the article of FENWICK (Sir JOHN).

(*h*) Bernardi's Life, p. 13–45.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 49.

(*k*) Life of King James II. p. 435.

[*B*] *Which had put an early end to his troubles and his life.*] This accident happened thus: While he continued as a cadet in Captain Clent's company, he had leave given him in the year 1671 to go to a gentleman's house not far off, which he did, as he was wont to do, in coloured cloths, which subjected him to the accident of being seized, by a press-gang belonging to the Royal James, at Fareham, within four miles of Portsmouth, to which place he was carried. This was justly esteemed one of the finest ships in the royal navy, had been built in the dock there by Commissioner Dean, with whose service in this respect King Charles II was so well satisfied, that, as a mark of his esteem and favour, he made him a present of a silver axe (2). If Mr Bernardi had listened to the persuasions of those who carried him to Portsmouth, and had resolved to try his fortune at sea, which, considering his youth, and the advantages that might have been proposed to him, it is a wonder that he did not, his first and last voyage had been the same; for this fine ship, on board of which the Earl of Sandwich soon after hoisted his flag, was burnt by a Dutch fireship on the 28th of May 1672, in the famous battle off Southwold-Bay, and that noble Lord, and the best part of a thousand brave men, perished in her (3). But our young adventurer had better fortune; he wrote a letter to his Captain, acquainting him with what had fallen out; and upon his being brought to Mr Stevenson, then Clerk of the Cheque, to have his name registered, he found Captain Clent with him, who claimed him as belonging to his company (4), and procured thereby his immediate discharge, which left him at liberty to prosecute his fortune in it's former channel; which, as the reader will see, he some years after did with very good effect.

(2) From the Papers of Mr Pepys, relating to the Navy.

(3) Historian's Guide, p. 85. Burchet's Naval History, p. 402, 403.

(4) Bernardi's Life, p. 10.

[*C*] *And returning home upon an uncertainty.*] In order to the reader's understanding this matter perfectly, it is necessary to inform him, that King Charles II, during the second Dutch war in his reign, had sent a considerable body of his subjects into the service of France, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Dumbarton, who merited so well of the French King, that they were put upon

were in the whole brigade, no more than sixty thought proper to obey the King's commands, amongst whom was Captain Bernardi. King James was no sooner informed of this, than he ordered a yacht to sail for Holland to bring those gentlemen over, to whom he sent also three months pay, and upon their arrival in England, immediately raised three new regiments, in order to re-place those officers in their commands, and at the same time issued a proclamation, declaring all officers that remained in the service of the States of Holland, rebels (*l*). But the scene was very soon changed; his Serene Highness proceeded soon after on his expedition to England, which brought about the Revolution. One of the first steps taken by his Highness after the King was withdrawn, was to send an association to every one of the regiments then in being, which all the officers were required to sign, importing, that they were determined to defend the Prince against all persons whatever, and such officers as refused it, were ordered to quit their commands. Amongst these was Capt. Bernardi, who having obtained a pass for himself and his family, he transported them to Calais, where, finding many persons of his own principles in great distress, the Captain pledged his effects for fifty pounds for their relief, though they were worth double as much, and the consequence was, that he lost both effects and money. He proceeded from thence to St Germains, where he was very kindly received, and after a short repose, made a long and fatiguing march to Brest, to wait the return of the French fleet, which carried King James to Ireland, and speedily transported two thousand three hundred of his subjects to the same kingdom (*m*). This was in the month of April, 1689, and it was with great difficulty they landed these people in Bantrey-Bay, on the first day of May, and the next day engaged the English fleet under Admiral Herbert (*n*). The Earl of Dover, who was appointed by King James to receive these recruits, conducted them directly to Dublin, where they were formed into separate corps, and all the officers had commissions given them. Amongst the rest, Mr Bernardi was appointed Major of an Irish regiment, which was soon disbanded for mutiny; and then he had the like command in the regiment of Mac Carthy Moor, a great Irish Chief, under whom he served for some time (*o*). After Marshal Schombergh landed in that kingdom with twenty thousand men from England, King James found his affairs in a very declining condition. However, as he had still a superior army, he marched to Ardee, which he fortified, and thereby kept the Marshal in his camp near Dundalk, which being a marshy, unwholsome place, half his troops soon died of fluxes (*p*). While King James was at Ardee, he formed a design of sending the Earl of Seaforth into Scotland, in hopes the presence of that nobleman might supply the loss of the famous Viscount Dundee, then lately killed in his service. To assist the Earl in this enterprize, the King directed Major Bernardi, and another Field-Officer, to attend him, which they did, and embarking on board a man of war at Galway, in the west of Ireland, steered their course for Scotland; but before they got clear of the Irish coast they met with a storm, by which their bowsprit and fore-mast were both broke to pieces, upon which the Captain with much difficulty and danger worked the ship into Broad-Haven, in the province of Connaught, from whence the Earl sent Major Bernardi to King James, then in his camp at Ardee, to acquaint him with this unlucky accident, which hindered his intended voyage (*q*). King James thereupon ordered the ship back again to Galway, and put off the Earl's voyage to the next spring, when he proceeded, with Sir Thomas Southwell and Major Bernardi, for Scotland, where he speedily raised a great body of men for King James's service, and made the necessary dispositions for joining Major-General Buchan, who commanded the ramains of Lord Dundee's forces, in order to form the siege of Inverness (*r*) [*D*]. But the Earl was disappointed

(*l*) Hist. of the Revolution, p. 95. Bernardi's Life, p. 52. See the article of MACKAY (HUGH).

(*m*) Bernardi's Life, p. 50—54.

(*n*) Burchet's Naval History, p. 416.

(*o*) Bernardi's Life, p. 61.

(*p*) Parker's Memoirs of Military Transactions in Ireland, &c. p. 16.

(*q*) Bernardi's Life, p. 64—67.

(*r*) Balcarras's Memoirs, p. 125.

upon a very good establishment; and it is said that the Earl of Dumbarton might have had the Staff of Marshal of France, if he had not been recalled (5). When therefore the peace was made with the Dutch, the Prince of Orange, as the King's nephew, thought himself well intitled to demand a corps of English troops for the Dutch service, which, as we have seen, he obtained about the year 1673. The Earl of Offory, son to the old Duke of Ormond, was General of these troops by a commission from the States (6), and upon his death the King named the Earl of Pembroke to succeed him, part of whose equipage was actually sent to Holland; and Bernardi tells us, he had the use of them, but some disputes arising, and the Dutch being very slow in their resolutions, the Earl of Pembroke never went over in person (7). These six regiments were sent by the Dutch to the assistance of King James on Monmouth's rebellion, and he permitted them to return again to the service of the States, who knew the value of them so well, and were so thoroughly satisfied of their fidelity, that it was no wonder they were unwilling to part with them. Among other arguments that were used to induce the officers to remain where they were, notwithstanding the King's commands, one was, the fate of the officers and soldiers re-called out of the French service by King Charles II, the former being left unprovided for, and many of the latter begging and starving in the streets (8). This argument had, without doubt, very great weight in one sense, that is, with regard to the officers changing a certainty for an uncertainty; but in other respects it was singular enough, for in the first place those troops were re-called chiefly at the instance of the States themselves; and secondly, it was a full proof that the French thought the King of England had a clear right to re-call his subjects out of their service. However, as most of the officers were very well settled in Holland, and many of them had acquired fortunes and establishments independent of their military commands, they were very willing to remain where they were, especially at a time when King James was making the greatest efforts at home in favour of the Popish religion, and might be presumed to withdraw these forces, and increase his own, with no other view than to be in a better condition of carrying his designs into execution.

[*D*] *In order to form the siege of Inverness.*] This expedition of the Earl of Seaforth is a very curious and very important point of history, and yet very little, indeed hardly at all, known. When King James had received advice of the death of the Viscount of Dundee (9), he resolved immediately to send this Nobleman over to supply his place; and if it had not been for the accident of his disappointment, as related in the text, in all probability he would have kept the Highlanders

(5) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 191.

(6) See the article of BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Offory.

(7) Life of Bernardi, p. 47.

(8) See the article of MACKAY (HUGH).

(9) Life of King William III. p. 226.

disappointed in this design, by the speedy march of Major-General Mackay, with a considerable body of regular troops, into those parts, and while things were in this situation, the news came of the total defeat of King James's army at the Boyne, upon which Sir Thomas Southwell prevailed upon the Earl to dismiss his forces, and to surrender himself prisoner to Major-General Mackay upon honourable terms. The Earl taking this step, without the consent of his uncle, Mr Colin Mackenzie, and the rest of his friends, it provoked them to such a degree, that they would have cut Sir Thomas Southwell to pieces, if Major Bernardi had not interposed and prevented it. This Mr Colin Mackenzie, took Major Bernardi, and the rest of the officers that came with him from Ireland, under his protection, and conducted them safely to Major-General Buchan, who was then at an hundred miles distance, and who, upon hearing of the Earl of Seaforth's conduct, had dismissed most of his forces. Major Bernardi had now nothing more to transact in the Highlands, and therefore, as his presence there could be of no service, he desired to go to England, and Major-General Buchan approved of it, and sent for the Laird of Glenco, to come with forty of his vassals, to receive Bernardi at Invergary, and to conduct and guard him to the Braes of Monteth, being near an hundred miles, and very difficult travelling over rocks and mountains in that season of the year, near the end of October; a great part of the journey was to be performed in the night-time, several detachments of King William's forces lying in their way, particularly at Inverlochy, or Fort William, a place where was a garrison of twelve hundred men, and there was no other way to climb up an high mountain, but near the gate of the said fortress, so that it was impossible to pass them but when asleep and their gate locked (*s*). The Laird of Glenco's country lying within twenty miles of that garrison, Major Bernardi arrived safe at that gentleman's house, and remained there some days, to rest himself and recover his strength. After having reposed himself there six days, he desired to proceed on his journey, and the Laird appointed forty of his best men, under the command of a relation of his own, to conduct him to the Braes of Monteth, places as dangerous and difficult to pass as any of the way he had come before. The same inconveniences, of small garrisons of the government were in their way, and their parties were continually about the country in the day-time. This made the second part of Major Bernardi's journey to be mostly night-work. However, he arrived safe at the Braes, at which place he was recommended, by Major-General Buchan, to one Col. Duncan Graham, to be than farther directed by him. Major Bernardi proceeded on his journey from the Braes of Monteth, under the conduct of a guide appointed him by Col. Graham, and having no more need of guards, he arrived at Edinburgh in the month of November, in the year 1691. The Magistrates of that city having heard that some gentlemen were come from the Highlands, ordered their gates to be shut, and a general search to be made for them. Bernardi's landlord getting notice of it, conducted him out of town but half an hour before the order was put in execution, otherwise his journey at that time had terminated in some prison at Edinburgh; but escaping that, and some other dangers, he travelled on from thence to London, meeting with no more difficulties than those of a long winter's journey (*t*). Having finished his affairs in London, by disposing of some effects he had left with a friend, when he went out of England, and by selling his Scots horses, he purposed to go over to Flanders, and meeting with two gentlemen of his acquaintance ready to make the same voyage, he went with them to Colchester, where they were recommended to the Master of a ship, who was in a short time to carry over a lady of great quality to Ostend, but the wind happening to be fixed in the east, the lady ordered her trunks to be put on board, and

(*s*) Ibid. p. 67—75.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 75—80.

Highlanders together, and have given the Government a great deal of trouble in Scotland, for there was no man had a larger interest in the Highlands, or was more respected by the Clans. Besides, at that time King James was able to have spared him some regular troops from Ireland, and his country lay extremely convenient for the landing of those troops: But by this disappointment King James's friends in Scotland were so disheartened, that the greatest part of them dispersed, and many of them submitted and made their terms with the Government, which made his second expedition of much less consequence than otherwise it would have been. It was in his return to King James's camp that the Earl met with Sir Thomas Southwell, who, with about threescore other Genlemen, had been convicted and condemned as traytors, for taking up arms against the Duke of Tyrconnel; and upon his procuring Sir Thomas's pardon, that Gentleman thought himself obliged in gratitude, or perhaps for his safety, to accept a commission in King James's service, and therefore went in quality of Captain under the Earl of Seaforth, into Scotland (10). When the Highlanders were assembled to the northward of Inverness, they appeared to be a very formidable number of men, considering the regular troops the Government had at that time in that country; and the more so, since General Buchan, whose body of horse was of very little consequence in itself, when joined to these men under the command of experienced officers, would have made up a very formidable army, which, if successful in the attack of Inverness, or any other action of consequence, could not have failed spreading the flame of war through the Highlands, the inhabitants of which were, generally speaking, disaffected. But Sir Thomas Southwell observing the Earl much affected with the news of King James's defeat at the Boyne, laid hold of that opportunity to shew him security and peace on one side, and great hazards and difficulties on the other, which inclined him to follow his advice, and to make use of his assistance in obtaining reasonable terms from General Mackay, which put an end to the troubles in Scotland, and consequently to the diversion that might have been made on that side, if he had continued firm to his first purpose, his forces being superior at the time he submitted to Mackay's, and the war continuing long after in Ireland, which would have made such a diversion extremely troublesome, and therefore it is no wonder that Sir Thomas Southwell's service was considered in so high a light by King William; and very probably it was with a view of doing this service, or something like it, that Sir Thomas accepted this command, which are points that were never hitherto cleared up.

(10) Life of Bernardi, p. 66, 67.

and then went to a gentleman's house about five miles off, charging the Master to send for her as soon as the wind came fair. Bernardi and his friends met with two other gentlemen who were strangers to them, and also unknown in the town, who were come thither to get a passage over in the same ship. They joined company and lodged all together for some nights at Mr Cook's, then Post-Master in Colchester; but having notice of some peoples inquisitiveness about them, Bernardi and his two friends went to a gentleman's house about a mile out of the town, and the other two gentlemen went to the Master of the ship's house. The second night after Bernardi and his friends went into the country, intimation was given, that Sir Isaac Rebow, a justice of the Peace, had issued out his warrant to apprehend them, and bring them before him, and the wind coming fair the same night, they went directly to the Master of the ship's house, to go on board. The Master of the ship told them, that he had sent a messenger to the lady, and expected her in an hour more, and sent one of his men to conduct them on board a-ship, and said he would follow them, with the other two gentlemen at his house, as soon as the lady came. A message came from the lady, that she could not possibly come before the next day in the afternoon. Bernardi and his two friends continued on ship-board to avoid the Justice's warrant. The next day, towards the evening, came a company of Trained-Bands, with five hundred country people, to the kay, where the ship then lay dry at low water, about two miles from the town, and Bernardi, and the two gentlemen with him, were seized, and carried directly to Colchester goal, where the other two gentlemen, and the Master of the ship, had before been made prisoners (*u*). The lady, who occasioned all this stir, was the Countess of Errol, with whom Mr Bernardi was not at all acquainted; however, it cost him a great deal of trouble, and hindered him from pursuing any settled course of life, 'till a year and a half afterwards, that a bill being preferred against him and his friends in Essex for high-treason, was rejected, by which he escaped indeed any farther suffering on this head, but at the expence of several hundred pounds, an accident almost insupportable to a man already of a broken fortune (*w*). He went afterwards over to Holland, with the Earl of Nottingham's pass, who was then Secretary of State, and returning within the time prescribed, merited thereby some farther indulgencies from his Lordship. The times being now dangerous for a man of Major Bernardi's sentiments, who could scarce live so cautiously as not to give some offence, he resolved to retire into the country, where he lived peaceably, and without seeing much company, for some months, at a house near Brentford (*x*). But being obliged to quit this house, on account of it's changing it's owner, he came to London again about Christmas 1695, which proved his ruin by a series of very unfortunate accidents, supposing what he constantly professed to be true, that he was in no respect privy to the base and barbarous conspiracy for assassinating King William (*y*). For being unhappily at a tavern on Tower-Hill, with one Capt. Rookwood, who was his old acquaintance, and who was involved in that affair, they were seized together, and sent to the compter, and afterwards committed to Newgate, which was extreamly tho' not equally fatal to them both [*E*]. He was committed on the twenty-fifth of March

(*u*) Ibid. p. 80—84.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 85.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 86.

(*y*) Pointer's Chronological History, Vol. II. p. 426. Life of King William III, p. 449. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 130.

[*E*] *Tho' not equally fatal to them both.*] We have shewn in the text, that Major Bernardi quitted his house near Brentford at Christmas, 1695, upon which he came up to London. It was in February following that the plot was discovered, and the first proclamation that issued was dated the 23d of that month, in which Mr Rookwood's name was inserted (11); but to understand this matter clearly, and the grounds of Mr Bernardi's imprisonment, it will be requisite to give his account of it in his own words. 'Captain Rookwood 'came to Bernarndi of a Saturday, soon after the said 'horrid plot broke out, and his countenance and be- 'haviour seemed to discover disturbance of mind. 'Bernardi thereupon asked him, If any evil had hap- 'pened to him? To which he answered, No; but 'said, that if any body should be so malicious as to 'give information of his being come over at that time, 'he should certainly be taken up. But it seems his 'name was in a proclamation, which came out upon 'that very day to seize him, as one of those who was 'concerned in the said assassination-plot, though Ber- 'nardi had not then heard any thing of the matter; 'and Rookwood concealed it from him, intending, as 'appeared by his behaviour afterwards, to spend the 'evening with Bernardi; but Bernardi told him, that 'he was under a promise and engagement to sup that 'night at a tavern on Tower-hill. Captain Rook- 'wood said, that if the meeting there was not upon 'private business, he desired he might be one of the 'company; which Bernardi readily complied with, 'and he and Rookwood, with other company, supped 'there accordingly; and making it too late to go 'home to their lodgings, Rookwood and Bernardi 'staid all night at the tavern, and went to bed to- 'gether there. The next morning some constables, 'and other armed men, came into the house, and en- 'tered the room where Bernardi and Rookwood were 'in bed, and producing their warrant to search for 'and seize them, required submission thereto. Ber- 'nardi and Rookwood readily yielded to their au- 'thority, not making the least resistance, and got up 'and dressed themselves as soon as possibly they could; 'but Mr Constable's orders being to carry them, and 'all the people belonging to the tavern, before the 'Recorder of London, who was gone to church, 'they were obliged to remain in the tavern 'till noon, 'guarded by twenty men. This delay gave Bernardi 'an opportunity to make some enquiry into the cause 'of all that hurly-burly. The senior Constable told 'him, that a neighbour's servant-maid came to the ta- 'vern the night before, and seeing some Gentlemen at 'supper, she asked the drawer who they were? and he 'making her a surly answer, she went with her brother, 'a journeyman shoemaker, directly to the Recorder, 'and gave information that some evil-minded men 'were at the tavern, and that the people of the house 'refused to discover who they were, and therefore it 'was reasonable to believe, that they might be such 'persons as the Government then sought for by divers 'proclamations. It was the latter end of February, 'and the before-mentioned horrid conspiracy was dis- 'covered about the middle of the same month. The 'Constables having notice of the Recorder's being at 'home, they carried Bernardi and Rookwood, with 'all the family, before him, who examined them sepa- 'rately and very strictly; and told them, that he could 'do no less than commit them at that disturbed time, 'though he found no other cause than suspicion for so 'doing; and therefore, as a favour, would send them 'to the two Compters, and not to Newgate, that they 'might with less difficulty and expence obtain their 'liberty, when the storm was blown over; he ordered 'the

(11) State Tryals, Vol. IV. p. 684, 685.

March 1696, for high-treason, but not upon oath (z). Some time after this, the witnesses against the conspirators were examined before the Lord Chief-Justice Holt, in order to the trial of Major Lowick, Major Bernardi, Capt. Knightly, and Capt. Rookwood, but no evidence at all appearing his name was struck out of the list, and Mr Cranburn's inserted in his stead, and those four were afterwards tried and convicted (a). After all the trials were over, six gentlemen, who were confined, entered their prayer at the sessions in the Old-Bailey, and were first bailed and then discharged; though five of their names had been in proclamations, and one thousand pounds reward, paid, for apprehending them (b). There then remained in prison Major Bernardi, Capt. Counter, Mr Cassils, Mr Meldrum, and Mr Chambers, who were confined in different parts of the goal, and had no communication with each other; but their friends, after the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act expired, and the other gentlemen had been discharged, entered prayers for them at the next sessions, in order to their being tried or bailed, but at the request of the Sollicitor of the Treasury, the Court was adjourned, and the Parliament being sitting, a bill was brought in for imprisoning them a year, on a suggestion, that in that time evidence might be found against them; and when this bill came up to the House of Lords, Mr Blackbourne's name was inserted, tho' he was discharged before, and taken into custody of a Messenger while the bill was depending in the House of Common, without any fresh charge against him (c). This act having passed, and the year expired, a second act was passed for the same purpose, for another year. On the expiration of the second act there passed a third, for confining them during the pleasure of King William, and his Majesty, upon the application of the late Earl of Burlington, was graciously pleased, to promise that he would deliver them in a short time, but his kind intention was frustrated by his illness and death, which followed soon after. An act was then passed for confining them during the pleasure of Queen Anne, in whose reign Capt. James Counter was discharged, tho' the only one of the six that was committed upon oath, and the like promise was obtained from her Majesty, in favour of Major Bernardi, at the request of the Duke of Buckingham, and for Mr Blackbourne, at the instance of the Earl of Oxford. But no order was made before the Queen's death, when an act passed for confining them during the pleasure of the late King, and a sixth in the beginning of the present reign (d). Under this confinement, Robert Meldrum, James Chambers, Robert Cassils, and John Bernardi, died, the latter on the 20th of September, 1736, after very near forty years imprisonment (e); and Mr Robert Blackbourne, by the clemency of his present Majesty, was removed to the King's Bench. There is nothing farther to be added in respect to this gentleman, but that in the year

(z) See the copy of this commitment, in Bernardi's Life, p. 110, 111.

(a) State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 661.

(b) These were the three Higgons's, Captain Stow, Capt. Walbank, and Mr Blackbourne.

(c) Bernardi's Life, p. 95—97.

(d) Ibid. p. 97—103.

(e) London Magazine, 1736, p. 521, col. b. Gentleman's Magazine, 1736, p. 533, col. a.

'the family belonging to the tavern to give bail the next 'day; Bernardi and Rookwood remained quiet under 'their respective and different confinement near a 'month, without any communication with each other, 'either by letter or message, in all that time. Captain Charnock, King, and Keys, were taken up on 'the first proclamation, which came forth on or about 'the 22d day of February, and between that time and 'the 18th day of March next following they were all 'three condemned and executed. And upon the 23d 'day of the same month of March, came forth 'another proclamation, in which Bernardi's name was 'inserted, and the reward of a thousand pounds was 'thereby offered to apprehend him: Captain Rookwood reposing an entire confidence in the friendship 'of one Mr George Harris, intrusted him with the 'knowledge of his and Bernardi's being imprisoned in 'the Compters, as before related; and here it is to 'be observed, that although Captain Rookwood was 'in a proclamation, which came forth but the day before he and Bernardi went together to the tavern on 'Tower-hill, and of which, without doubt, he had 'been apprized at the time of his first coming to Bernardi, who then knew nothing of the matter; yet 'Captain Rookwood thought fit to conceal the same 'from the knowledge of Bernardi as long as he could, 'and judging it conducive to his safety he changed his 'name, and prevailed on him so to do, but without acquainting Bernardi with the proclamation as a reason 'for his so doing. Capt. Rookwood was often visited by 'the said Mr Harris, to whom these particulars were 'communicated by Capt. Rookwood; and as soon as 'the proclamation of the 23d of March came forth, 'which was the last that was published to apprehend 'conspirators, and was published at some weeks distance from the rest, and wherein Bernardi's name 'was inserted, with a reward of a thousand pounds to 'apprehend him, as before-mentioned; Harris went 'and discovered Capt. Rookwood and Bernardi for the 'sake of the reward; and they were taken out of the 'Compters by a detachment of the guards in the night 'of the 24th of the same month of March, and were 'carried to the Tilt-yard, and examined by the Lords 'of the Council the next day, and committed close 'prisoners to Newgate, loaded with heavy irons, and 'put into separate, dismal, dark, and stinking apartments, not being allowed to speak to each other from 'the time of their first being taken out of the two 'Compters. Bernardi did never see Rookwood afterwards, who was soon after tried and condemned, and 'was executed at Tyburn on the 29th day of April 'following (12).' It appears from this account, that Major Bernardi was guilty of very great indiscretions in the course of this affair, by carrying Captain Rookwood into the company of his friends at the tavern upon Tower-hill, which involved many innocent persons in much trouble; in continuing there all night, which had a very suspicious aspect; in changing his name when he was committed, and submitting quietly to that imprisonment, which had with respect to him the same aspect as in regard to Capt. Rookwood. After all, Major Bernardi was the only person amongst those who fell under this extraordinary confinement that had just reason to complain. Mr Chambers is mentioned as the person who was to give notice of King William's going out, in order for the conspirators to follow and attack him (13). Captain Counter is sworn to have delivered arms to some of the conspirators (14); and Blackbourn is positively sworn to have been one of them that was to have acted under Capt. Rookwood (15); but with respect to Major Bernardi, there is only Mr Harris's account that he had seen him in the company of Mr Rookwood; and considering the character that witness gives himself, we may very well judge, that, after what Bernardi says in his relation, he could not do less than name him in the manner he did, having got his name inserted in the proclamation. It is indeed strange that the six other persons should be bailed and discharged, considering that as much or more had been said against them in the trials of such of the conspirators as were convicted, than against those that were detained with Bernardi: but the truth seems to be, that the consequences of discharging so many desperate people under so high an imputation so soon, had not been then sufficiently considered; and that this was the true reason, and not any partiality to one set of men, or prejudice against the other, appears from the apprehending Blackbourn the second

(12) Life of Bernardi, pag. 87—92.

(13) State Tryals, Vol. IV. p. 568.

(14) Ib. p. 688.

(15) Ib. p. 687.

year 1712, he married a second wife, by whom he had ten children while in Newgate, and by whose care and industry he was chiefly supported (*f*). Major Bernardi was a little brisk man, of a very chearful disposition, and who bore his misfortunes, more especially his long imprisonment, and frequent indispositions by the breaking out of old wounds, with great constancy of mind; and was much respected and beloved by all who knew him.

(*f*) Bernardi's Life, p. 228.

second time, and causing his name to be inserted in the bill for imprisoning the rest when it came up to the House of Lords. These remarks follow naturally from a view of the facts which occasioned them, and which they are intended to explain; and, as such, it is hoped the reader will consider them, and make proper allowances for what one man is naturally apt to say in his own case, and the light in which things appear to another who enquires only after truth, and is not at all sollicitous on which side he finds it. E

BERTIE, the name of a very ancient, illustrious, and noble family, ancestors of the present most noble Peregrine, Duke of Ancaster, and also of the Right Honourable the Earl of Abingdon. There are few families more ancient than this, for we can, with great certainty, trace it as far back as the days of King Ethelred II, between seven and eight hundred years ago. That we may make the more room for this article, we shall give the genealogy of the family down to Peregrine, the first nobleman thereof, in the note [*A*], and shall confine ourselves in the text, to the Lives of PEREGRINE, ROBERT,

[*A*] *We shall give the genealogy of the family in the notes.*] This family originally came into England from *Bertiland* in Prussia, when the Saxons invaded this nation; and by the gift of one of the Saxon Kings had a castle, and also a town, which was denominated from thence, *Bertieset*, now Bersted, near Maidstone in Kent; Sted, and Stad, denoting in the Saxon language a town (1). It appears from an old manuscript in the Cotton library, that Leopald de Bertie, was Constable of Dover-castle, in the reign of King Ethelred, from whom descended Hieronymus de Bertie, founder, or at least a great benefactor to one of the monasteries in Kent, the north part of which he built at his own expence, and was himself buried in a chapel there, where these arms were put up against a pillar, viz. Three Battering Rams in pale (*). The said Leopald quarrelling with the Monks of St Austin at Canterbury about tithes, which the Monks endeavouring to carry off by force of arms, a fight began, wherein a son of Leopald's was slain; of which he complained to the King, but receiving no satisfaction, he flew to *Sweyn*, King of the Danes, for assistance, who invaded the kingdom with a powerful fleet, which was divided into two squadrons, one steering towards Northumberland, and the other for Kent, where they joined Leopald's forces, and laid siege to Canterbury, which they took in the year 1011, leading the Archbishop away captive; but Sweyn dying, the scale soon turned, for Ethelred miserably persecuted the Danes; and Burbach Bertie, the only surviving son of Leopald, conscious of his father's actions, went to Robert, King of France, who received him honourably; and having married a French woman, settled there, where his posterity continued 'till the year 1154, when Philip Bertie, with his family, accompanied King Henry the Second into England, and by that Prince's favour recovered his patrimony in Bersted. This Philip had issue Martin, who was father of Robert, and he of William, who had issue Edward, father of Jerome, who lived at Bersted aforesaid in the reign of King Henry the Fifth. This Jerome one Sunday in Lent, hearing a Monk in a church exclaiming against the murder occasioned by his ancestor, rushed in upon him, and slew him; for which rash act he was excommunicated by the Archbishop, and was obliged to go to Rome to get absolution; which he did, upon condition that he should ask pardon of the Archbishop and Monks of Canterbury at publick mass, and pay two pieces of gold to the Convent, as the fruit of his repentance, and for the souls of his ancestors. He afterwards became a benefactor, by new building their church at his own charge. To this Jerome succeeded Robert, who had also issue Robert, father of William, who had issue Thomas, who was Captain of Hurst-castle in the Isle of Wight (2), in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and left issue Richard Bertie, Esq;. This Richard had his education, first, in Corpus-Christi-college, Oxford (3), of which House he was a Fellow, and afterwards under Thomas Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, Lord Chancellor of England; and being singularly learned in the French, Italian, and Latin tongues, and an accomplished Gentleman, he gained the affection of that great Duchess Katharine, the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who left her a widow in 1545. She was, in her own right, Baroness Willoughby of Eresby, being daughter and sole heiress of William, the last Lord Willoughby of Eresby (4). This Lady, being very zealous for the Reformation in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, drew both herself and her husband into danger, through the malice of Bishop Gardiner (5), restored by Queen Mary, who having sent for Richard Bertie her husband, in the first year of the Queen's reign (6), amongst other questions, touching his religion, asked, 'Whether the Lady his wife was now 'as ready to set up mass as she had been to pull it 'down, when in her progress she caused a dog in a 'rochet to be carried, and called by his (Gardiner's) 'name?' Upon this, Mr Bertie being advised by his friends, that the Bishop meant to call the Duchess his wife to an account for her religion, and foreseeing the danger, he procured the Queen's licence to travel beyond sea, under colour of looking after such debts as were due from the Emperor to the late Duke of Suffolk, his Lady's former husband; and having obtained it, passed the seas at Dover in June, the same year, leaving her behind, who, in January following, went disguised from her house in Barbican, and passing to Leigh in Essex, privately took shipping (7), and after much danger at sea, met her husband at Santon in Cleveland, where, after some stay, being like to be called to account for their faith by the Bishop of Arras, were obliged to haste away on foot with her daughter, a child, and two servants, to *Wesel*, a hanse-town in the duchy of Cleves; where, after going through many hardships, at length met accidentally with one who knew them, and had formerly been under obligations to the Duchess, and who therefore kindly entertained them 'till they got a protection from the Magistrates for their stay there. They hired a house, and the Duchess was brought to bed of a son, October 12, 1555, who was christened Peregrine, because he was born in a foreign country, (*Terra peregrina*) (8); since which, it is observable, there has been constantly one of that name in the family. Mr Bertie and his Duchess thinking themselves happily settled at Wesel, intelligence was sent them, that it had been contrived in England to seize them there; upon which they were obliged to fly to *Winheim*, a town in the Palsgrave's dominions, where, having staid 'till necessaries began to fail them, it providentially happened that the King of Poland, hearing of their distress, kindly invited them into his country (9). They set out from Winheim in 1557, but in their way underwent divers great hardships, and were in danger of their lives from the Landgrave's soldiers, who, upon occasion of a quarrel about a spaniel which they had along with them, thrust boar-spears into the waggon where the Duchess and her children were; and pursuing her husband into a village, had murdered him, but that he forsook his horse, and ran up a ladder which was set to the top of a house, and thereby escaped. After this they passed on quietly to Poland, where they were courteously entertained by the King, and were honourably placed in the Earldom of Crozan in Sanogelia; in which place having the absolute power of governing, they continued in great quietness and honour 'till the death of Queen Mary, and then returned into England.—In the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth, Mr Bertie having waited on

(1) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 255.

(*) The present arms of the family.

(2) Historical Account of the Nobility of England, p. 156.

(3) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 689. Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. I. p. 276. Hollingshed, Chr. of England, pag. 1142.

(4) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 255. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 306.

(5) Historical Account of the present Nobility, p. 156.

(6) Hollingshed, p. 1143. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 408.

(7) Dugdale, ut supra. Hollinshed, p. 1144.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 109. Hollingshed, p. 1145. Camden's Britannia, by Gibson, p. 478, 479.

(9) Dugdale, ut supra. Hollingshed, ut supra.

Robert, and Mountague BERTIE, three persons renowned for their valour and loyalty, and ornaments to their country; and, as such, highly deserving a place in English Biography.

on the Queen to Cambridge, when the University for five days entertained her with comedies, tragedies, and orations; he had then the degree of Master of Arts conferred on him (10). He died in 1582, aged sixty-four, having survived his Duchess two years (11), and having issue an only son, *Peregrine Bertie*, before-mentioned, and a daughter, married to Reginald Grey, Earl of Kent (12). — In the year 1680, Charles Bertie, Envoy Extraordinary to the Electors and Princes of Germany, in his passage through the city of Wesel, caused a stone to be affixed over the porch of the church of St Willebrode in that city, with a Latin inscription, in memory of the birth of his ancestor *Peregrine Bertie*, in the manner we have related; and likewise procured a copy of the register, under the Common Seal of the same city, certifying the said birth (13).

(10) Collins's Peerage of England, ut supra.

(11) F. F. in Offic. Arm. p. 271.

(12) Catal. of Nob. by R. B.

(13) Camden's Brit. by Gibson, p. 479. Peerage of England, ut supra.

BERTIE (Peregrine) son and heir of Richard Bertie, by Katharine, Duchess of Suffolk, and (in her own right) Baroness Willoughby of Eresby (*a*), was, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, made a free denizen, by patent bearing date the second of August, 1559 (*b*). On the death of his mother, he claimed the dignity and title of Lord Willoughby of Eresby, wearing his mourning-apparel at her funeral in all points as a Baron: the Queen having appointed Sir William Cecil, Knight, Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treasurer of England; Thomas, Earl of Suffex, Lord High-Chamberlain; and Robert, Earl of Leicester; to hear and see the petition and proofs exhibited by the said Peregrine Bertie, for the dignity of Lord Willoughby of Eresby; and they having made their report to her Majesty of his right and title to the same, she commanded them to declare to him, that, according to his right, her pleasure was, that he should be admitted to the dignity, and be named and called by the title of, Lord Willoughby of Eresby (*c*), which they did in the Star-Chamber, on Friday the 11th of November, 1580, (his father being then living) and placed him at the table with them according to his rank, above many other Barons who dined with them, and all of them drank to him by the name of Lord Willoughby; and on Monday the 16th of January following, he took his seat in Parliament, next to Lord Zouch of Harringworth, according to his rank (*d*). In the year 1582, the Lord Willoughby, with the Earl of Leicester, and several other noblemen, was commanded to attend the Duke of Anjou, (then in England, and who was to have married Queen Elizabeth) to Antwerp, which he did (*e*) the Queen herself going with them as far as Canterbury; and before the end of that year, his Lordship was sent Embassador to Frederick II, King of Denmark, under colour of carrying him the Order of the Garter, but the chief motive of his embassy was, to induce that Prince to desist from certain customs, which the English merchant-ships paid him in passing the Sound, in which, however, it was not possible to succeed (*f*). The Lord Willoughby, however, invested his Danish Majesty with the ensigns of the Order, put on the collar of roses about his neck, and the Garter about his leg, but the other ensigns the King took to keep and lay up, refusing to put them on because they were outlandish (*g*); and he likewise refused to take the usual oath, having denied the same thing before, when he was admitted to the Order of St Michael, by the French King (*h*). In 1586, he distinguished himself at the siege of Zutphen in the Netherlands, where, in a sharp encounter with the forces of that garrison, he overthrew George Cresiack, at that time Commander in Chief of the enemy's horse, and took him prisoner (*i*). The year after, he was made General of the English auxiliary forces in the United Provinces, in the room of the Earl of Leicester, who was re-called home (*k*); there he most valiantly defended Bergen-op-zoom, against the Duke of Parma, who had besieged it (*); and did many other signal services in Flanders, and acquired great applause and reputation. In the year 1589, he was one of the Peers that sat on the trial of Philip Earl of Arundel (*l*); and the same year he was sent General of four thousand auxiliaries into France, to the King of Navarre's assiance; and also carried with him, twenty-two thousand pounds sterling in gold (*m*). He assisted, and was very serviceable at the siege of Paris, also at the reduction of Mons, Alençon, Falais, Luxon, and Honfleur, and after the fatigue of a long winter's expedition, and a march of about five hundred miles, his troops were disbanded with great commendations for their good service (†), and a present of a diamond ring from the King of France, to their brave General the Lord Willoughby; which his Lordship at his death left his son Peregrine, with a charge, upon his blessing, to transmit it to his heirs (*n*). We do not find his Lordship engaged in any military exploits, after this expedition to France. He had already atchieved enough to establish his reputation as a great and able Commander, and there wanted nothing to raise his renown higher than it now was, to render him fairer in the eye of publick estimation, or to place him in a higher degree of confidence and esteem with his Sovereign. Of this we have an incontestable proof, in a letter wrote by the Queen, with her own hand, to this nobleman, by way of congratulation upon the recovery of his health, at the same time gently exhorting him to return again to his employments and to Court, from which he voluntarily absented himself (*), for he had a magnanimity and greatness of spirit, that could not submit to the servileness and flattery of a Court. This letter is penned in such a friendly and familiar stile, with such kind expressions of gratitude for his Lordship's services, and genteel but just encomiums upon his merit, as shew much good sense and good nature in the writer. Where his Lordship was, at the time her Majesty paid him this honour, we are not informed; but, from the letter,

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 258. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferings of worthy Persons, 8vo, p. 306. Historical and Genealogical Account of the present Nobility, p. 156. Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*b*) Pat. 1. Eliz. pag. 2. Hollingshed's Chronicle of England, pag. 1142.

(*c*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, p. 3. Rapin's Hist. of England, 8vo, Vol. IX. p. 23. Camden says, it was with much ado that the Queen admitted him to the title of Lord Willoughby. Compleat Hist. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 488.

(*d*) In Rot. Parl. 22 Eliz. Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 528. Journal of Parliament.

(*e*) Peerage of England, ut supra. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. IX. p. 21. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ann. 1582. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 488. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409. Hollingshed, p. 1143. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 349.

(*f*) Camden's Annals.

(*g*) Rapin, ubi supra. Camden, ubi supra. Compleat Hist. ut supra.

(*h*) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 488.

(*i*) Peerage of England, ubi supra. Camden, ann. 1586. Dugdale's Baronage, c. 409.

(*k*) Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. IX. p. 117. Camden's Annals. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 541.

(*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 409.

(*l*) Historical Account of the Nobility, p. 157. Camden's Annals. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*m*) Rapin, Vol. IX. p. 136.

(†) Echard's Hist. of England, pag. 363.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409. Camden's Annals, p. 16. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 557. Hollingshed, p. 1143.

(*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 22.

letter, it should seem, that he was somewhere abroad, though probably he might be only at Berwick, of which place he was Governor about this time, or however soon after, for his Will bears date 7 Aug. 1559, at Berwick (o), five years after the date of the Queen's letter, which we have preserved in the note [A], as a curiosity our readers will, doubtless, be pleased to see. Her Majesty had some years before this given his Lordship a proof of her regard for him, by voluntarily offering to stand god-mother to his first born son Robert, (the *young General* (p) as she then called him) and which words he verified, as we shall see hereafter. This great nobleman departed this life, in the beginning of the year 1601 (q), and was buried, according to his desire, in the parish church of Spilsby, in the county of Lincoln, where a monument was erected to his memory. His Lordship's Will is remarkable, and we have therefore given an extract or two from it in the note [B]. Sir Robert Naunton (r) says of him, 'that he was one of the Queen's first 'swordsmen, and a great master in the art military.' Another writer (s) records two or three things of him, which indeed shew a great spirit and manly resolution. They are briefly these. His Lordship having, in one of his campaigns, taken a fine gennet, managed for the war, and intended as a present for the King of Spain, he was importuned by the Spanish General to return it, with the offer of a thousand pounds down, or an hundred pounds a year during his life. To which the Lord Willoughby replied, 'That if it had been a General or Commander he had taken, he would have freely sent 'him back; but it being an horse, he loved him as well as the King of Spain, and there- 'fore would keep him.' Once, when his Lordship was confined to his bed with the gout, he had an insulting challenge sent him, to which he answered, 'that although he 'was lame of his hands and feet, yet he would meet his adversary with a piece of a 'rapier in his teeth.' He used to say, 'That a Court became a soldier of good skill and 'great spirit, as a bed of down would one of the Tower lyons.' Camden (t) gives him the character of having a very generous temper and true martial courage. His Lordship married Mary, the daughter of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, sister and heir of the whole blood to Edward, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and left issue by her five sons, Robert, Peregrine, Henry, Vere, and Roger; and a daughter, married to Sir Lewis Watson, of Rockingham castle, in the county of Northampton, afterwards Lord Rockingham (u). His Lordship was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert Bertie.

(o) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 261. Camden's Annals. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 643. Woodhall, qu. 58. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409.

(p) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 308.

(q) Camden's Annals, p. 257. Compleat Hist. Vol. II. p. 643. Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 261.

(r) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 22.

(s) Lloyd, in his Memoirs, p. 308.

(t) Camden's Britann. by Gibson, p. 322.

(u) Dugdale's Baronage, ut supra. J. 8. in Officio Arm. fol. 13. a. Collins's Peerage, ut supra.

[A] *The Queen's letter, which we have preserved in the note.*] It is as follows:

'Good Peregrine,

'WE are not a little glad, that by your journey 'you have received such good fruit of amend- 'ment; especially when we consider how great a 'vexation it is to a mind, devoted to action and ho- 'nour, to be restrained by any indisposition of body 'from following those courses, which, to your own 'reputation, and our great satisfaction, you have for- 'merly performed. And therefore, as we must now '(out of our desire of your well-doing) chiefly enjoin 'you to an especial care, to increase and continue your 'health, which must give life to all your best endea- 'vours; so we must next as seriously recommend to 'you this consideration, that in these times, when 'there is such appearance that we shall have the trial 'of our best and noble subjects, you seem not to affect 'the satisfaction of your own private contentment, be- 'yond the attending on that which nature and duty 'challengeth from all persons of your quality and pro- 'fession. For if necessarily (your health of body being 'recovered) you shall elloigne yourself by residence 'there from those employments, whereof we shall 'have too good store, you shall not so much amend 'the state of your body, as happily you shall call in 'question the reputation of your mind and judgment, 'even in the opinion of those that love you, and are 'best acquainted with your disposition and discretion.

'Interpret this our plainness, we pray you, to our 'extraordinary estimation of you; for it is not com- 'mon with us to deal so freely with many; and be- 'lieve, that you shall ever find us both ready and wil- 'ling, in all occasions, to yield you the fruits of that 'interest, which your endeavours have purchased for 'you in our opinion and estimation; not doubting, 'but when you have with moderation made trial of 'the success of these your sundry peregrinations, you 'will find as great comfort to spend your days at home, 'as heretofore you have done, of which we do wish 'you full measure, however you shall have cause of 'abode or return.

'Your most loving Sovereign,

'E. R.

'Given under our Signet, at our 'manour of *Nonsuch*, the se- 'venth of October, 1594, in 'the 37th year of our reign.'

[B] *We have given an extract or two from his Will in the note.* It begins thus: 'In the name of the 'blessed divine Trynitie in persons, and of omni- 'potent Unitye in Godhead, who created, redeemed, 'and sanctified me, whom I steadfastlye beleeve will 'glorifye this sinfull, corruptyble and fleshely bodye, 'with eternal happiness by a joyeful resurrection at 'the general Judgment, when by his incomprehensible 'justice and mercye, having satisfied for my sinful 'soule, and stored it uppe in his heavenlye treasure, 'his almightye voice shall call all fleshe to be joined 'together with the soule to everlastyng comforte or 'discomforte. In that holye name I Peregrin Bertye, 'Knighte, Lorde Willoughbie of Willoughbie, Beke, 'and Eresbie, &c.' He then proceeds to dispose of his estates and effects among his children, and goes on to 'request her most gracious Majesty, in most humble 'and dutiful manner, that in some respect of his loyal 'and ready heart always to do her all faithful service, 'her Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant the 'education and wardship of his son and heir, and one 'lease of her Majesty's third part of his lands, during 'his nonage, to the Lord Edward Zouch, &c. whereby 'her Majesty would most loyally respect his long and 'affectionate service towards her. And for a small 'remembrance of his loyalty and duty, which he had 'always observed toward her Majesty, he desired she 'would accept of a cup of Gold to the value of 100 *l.* 'or some jewels of that value, as may best content 'her, and best represent the loyalty of his heart, &c.'

BERTIE (ROBERT) born at London, December 16, 1582 (a); her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Earls of Essex and Leicester, were his sponsors (*). This nobleman when he was very young, shewed an unusual forwardness and inclination to arms and military exercises, was present at several sieges, as that of Amiens, under Sir John

(a) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 301.

(*) See the preceeding article.

Baskerville, and Sir Arthur Savage (*b*); that of Cadiz, under the Earls of Essex and Nottingham, in 1596, where he was knighted for his valiant behaviour; at the famous battle of Newport, fought between Prince Maurice and the Arch-Duke, in the year 1600, when he was three times unhorsed, but still undaunted, and where eight hundred Englishmen lost their lives (*c*). He was also with the Earl of Cumberland when he took the Caracks at Porto-Rico; and also with Sir Richard Leveson, and Sir William Mounson, in 1602 (*d*), when they took the great Spanish carack, worth a million of crowns, and dispersed eleven gallies that guarded her (*e*). Having seen most of the Courts and countries in Europe, his Lordship, in the first year of King James I, set up his claim to the earldom of Oxford, as also to the title of Bulbeck, Sandford, and Badlesmere, and to the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England, as son and heir to Mary, the sole daughter to that great family (*f*); and after much dispute had judgment in his behalf, for the office of Lord High-Chamberlain (*g*); and the same year took his seat above all the Barons (*h*). His Lordship was afterwards created a Knight of the Bath, at the installation of Prince Charles, afterwards King of England (*i*). During the peaceable reign of King James, he lived quietly at his seat in Lincolnshire (*k*); but in the next reign, which found employment enough for the most active mind, he greatly distinguished himself. In the second year of King Charles I, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lindsey (*l*). In 1628, he was made Admiral, in the room of the Duke of Buckingham, murdered by Felton at Portsmouth; in a few days after which, he sailed with a large fleet to the relief of Rochelle, where he made many brave attempts, to break through the great barricado across the entry of that port, but all in vain (*m*). And four years after, was elected a Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council (*n*). The next year, the seventh of King Charles I, he was made Lord High-Constable of England, for the trial of Lord Rea and David Ramsey, in the Court Military (*o*); which patent was revoked the twentieth of May (*p*). In the ninth of Charles I, he commanded a fleet of forty sail of men of war, for securing the Narrow Seas, and the trade of England (*q*). In the eleventh of Charles I, he was constituted Lord High-Admirel of England (*r*), having, according to the Historian (*s*), been Admiral at sea in several expeditions; and in 1639, on the Scots taking arms, he was made Governor of Berwick. In 1640, he was made Lord High-Constable of England, for the trial of Lord Strafford, of which he had the management (*t*), being also, at that time, Speaker of the House of Peers. This same year his Majesty declared him General of his forces (*u*), and he was ever near his Majesty's person, assisting him to the very utmost of his power and abilities; with his advice in council, and his experience and valour in the field, as we shall, but too soon, see. He, and his son, the Lord Willoughby of Eresby, afterwards Earl of Lindsey, were, to their honour be it spoken, among those Lords who left the House of Peers, and followed their King to York, in 1642 (*w*), where they entered into, and signed a solemn engagement, to stand by his Majesty, in defence of his person, crown, and dignity, and the maintenance of the established laws and religion, with their lives and fortunes (*x*): and accordingly, the Earl of Lindsey and his son, raised the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham, for the King's defence (*y*). They afterwards joined with the other Lords, then with the King at York, in a declaration or testimony, in vindication of his Majesty, protesting, they were fully persuaded he had no intention of making war upon the Parliament, as was then reported, but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and constant settlement of the Protestant religion, the just privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, and the law, peace, and prosperity of his kingdom (*z*). Both which Declarations were printed and published, with the Lords names thereto, remaining as monuments of their loyalty and zeal, for the honour of their much injured Sovereign. The brave Earl of Lindsey, this same year, gave the last proof of his affection for his Majesty, and of his own personal bravery, in the battle of Edgehill, fought on the twenty-third of October, 1642, in which his Lordship was killed, receiving a shot in his thigh, at the head of his own regiment, and his son, the Lord Willoughby, taken prisoner (*a*). It is very proper to give a more particular account of this famous battle, which we shall do, briefly, in the note [*A*]. After his Lordship was wounded, and taken away by the rebels, he

(*b*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 309.
(*c*) Rapin, Vol. IX. p. 195.
(*d*) Lloyd, ut supra.
(*e*) Rapin, p. 217.
(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409.
(*g*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 265. Journal of Parliament. Historical Account of the Nobility, &c. p. 157.
(*h*) Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 540.
(*i*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 310.
(*k*) Lloyd, ibid.
(*l*) Pat. 2 Car. I.
(*m*) Compleat History of England, Vol. I. p. 49. Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham, p. 188.
(*n*) Peerage, ut supra. Lloyd, ut supra. Instit. of the Garter, by Ashmole.
(*o*) Pat. 7 Car. I. p. 20.
(*p*) Pat. 8 Car. I. p. 21.
(*q*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 23. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 81.
(*r*) Pat. 11 Car. I. p. 5.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, 8vo. edit. Vol. I. p. 673.
(*t*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 41.
(*u*) Rushworth's Historical Collections, the Abridgment, 8vo, Vol. III. p. 54. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 62. Peerage of England, ut supra. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 496. Rapin's Hist. of England, folio, Vol. II. p. 565. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 673.
(*w*) Monteth's History of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 101.
(*x*) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 379. Monteth, p. 107. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 654. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 60.
(*y*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 312.
(*z*) Rushworth, ut supra. Monteth, p. 108. Clarendon's Hist. p. 655.
(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon, Rushworth, Rapin, Whitlock, Compleat Hist. &c.

[*A*] *It is very proper to give a more particular account of this famous battle, which we shall briefly do in the note.*] The King's army consisted of about 14,000 men; that of the Parliament, under the command of the Earl of Essex, of near 16,000 (1). The two armies being in sight of each other, near Keinton in Warwickshire, on Sunday, the 23d of October (2), the King drew up his army in the morning on Edge-hill, from whence might be seen all *Keinton* plain, where the Parliament's army stood in battle array. The Earl of Lindsey was General of the King's whole army by his commission; and, says the Historian, was thought very equal to it (3). But Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, who was General of the horse, was, by the King's particular favour and regard for him, exempted from receiving orders from any body but the King himself; by which step all the horse was entirely separated from any dependance upon the General (4); whose advice also concerning the order of battle, and disposition of the troops, the King rejected for Prince Rupert's. It had been happier for the King, perhaps, if the Lord Lindsey had been sole director of the army, since it was the rashness, or too great eagerness, of Prince Rupert, that lost the day. Besides, this partiality of the King's to his nephew had created some discontent in the army, and made the Earl of Lindsey uneasy, but was far from shaking his loyalty; and accordingly, the army having marched down the hill, and the King having given orders to charge the enemy in a valley under it, called the Valley of the Red Horse, a name not unsuitable to it that day (5), the General himself alighted at the head of his own regiment of foot, his son the Lord Willoughby being next to him with the King's regiment of guards, and bravely

(1) Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 11, 13. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 64.
(2) Monteth's History of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 118.
(3) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 43.
(4) Clarendon, ut supra.
(5) Monteth, ubi supra.

he continued, even with his dying breath, his endeavours to serve his royal master, by seriously exhorting the rebel officers to return to their obedience and duty to the King, as we learn from the Lord Clarendon (*b*), in his character of this nobleman, which is as follows: 'The Earl of Lindsey, says he, was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his ancestors, which though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age, in military actions and commands abroad: and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the King's army; the several companies of his own regiment of foot, being commanded by the principal Knights and gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service, principally out of their personal affection to him. he was of a generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the commission granted to Prince Rupert; and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his: nor did he conceal his resentment; the day before the battle, he said to some friends with whom he used freedom, that he did not look upon himself as General, and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he would be at the head of his regiment, as a private Colonel, where he would die.' (Which words of his proved truly prophetical, as did also the other, when, going into the battle, he cast his eye upon young Prince Charles, and said, (*) *There is the child that will end the war we now begin.*) 'He was carried out of the field to the next village, and if he could then have procured surgeons, it is thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as soon as the other army was composed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Essex, about midnight sent Sir William Balfour, and some other officers, to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw, in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks, and told them he was sorry to see so many gentlemen, some of whom were his old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion; and principally directed his discourse to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of the great obligations he had to the King, how much his Majesty had disobliged the whole nation by putting him into the command of the Tower, and that it was the most odious ingratitude in him to make him that return. He wished them to tell the Lord Essex, that he ought to cast himself at the King's feet to beg his pardon, which if he did not speedily do, his memory would be 'odious

(*b*) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 52, 53.

(*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 548.

bravely charged the enemy in front (6). Prince Rupert, with the King's right wing of horse, advancing to charge the enemy's left wing, on a sudden Sir Faithful Fortescue, who commanded a troop of the Parliament's horse, moving forwards with his whole troop from the gross of the enemy's cavalry, and discharging their pistols on the ground, presented themselves to Prince Rupert, and directly joined with him in charging those they had just deserted (7). This unexpected desertion struck the Parliament's horse with such a terror, each man looking upon his companion as upon an enemy, that they were entirely routed, and pursued above two miles from the field of battle. But this long and unadvised pursuit lost the King a compleat victory. The Parliament's right wing stood their ground no better than the left, for they ran away full speed, and were pursued with the same fury and the same imprudence. What was moreover fatal to the King was, that a regiment of horse which served for a body of reserve, thinking that the victory was now unquestionable by the flight of the enemy's cavalry, with spurs and loose reins followed the chace, and could not be kept back by their commanders. All this while the foot of both armies were engaged, without victory inclining to either side; 'till at length Sir William Balfour, to whom the Earl of Essex had given the command of the reserve, turned the scale; for as soon as he saw the King's horse so eagerly employed in the pursuit of the flying troops, he went and charged the foot in flank, and put them into such disorder, that the King, with the two Princes his sons, were in danger of being made prisoners. Then it was the brave General, the Earl of Lindsey, being far engaged (8), received a shot in the thigh, with which he fell, and was presently encompassed with the enemy; and his son, the Lord Willougby, piously endeavouring to rescue his father, was taken prisoner along with him (9); or, according to the author cited in the margin (10), seeing his valiant father wounded and taken prisoner, voluntarily yielded himself to a Commander of horse on the rebels side, that he might be near and attend him. At length, Prince Rupert returning from his fatal pursuit of the rebels, found the hope of so glorious a day totally vanished; but his return, however, prevented the King from being entirely routed: For Sir William Balfour, who had only a small body of reserve, seeing the cavalry coming back from the chace, suddenly quitted the fight, and went and skreened himself near the Earl of Essex's foot; and could the King and Prince Rupert have persuaded their horse at that time to have charged the Parliament's infantry, who had hardly any cavalry to support them, it is very probable they would have routed them, and obtained a compleat victory. But the horse that were returned from the pursuit in extreme disorder, could not be brought to charge the enemy, who stood in good order, though they were in great danger. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before the fight began, and it was now too late for the King to attempt to rally his infantry, who were in great disorder; and thus both armies kept their posts all night, and even the next whole day faced one another without renewing the battle. At last the Earl of Essex ordering his baggage to be drawn off, the King withdrew to the quarters he had taken the day before the battle; and the Earl of Essex marched to Warwick (11). The number of slain on the field of battle, and in the pursuit, was above 5000, of which the King's loss was about a third part (12); and the King's party took from the enemy seventy colours and standards, with seven pieces of cannon (13), and lost only sixteen colours (14). Nevertheless, both parties claimed the victory, though perhaps neither was more intitled to it than the other; for each in it's turn was victorious, and each beaten. Indeed the Parliament lost more men, colours, standards, and cannon; yet they kept the field in very good order, the doing which at least saved them from the dishonour of a defeat. But their loss was much more

(6) Rushworth's Hist. Collections, Vol. IV. p. 547. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 548.

(7) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 47. Rapin's Hist. Vol. XII. p. 17, 18.

(8) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 64.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. II. p. 48. Rapin's History, Vol. XII. p. 18. Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 547.

(10) Collins, in his Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 267.

(11) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 56. Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 20.

(12) Clarendon, ut supra.

(13) Monteth's Troubles of Gr. Brit. p. 119.

(14) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 546.

'odious to the nation: and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence, 'that the officers by degrees withdrew themselves, and prevented the visit the Earl of 'Essex intended him, who only sent the best surgeons to him. But, in the very opening 'of his wounds, he died before the morning, only upon the loss of blood. He had very 'many friends, and very few enemies, and died generally lamented.' The Lord Lindsey's wound not being thought mortal, nor even dangerous, his death was imputed to the Earl of Essex, as if he had purposely neglected, or forbid the performing of any necessary offices to him, out of the insolence of his nature, and in revenge of some former unkindnesses that had passed between them. But the above account clears him from such imputation; and the Lord Clarendon, in another part of his work (c), acquits his Lordship, attributing the unfortunate Lord Lindsey's want of assistance, to the hurry and distraction the rebels were in at that time. This great nobleman married Elizabeth, the only child of Edward, the first Lord Montague of Boughton in Northamptonshire, by whom he had five daughters and nine sons (d); Montague, his successor; Roger, Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles I; Robert, Peregrine, Francis, who was Captain of horse, and killed in the King's service in Ireland, in 1641; Robert, sixth son; Henry, who was also Captain of horse, and lost his life in the King's service at the battle of Newbury; Vere, and Edward. His Lordship was succeeded by his eldest son Montague Bertie.

(c) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 51.

(d) J. 8. in Officio Arm. f. 74. Ibid. f. 13. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 410.

more than equalled on the other side, by that irreparable one of the great Earl of Lindsey, than whom the King had not a more valiant, experienced, or faithful officer, left in his army. The King himself was very sensibly affected with the loss of this great man, and the imprisonment of his son; and in a few days after the battle, with all the tenderness of a parent, he wrote the following letter with his own hand, directed *For the Earl of Lindsey, Lord High-Chamberlain of England*, and signed with his Sign Manual. This letter, so much to the honour of the family, is no where extant but in Mr Echard's History of England (15); who had it from the Honourable Charles Bertie of Uffington, on purpose to be by him published; which it never had been 'till then. We shall therefore give it a place here, as highly deserving the reader's notice.

(15) Echard, p. 549.

'LINDSEY,

'YOU cannot be more sensible (as I believe) of 'your father's loss than myself, his death confirming the estimation I ever had of him; as for 'yourself, the double sufferings you have for my 'sake, both in your father's person and your own, 'puts upon me the stricter obligation, not only to restore you to your liberty (now unjustly detained from 'you), but also to shew the world by my actions how 'really I am

'Your most assured,

Ayno, 27 *Oct.* 1642.

'Constant friend.

'CHARLES R.'

H

BERTIE (MONTAGUE) whom, in the last article, we have followed (by the name of Lord Willoughby of Eresby) to the battle of Edge-hill, where, we have seen, he was taken prisoner, endeavouring to rescue his father. Being afterwards exchanged (a), he went to Oxford, where the King then was, who joyfully received him (b); and he as resolutely adhered to his Majesty's service, commanding the regiment of life-guards in several battles, as at Newbury twice, Cropredy, Lestwithiel, and other places; as also in the fatal battle of Naseby (c), where he was wounded; and had a share in all the misfortunes of that King, being one of the Gentlemen of his royal Bedchamber, and of his Privy-Council, attending him even to the time his Majesty put himself into the hands of the Scots (d). At the treaty in the Isle of Wight, the King sent for him, to be one of his Commissioners and advisers (e). After the execrable murther of the King, the Earl of Lindsey, together with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and Earl of Southampton, desired leave to perform the last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him to his grave, which they were permitted to do, and accordingly they attended the royal corpse to Windsor, where it was buried (f). After this, the Lord Lindsey compounded, and lived privately, expecting and endeavouring the restoration of Monarchy and Episcopacy; which being effected, King Charles II. constituted him one of his Privy-Council (g), and his Lordship was also appointed one of the Judges at the tryals of the regicides (h); and afterwards elected a Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Whitehall, the first of April, 1661. And at the King's coronation, exhibiting his claim for the exercise of that great hereditary office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England (i), and for the reception of such fees and benefits, as his noble ancestors had heretofore enjoyed, did accordingly, on that solemn occasion, execute the office of Lord High-Chamberlain, and receive those fees and benefits which were of right his due (k). His Lordship died at Campden-house in Kensington, the twenty-fifth of July, 1666, aged fifty-eight years, and was buried at Edenham, in the vault with his noble father. Mr Archdeacon Echard gives this character of the Lord Lindsey (l). 'He was, 'says he, one of the *Quadrumvirate*, that had been so eminently distinguished for their 'unparallelled loyalty to the late King; a brave, experienced soldier; a great patron of 'useful learning and ingenuity; an honest, frugal, and faithful Englishman; and a true 'patriot and imitator of the antient nobility, whose grandure consisted neither in rich cloaths 'nor fine courtship; after he had waded through an ocean of difficulties, he died in quiet, 'peace, and honour.' He married to his first wife Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockayn of Rushton in Northamptonshire, widow of the Earl of Holderness, by whom he had issue five sons, Robert, Peregrine, Richard, Vere (one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the

(a) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 267.

(b) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 48.

(c) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, 8vo. Vol. III. p. 656. Rapin's Hist. of England, 8vo, Vol. XII. p. 307. Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409. Rushworth's Historical Collections, the Abridgment, Vol. V. p. 527.

(d) Peerage of England, ut supra.

(e) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. VI. p. 475. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 181.

(f) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 259.

(g) Rapin, Vol. XIII. p. 240. Continuation of the Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 9. State Tryals. Tryals of the Regicides, &c.

(h) Continuation, Vol. I. p. 21.

(i) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409.

(k) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409. Journal of Parliament.

(l) Echard's History of England, p. 827.

the reign of King Charles II, and afterwards one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas) and Charles; and three daughters. By his second wife he had two sons, James and Henry, the first of which (who was Lord Norris by descent from his mother, who was in her own right, Baroness Norris of Rycote) was, on account of his noble descent and eminent services to King Charles II. (as his patent sets forth) by him created Earl of Abingdon, the thirtieth of November, 1682, 34 Car. II, and was the grandfather of the present Earl of Abingdon. To Montague, Earl of Lindsey, succeeded Robert, his eldest son, who, the same year his father died, was sworn of his Majesty's Privy-Council. He was succeeded by his eldest son Robert, the fourth Earl of Lindsey, who was one of the Privy-Council to King William III, and Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum, for the county of Lincoln. On the twenty-ninth of December, 1706, the fifth of Queen Anne, he was created Marquis of Lindsey (*m*); and in the next reign, on the first of October, 1714, he was sworn one of his Majesty's Privy-Council; and in the same month he was made Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the county of Lincoln, being likewise, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1715, created Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven. His Grace dying in 1723 (*n*), was succeded by his eldest surviving son, Peregrine, who soon after was sworn of the Privy-Council, and appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Lincoln, in which posts he was also continued by his present Majesty, and dying a few years since, was succeeded by his eldest son Peregrine, the present Duke of Ancaster. H

(*m*) Oldmixon's History of England, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 269.

BERTON (WILLIAM) an eminent Divine of the XIVth century, and Doctor in that faculty, flourished about the year 1381, in the reign of Richard II, and was some time Chancellor of the university of Oxford (*a*). He is chiefly remarkable for his opposition to the doctrines of Wickliff: for, by virtue of his office, as Governor of the university, he appointed twelve Censors, six of the order of Mendicants, and six Seculars, consisting of Divines and Lawyers, to examine Wickliff's opinions; who accordingly declared him an Heretic (*b*). He wrote likewise against that pretended Heresiarch [*A*]. And for this reason it is, that his character is so differently represented by Bale and Pits [*B*].

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Centur. VI. n. 89. & Pits. de Illust. Angl. Script. *an.* 1381, n. 670.

(*b*) Historia Wickleffiana, *in calce* Harpsfieldi Hist. Ecclef. edit. Duaci. 1622, p. 684. *See the article* WICKLIFF.

[*A*] *He wrote against Wickliffe.*] He wrote several pieces upon the subject of Wickliff's pretended Heresy; particularly *Determinations against Wickliff*; *a Treatise concerning his just condemnation*; and another *against the Articles extracted from his writings* (1).

[*B*] *His character is differently represented by Bale and Pits.*] Bale, as a Protestant, abuses him plentifully for his prosecution of Wickliff, whom he calls *a most pious Divine.* He represents our Chancellor as *exalting the Pope* (whom he styles *Romulus's Vicar in parricide*) *above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.* 'Primus omnium fuit, qui Romuli in 'parricidio vicarium Papam superbissimum, super 'omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur, extollens, 'Joannem Wicklevum, piissimum Theologum, pub'lice damnavit, et apostacis bullis hereticum decla'ravit (2).' Next to Berton, he falls upon the twelve Censors, whom he treats *as actuated by a spirit of fanaticism*, and as *condemning the Truth of God himself* in their condemnation of Wickliff. 'Qui omnem in 'illum exercentes tyrannidem, fanatico spiritu agitati, 'vocibus et scriptis Dei veritatem in eo damnabant (3).' Pits, on the contrary, being a zealous Papist, commends the piety, learning, prudence, and sagacity, of the Chancellor, in detecting the erroneous and pernicious doctrines of Wickliff, and his judgment in thinking it his duty to bring them under public censure. *Hic cum esset vir pius, doctus, prudens, et ingenio perspicaci, vidit pestilentem Wickleffi doctrinam ad Ecclesiæ perniciem tendere, et ad multarum animarum interitum. Quare ad officii sui rationem pertinere judicavit super hoc religionis negotio inquirere, et re accuratius examinata, competentes judices in tota causa constituere* (4). Behold here the strange and deplorable effect of religious prejudice! The same action, in the opinion of one writer, is no less than maintaining the cause of Antichrist; in another's, it is the dictate of piety, prudence, and every good quality; and the same doctrine is at once a *pestilent error*, and the *truth of God* himself. T

(1) Bale and Pits, ubi supra.

(2) Bale, ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Pits, ubi supra.

BETTERTON (THOMAS) the most famous Actor upon our stage, and who might be very justly stiled the English Roscius. He was son of Mr Betterton, Under-Cook to King Charles I, and was born in Tothil-street in Westminster, some time in the year 1635 (*a*). Having received the rudiments of polite learning in several schools, and shewing a great propensity to reading, it was once proposed he should have been brought up to some learned profession; but the violence and confusion of the times putting this out of the power of his family, it was, at his own request, agreed, that he should be bound apprentice to a Bookseller (*b*), and accordingly he was so put to Mr John Holden, a person in those days very famous, and much in the confidence of Sir William D'Avenant (*c*), tho' this, as almost every other circumstance of the earlier part of Betterton's life, is subject to some dispute [*A*]. It is therefore a very difficult thing to tell how, or when, he came upon

(*a*) See this point cleared in note [*A*].

(*b*) From the information of the late Mr Southerne.

(*c*) He printed Sir William's Poem, called *Gondibert.*

[*A*] *Is subject to some dispute.*] There are very few lives, in which the dates and circumstances are more difficult to be settled with tolerable certainty than this; which probably arises from nothing so much as persons affirming facts upon memory, in which they were liable to be mistaken, and others committing them to writing without discerning their mistakes. As for instance, Mr Charles Gildon, who drew up a kind of rhapsody, to which he gave the title of Mr *Betterton's Life* (1), tells us, that at his decease he was seventy-five years of age. Another author says, that he was about seventy (2); and a person, who had reason to be better acquainted with his history, assures us, that he was considerably above that age (3). In all this we have nothing of certainty; but the late Mr Southerne, who was very well acquainted with Mr Betterton, when applied to upon this head, recollected, that, on his last benefit, Mr Betterton declared he was in his seventy-fifth year; if so, that fixes the time of his birth very exactly. It is affirmed also by Mr Gildon, that he was bound to Mr Rhodes a Bookseller, and that he was fellow-prentice with Mr Kynaston (4); but if Mr Betterton might be allowed to know this fact better than any body else, he told the late Mr Pope, that he was bound to Mr Holden

(1) The title of this book is, The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton, the late eminent Tragedian. Wherein the Action and Utterance, of the Stage, Bar, and Pulpit, are distinctly considered, &c. Lond. 1710, 8vo. It is dedicated to Richard Steele, Esq; and the Dedication subscribed Charles Gildon.

(2) History of the Stage, p. 91.

(3) Cibber's Life, p. 99.

(4) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

upon the stage, not because we have no accounts of this matter, but because those accounts differ from, and indeed are irreconcilable to, each other; yet upon examining them closely, and comparing all their circumstances, it seems to be highly probable, that he began to act under the direction of Sir William D'Avenant, in 1656 or 1657, at the Opera-House in Charter-House Yard (d) [B]. He continued there 'till the Restoration, when the face of theatrick affairs changed entirely, and two distinct companies were formed by royal authority, the first in virtue of a patent granted to Henry Killegrew, Esq; his heirs and assigns, which was called *the King's Company*; the other in virtue of a like patent, granted to Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs and assigns, which was stiled *the Duke's Company* (e). The former acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, and the latter at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. In order that every thing might appear to the utmost advantage, and the English Theatre want none of the decorations used abroad, Mr Betterton, by command of King Charles II, went to Paris to take a view of the French stage, that he might the better judge of what would contribute to the improvement of our own (f). Upon his return, such measures were taken, as it was apprehended would give the utmost lustre to the English stage; and for several years, both companies acted with the highest applause, and the utmost reputation (g) [C]. The Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412. Philips's Theatrum Poetarum, p. 191. Life of Betterton.

(e) Apology for the Life of Mr C. Cibber, by himself, London, 1740, 8vo, p. 75.

(f) Life of Betterton.

(g) See the Prologues to the Plays in those times, Dryden's Prefaces, and other records of Dramatick History.

Holden (5): But whether he might not afterwards live with Mr Rhodes, is a question not easy to be answered at this distance of time; and when there are so few people living to whom any application could be made, with any tolerable hopes of receiving an answer with certainty.

(5) Mr J. Richardson's Life of Milton, p. 90.

[B] *At the opera-house in Charter-house-yard*] We are told by a certain author, from a kind of tradition, that Betterton, being a Bookseller's prentice, and coming to the play-house about his master's business, took a fancy to the stage, and so became a player (6). Mr Gildon, in his book before-mentioned, gives us quite another account of the matter (7). 'That, says 'he, which prepared Mr Betterton and his fellow-'prentice for the stage was, that his master Rhodes 'having formerly been wardrobe-keeper to the King's 'company of comedians in the Black-Fryers, on Ge-'neral Monk's march to London in 1659 with his 'army, got a licence from the powers then in being, 'to set up a company of players in the Cockpit in 'Drury-lane, and soon made his company compleat; 'his apprentices, Mr Betterton for mens parts, and 'Mr Kynaston for womens parts, being at the head 'of them. Mr Betterton was now about twenty-two 'years of age, when he got a great applause by act-'ing in the *Loyal Subject*, the *Wild-Goose Chase*, the '*Spanish Curate*, and many more: But while our 'young actor is thus rising under his master Rhodes, 'Sir William D'Avenant getting a patent of King 'Charles II, for erecting a company under the name 'of the Duke of York's servants, took Mr Betterton, 'and all that acted under Mr Rhodes, into his com-'pany.' We find this account copied by several writers, though it is evidently inconsistent in it's parts, and hardly one of the facts related in it true. According to this account, Mr Betterton became an actor in 1659, and yet at the age of twenty-two (1657) he had great applause by acting, that is, he was a great actor before he was an actor at all. Sir William D'Avenant is said to have erected a company after the Restoration, and to have composed it chiefly of Mr Rhodes's actors; whereas in fact he was Master of a play-house before the Restoration, and indeed of that very house, and of those actors which are here bestowed upon Mr Rhodes (8); so that it is very plain that this account is false, or at least very inconsistent and inaccurate. The truth of the matter was this, Sir William D'Avenant with much difficulty obtained leave from those, who were then possessed of the government, to represent a kind of Operas, for Tragedies and Comedies he was not permitted to act; and he opened at Rutland-house in Charter-house-yard, May 23, 1656, and afterwards removed to the Cockpit in Drury-lane, which was over-against the Castle tavern; and there it was that Mr Betterton first appeared. For his Master Mr Holden (9), having printed Sir William's poem, called *Gondibert*, and afterwards many other performances of his, Betterton became thereby known to that Gentleman, who, finding him a very capable person, took great pains in the instructing him, and gave him the first relish for theatrick entertainments, as himself frequently acknowledged; and therefore we have reason to think, that this point is at last freed from those difficulties with which it has been hitherto incumbered, and that the fact ought to stand as it has been represented in the text.

(6) History of Europe, 1710, p. 16.

(7) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(8) See the article D'AVENANT (Sir WILLIAM).

(9) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

[C] *Acted with the utmost applause, and the highest reputation.*] It has been supposed, that Betterton introduced moving scenes into our theatre, which before had the stage only hung with tapestry. I cannot positively say whether the fact be true or not; but if it was true, and as it is also said, instead of being applauded, he was censured for it, his case was certainly hard; for, as Mr Gildon very justly observes, these scenes help the representation, by giving the spectator a view of the place; which, though not necessary, where the unity in that respect is strictly observed, is however very convenient where that is dispensed with, as generally it is in our plays (10). The taste for dramatick entertainments was never higher than while these two companies played; and Mr Cibber, who is certainly a very good judge of the subject, has given us three strong reasons for it. First, That plays having been so long prohibited, people came to them with greater eagerness, like folks after a long fast to a great feast. The second was, that women were now brought upon the stage, which must have been a very great advantage; for, on all former stages, female characters were performed by boys, or young men, of the most effeminate aspect. The third, that a rule was established, by which no play acted at one house could be attempted at the other. All the capital plays, therefore, of Shakespear, Fletcher, and Ben Jonson, were divided between them, by the approbation of the Court, and their own alternate choice; so that when Hart was famous for Othello, Betterton had no less a reputation for Hamlet. By this order the town was supplied with greater variety of plays than could possibly have been shewn, had both companies been employed at the same time upon the same play; which liberty too must have occasioned such frequent repetitions of them, by their opposite endeavours to forestall and anticipate one another, that the best actors in the world must have grown tedious and tasteless to the spectator. When these reasons are considered, and withal the number of great actors that were then upon the stage, and the many new plays that appeared while these two companies continued, we shall not be surprized at the reputation the theatre was then in, or ascribe it to mere prejudice, that many sensible people have spoken in so high terms of the dramatick performances of those days (11). To say the truth, the stage was then so much the care of the State, or at least of the Court, that whenever any disputes arose, they were generally decided either by the King, or his brother the Duke of York, which not only kept the players in order, and in that obedience which was requisite to the patentees, but gave them likewise figure and character in the world as gentlemen, and the immediate servants of their Prince (12). So that if this account justifies the high sentiments entertained by some of our most judicious writers, it at the same time shews us, upon what motives these sentiments of theirs are grounded; and clearly proves, that if performers were better in those times than in ours, it was because they were in a better condition, that is, were under better regulations; for as to pay, it was very far from being so good. Mr Hart, the best performer

(10) This Reflection occurs in the Life of Betterton, p. 6.

(11) See Dryden's Prefaces, Rymer's Criticisms, and Cibber's History of the Stage.

(12) There were some of the King's Company actually sworn of his Majesty's Chamber, and had scarlet cloth and lace assigned them, as menial servants.

Inn-Fields being very inconvenient, they caused another to be built for them in Dorset Gardens, which was called the Duke's Theatre, to which they removed, and followed their profession with all the success they could desire; under a reign, which might be truly stiled *a reign of pleasure* (*h*). In 1670, Mr Betterton married a gentlewoman on the same stage, one Mrs Saunderson, who excelled, as an Actress, every thing but her own conduct in human life. In her he was compleatly happy, and by their joint endeavours, even in those days, they were able, not only to acquire a comfortable subsistence, but also to save what might maintain them in their advanced age (*i*). After Sir William D'Avenant's death, the patent came into the hands of Dr Charles D'Avenant his son, so well known to the learned world, for his admirable political writings. But whether his genius was less fit for the administration of such a government, than that of his father, or that the King's Company was really superior to his in acting, so it was, that they gained the hearts of the town, and Dr D'Avenant was forced to have recourse to rich scenes and fine musick, for the support of a stage upon which Betterton played (*k*). The Doctor himself wrote the Opera of *Circe*, which came first on the stage in 1675, and was received with such applause, as gave hopes of succeeding in this new way [*D*]. The same year a Pastoral of Mr Crowne's was represented at Court, called *Calisto*, or *The Chaste Nymph*, which was written at the desire of Queen Katharine, and the Ladies Mary and Anne, daughters to the Duke of York, who afterwards did honour to the English throne, performed parts in it (*l*). On this occasion, Mr Betterton instructed the noble Actors, and supplied the part of Prompter, and Mrs Betterton gave lessons to the young Princesses, in grateful remembrance of which, Queen Anne settled a pension of one hundred pounds a year upon her (*m*). All this time the theatrical war went on between the two Companies, in which the Duke's had much the better of the King's in all respects. A certain writer assures us, this advantage was gained by open force, and the frequent use of their new stage-artillery, *viz.* musick, machines, and scenery; but besides these, I find some other arts practised in the way of negociation, by which the King's Company were at least as much distressed as by the Operas (*n*) [*E*]. It was by these measures, that, at length, the

(*h*) Life of Betterton.

(*i*) From the information of Mr Southerne.

(*k*) Cibber's Life, p. 79.

(*l*) Account of English Dramatick Poets, by G. Langbain, Oxford, 1691, 8vo, p. 92.

(*m*) Life of Betterton.

(*n*) See this explained in notes [*D*] and [*E*].

former in the King's company, had but three pounds a week, and very probably Mr Betterton had not then so much; and besides, benefits were things unheard-of in those times. So that we may plainly perceive, that it may be affirmed with truth, a profession is not always in the highest credit when it produces the greatest profit; which however is a maxim not altogether confined to play-houses, for in this, as in many other cases, the theatre and the world are but too much alike.

[*D*] *As gave them hopes of succeeding in this way.*] It is a very difficult thing to write the history of the theatre with accuracy, and yet it is very well worth the knowing. Few authors have done so much towards this as Mr Cibber; and no wonder, since perhaps never any man understood this subject better. What he says of the decline of the Duke's company is very clear, and very consistent with good sense and truth (13). 'These two excellent companies were both 'prosperous for some few years, 'till their variety of 'plays began to be exhausted. Then of course the 'better actors (which the King's seem to have been 'allowed) could not fail of drawing the greater audiences. Sir William D'Avenant, therefore, Master 'of the Duke's company, to make head against their 'success, was forced to add spectacle and musick to 'action, and to introduce a new species of plays, since 'called dramatick operas; of which kind were the 'Tempest, Psyche, Circe, and others; all set off 'with the most expensive decorations of scenes and 'habits, with the best voices and dancers. This sensual supply of sight and sound coming in to the assistance of the weaker party, it was no wonder they 'should grow too hard for sense and simple nature, 'when it is considered how many more people there are 'that can see and hear, than think and judge.' The reader will easily perceive that I differ from this author in point of time; he fixes the declension of the Duke's company, and ascribes the introduction of Operas on the stage of the Duke's theatre to the administration of Sir William D'Avenant; but in this he is certainly wrong. Psyche (14), written by Mr Thomas Shadwell, did not appear 'till 1675. Circe came upon the stage the same year, and the Tempest, as it was altered by Sir William D'Avenant and Mr Dryden in 1676. But Sir William died April 7, 1668 (15), full five years before his company were reduced to the necessity of supporting sense by sound, and making use of machinery, when they found that plain acting would not do the business.

(13) Cibber's Life, p. 79.

(14) Langbain's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p. 449, 450.

(15) See Dryden's Preface to the Tempest, as altered by him and Sir W. D. from Shakespear.

[*E*] *Were at least as much distressed as by the Opera.*] It is observed by Mr Cibber, that the wanton change of the publick taste, after the introducing Operas at the Duke's theatre, began to fall as heavy upon the King's company, as their greater excellence in action had before fallen upon their competitors. He likewise observes, that Major Mohun and Captain Hart began to grow old, and the younger actors, such as Goodman and Clark, grew impatient to get into their parts; and to these causes he attributes the declension of the King's company. But though doubtless these might help, yet he seems not to be acquainted with the principal cause, which, as it relates immediately to Mr Betterton, I am obliged to mention. He had by this time a concern in the management of the Duke's company, and finding that these struggles hurt both theatres, projected the union of them as the sole means of recovering the credit of the stage; to which it seems the King's company, looking upon themselves as the strongest, were exceedingly averse; and in order to render them more tractable, it was found expedient to take off two of their best actors, Mr Kynaston and Captain Hart. This was a singular transaction, and of such a nature as not to deserve credit, if the original article, containing this secret treaty, were not actually in being; and as it contains abundance of curious particulars, in relation to play-house policy, it may not be amiss to insert it (16).

(16) Life of Betterton, p. 8.

Memorandum, *October* 14, 1681.

'IT was then agreed between Dr Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Betterton, Gent. and William 'Smith, Gent. of the one part; and Charles Hart, 'Gent. and Edward Kynaston, Gent. on the other 'part; That the said Charles D'Avenant, Thomas 'Betterton, and William Smith, do pay, or cause to 'be paid, out of the profits of acting, unto Charles 'Hart and Edward Kynaston, five shillings a piece for 'every day there shall be any Tragedies or Comedies, 'or other representations, acted at the Duke's theatre 'in Salisbury-court, or wherever the company shall act 'during the respective lives of the said Charles Hart 'and Edward Kynaston, excepting the days the young 'men or young women play for their own profit only. 'But this agreement to cease, if the said Charles Hart 'or Edward Kynaston shall at any time play among, 'or effectually assist, the King's company of actors, 'and for as long as this is paid they both covenant 'and promise not to play at the King's theatre.

'If Mr Kynaston shall hereafter be free to act at the 'Duke's theatre, this agreement with him, as to his 'pension, shall also cease.

the King's company were compelled to come into the scheme, which those at the head of the Duke's company had formed, of submitting to a coalition, from whence it was hoped, a new company might spring, superior, in every respect, to all that had gone before them (o). This was one of the most singular revolutions in theatrick government that ever happened, and one of the most important events of Mr Betterton's life, but as to the time in which it was accomplished, we cannot be positive; though as to the circumstances we have been tolerably exact, and it is from a comparison of these we are led to judge, that it must have fallen out in the year 1685 or 1686, though many writers place it sooner [F]. It was in this united company, that the merit of Betterton shone with unrivalled lustre, and that having survived the famous Actors upon whose model he had formed himself, he was now at liberty to discover his mighty genius in it's full extent, by replacing many of them with advantage in those very characters, in which, during their life-times, they had been thought inimitable (p). Of this it would be hard to yield belief, and harder still to gain a just notion of what we ought to believe about it, if we had not from a living, a capable, and candid writer, as authentick a testimony, and at the same time, as clear, and as distinct an account of his excellence in this respect, as our own, or indeed any language will bear, and which may be justly esteemed, a description equally expressive and worthy of it's subject (q) [G]. Happy, in the notice of his Sovereign, the

(o) Cibber's Life, p. 81.

(p) See the article of DRYDEN (JOHN).

(q) Cibber's Life, p. 81—99.

'In consideration of this pension, Mr Hart and Mr Kynaston do promise to make over, within a month after the sealing of this, unto Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Betterton, and William Smith, all the right, title, and claim, which they, or either of them, may have to any plays, books, cloaths, and scenes, in the King's play-house.

'Mr Hart and Mr Kynaston do both also promise, within a month after the sealing hereof, to make over to the said Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Betterton, and William Smith, all the title which they or each of them have, to six and three-pence apiece for every day there shall be any playing at the King's theatre.

'Mr Hart and Mr Kynaston do both also promise to promote with all their power and interest, an agreement between both playhouses; and Mr Kynaston for himself promises to endeavour, as much as he can, to get free, that he may act at the Duke's theatre; but he is not obliged to play unless he has ten shillings *per* day for his acting, and his pension then to cease.

'Mr Hart and Mr Kynaston do promise to go to Law with Mr Killigrew to have these articles performed, and are to be at the expence of the suit.

'In witness of this agreement, all the parties have hereunto set their hands this fourteenth day of October, 1681.'

[F] *Must have fallen out in 1685, or 1686, though many writers place it sooner.*] Mr Gildon says positively, that Mr Hart and Mr Kynaston performed their promises so well, that the union was effected in 1682 (17). But Mr Cibber says, that it was brought about in 1684 by the King's advice, which amounted to a command (18). In Mr Dryden's poems we have a Prologue and an Epilogue upon the union of the two companies, which is dated in 1686; and I am apt to think this the true date of that transaction for several reasons (19). It was the first of King James's reign, which might possibly be the cause why his own company of comedians had so great advantage in the manner of this conjunction. In the next place, I find that Mr Cibber is mistaken, in supposing that Mr Hart quitted the stage upon the score of this union, because it manifestly appears, from the paper cited in the former note, that he had quitted the King's company several years before he was engaged to promote this union, and very probably did so. But for all this, I am very far from being positive on this head, and therefore I have given the reader the dates, the authorities, and the reasons, which occur to me for preferring the last date; and from hence I hope to escape censure, even should it appear hereafter that I am mistaken. By this union a new company was formed, composed of the best actors that ever appeared upon the English stage together, as appears from the following list given us by Mr Cibber, in 1690, when he came into the company, viz. *Men,* Mr Betterton, Mr Mountfort, Mr Kynaston, Mr Sandford, Mr Nokes, Mr Underhill, and Mr Leigh. *Women,* Mrs Betterton, Mrs Barry, Mrs Leigh, Mrs Butler, Mrs Mountfort, and Mrs Bracegirdle

(17) Life of Betterton, p. 10.

(18) Cibber's Life, p. 153.

(19) Original Poems and Translations, by John Dryden, Esq; Vol. II. p. 259.

[G] *A description equally expressive, and worthy of it's subject.*] What I intend to give the reader in this note is, the character of Mr Betterton as a player, drawn by Mr Cibber, whose long acquaintance with him in that character, must have given him great opportunities of knowing him thoroughly, and whose excellence in that profession, and the great skill he shewed for many years in the management of a theatre, must render him a very competent judge. I have endeavoured to bring what he has delivered concerning our great actor into as narrow a compass as possible; and though it is still pretty long, yet I am persuaded that it will not appear tedious. 'Betterton was an actor as Shakespear was an author, both without competitors! formed for the mutual assistance and illustration of each other's genius! How Shakespear wrote, all men who have a taste for nature may read and know; but with what higher rapture would he still be read, could they conceive how Betterton played him! then might they know the one was born alone to speak, what the other only knew to write! Pity it is that the momentary beauties, flowing from an harmonious elocution, cannot, like those of poetry, be their own record! That the animated graces of the player can live no longer than the instant breath and motion that presents them, or at best can but faintly glimmer through the memory, or imperfect attestation of a few surviving spectators. Could how Betterton spoke be easily known as what he spoke, then might you see the Muse of Shakespear in her triumph, with all her beauties in their best array, rising into real life, and charming her beholders. But, alas! since all this is so far out of the reach of description, how shall I shew you Betterton? Should I therefore tell you that all the Othellos, Hamlets, Hotspurs, Mackbeths, and Brutus's, you may have seen since his time have fallen far short of him, this still would give you no idea of his particular excellence. Let us see then what a particular comparison may do, whether that may yet draw him nearer to you? You have seen a Hamlet perhaps, who on the first appearance of his father's spirit has thrown himself into all the straining vociferation requisite to express rage and fury, and the house has thundered with applause, though the misguided actor was all the while (as Shakespear terms it) *tearing a passion into rags.* I am the more bold to offer you this particular instance, because the late Mr Addison, while I sat by him to see this scene acted, made the same observation, asking me, with some surprize, if I thought Hamlet should be in so violent a passion with the ghost, which, though it might have astonished, it had not provoked him? for you may observe, that in this beautiful speech the passion never rises beyond an almost breathless astonishment, or an impatience limited by filial reverence to enquire into the suspected wrongs that may have raised him from his peaceful tomb! and a desire to know what a spirit so seemingly distressed might wish or enjoin a sorrowful son to execute towards his future quiet in the grave? This was the light into which Betterton threw this scene which he opened with a pause of mute amazement! Then rising slowly to a solemn trembling voice, he made the ghost equally terrible to the spectator as to himself!

the protection of the nobility, and the general respect of all ranks of people, who considered him

'himself! and in the descriptive part of the natural 'emotions which the ghastly vision gave him, the 'boldness of his expostulation was still governed 'by decency; manly, but not braving; his voice 'never rising into that seeming outrage, or wild defiance, of what he naturally revered. But, alas! to 'preserve this medium between mouthing, and meaning too little, to keep the attention more pleasingly 'awake by a tempered spirit, than by meer vehemence 'of voice, is of all the master-strokes of an actor the 'most difficult to reach. In this none have equalled 'Betterton ——— (20). He that feels not himself 'the passion he would raise, will talk to a sleeping audience. But this never was the fault of Betterton; and 'it has often amazed me to see those who soon came 'after him, throw out in some parts of a character a 'just and graceful spirit, which Betterton himself 'could not but have applauded; and yet, in the 'equally shining passages of the same character, have 'heavily dragged the sentiment along like a dead 'weight, with a long toned voice and absent eye, as 'if they had fairly forgot what they were about. If 'you have never made this observation, I am contented you should not know where to apply it. 'A farther excellence in Betterton was, that he could 'vary his spirit to the different characters he acted. 'Those wild impatient starts, that fierce and flashing 'fire, which he threw into Hotspur, never came from 'the unruffled temper of his Brutus (for I have more 'than once seen a Brutus as warm as Hotspur). When 'the Betterton Brutus was provoked in his dispute 'with Cassius, his spirits flew out of his eye; his 'steady looks alone supplied that terror which he disdained an intemperance in his voice should rise to. 'Thus, with a settled dignity of contempt, like an 'unheeding rock, he repelled upon himself the foam 'of Cassius. Perhaps the very words of Shakespear, 'will better let you into my meaning.

(20) Ibid. p. 86.

"Must I give way and room to your rash choler?
"Shall I be frighted when a madman stares?

'And a little after,

"There is no terror, *Cassius*, in your looks, *&c.*

'Not but in some part of this scene, where he reproaches Cassius, his temper is not under this suppression, but opens into that warmth which becomes a 'man of virtue; yet this is that hasty spark of anger, 'which Brutus himself endeavours to excuse: But 'with whatever strength of nature we see the poet 'shew at once the Philosopher and the Hero, yet the 'image of the actor's excellence will be still imperfect 'to you, unless language could put colours in our 'words to paint the voice with. *Et si vis similem pingere, pinge sonum*, is enjoining an impossibility. 'The most that a Vandyke can arrive at is, to make 'his portraits of great persons, seems to think; a 'Shakespear goes farther yet, and tells you what his 'pictures thought; a Betterton steps beyond them 'both, and calls them from the grave to breathe, and 'be themselves again in feature, speech, and motion, 'when the skilful actor shews you all those powers at 'once united, and gratifies at once your eye, your 'ear, your understanding. To conceive the pleasure 'arising from such harmony! You must have been 'present at it! 'tis not to be told you!' —— After some very just remarks upon the many defects in Lee's Alexander the Great, and shewing that the general reception that tragedy met with, was owing to the judgment of the actor, and not of the Poet, he proceeds thus —— (21). 'When this favourite play I am 'speaking of, from it's being too frequently acted, 'was worn out, and came to be deserted by the town 'upon the sudden death of Mountfort, who had played 'Alexander with success for several years. The part 'was given to Betterton, which under this great disadvantage of the satiety it had given, he immediately 'revived with so new a lustre, that for three days together it filled the house, and had then his declining 'strength been equal to the fatigue the action gave 'him, it probably might have doubled it's success; 'an uncommon instance of the power and intrinsick 'merit of an actor. This I mention, not only to 'prove what irresistible pleasure may arise from a judicious elocution with scarce sense to assist it. But 'to shew you too, that though Betterton never wanted 'fire and force when his character demanded it, yet, 'where it was not demanded, he never prostituted his 'power to the low ambition of false applause. And 'further, that when from a too advanced age he resigned that toilsome part of Alexander, the play for 'many years after was never able to impose upon the 'publick; and I look upon his so particularly supporting the false fire, and extravagancies of that character, to be a more surprising proof of his skill than 'his being eminent in those of Shakespear, because 'there truth and nature coming to his assistance, he 'had not the same difficulties to combat, and consequently we must be less amazed at his success where 'we are more able to account for it. Notwithstanding the extraordinary power he shewed in blowing 'Alexander once more into a blaze of admiration, 'Betterton had so just a sense of what was true or 'false applause, that I have heard him say, he never 'thought any kind of it equal to an attentive silence; 'that there were many ways of deceiving an audience into a loud one, but to keep them hushed 'and quiet was an applause which only truth and 'merit could arrive at, of which art there never was 'an equal master to himself. From these various excellencies he had so full a possession of the esteem and 'regard of his auditors, that upon his entrance into 'every scene, he seemed to seize upon the eyes and 'ears of the giddy and inadvertent! To have talked 'or looked another way would then have been thought 'insensibility or ignorance. In all his soliloquies of 'moment, the strongest intelligence of attitude and 'aspect drew you into such an impatient gaze and 'eager expectation, that you almost imbibed the sentiment with your eye before the ear could reach it. 'I never heard a line in tragedy come from Betterton, wherein my judgment, my ears, and my imagination, were not fully satisfied, which since his time 'I cannot equally say of any one actor whatsoever. 'Not but it is possible to be much his inferior with 'great excellencies. Had it been practicable to have 'tied down the clattering hands of all the ill judges, 'who were commonly the majority of an audience, to 'what amazing perfection might the English theatre 'have arrived, with so just an actor as Betterton at 'the head of it.' —— He speaks then of the capacity of an actor what he ought to know, and how far he should be able to judge of sentiment and poetry. He proceeds next to examine the talents requisite in the profession; and after confessing that with all these, it is not impossible a man may fail, he puts the question, What shall we say will infallibly form an actor? and he answers it in the following terms ——— (22). 'This, I confess, is one of nature's secrets, too deep 'for me to dive into. Let us content ourselves therefore with affirming, that genius which nature only 'gives, only can compleat him. This genius then 'was so strong in Betterton, that it shone out in every 'speech and motion of him; yet voice and person 'are such necessary supporters to it, that by the multitude they have been preferred to genius itself, or 'at least often mistaken for it. Betterton had a voice 'of that kind, which gave more spirit to terror than 'to the softer passions; more strength than melody. 'The rage and jealousy of Othello became him better 'than the sighs and tenderness of Castalio; for tho' 'in Castalio he only excelled others, in Othello he 'excelled himself; which you will easily believe, 'when you consider, that in spite of his complexion 'Othello has more natural beauties, than the best actor 'can find in all the magazine of poetry to animate his 'power and delight his judgment with. The person 'of this excellent actor was suitable to his voice, 'more manly than sweet, not exceeding the middle 'stature, inclining to the corpulent; of a serious and 'penetrating aspect; his limbs nearer the athletick 'than the delicate proportion; yet, however formed, 'there arose from the harmony of the whole a commanding mein of majesty, which the fairer faced, 'or (as Shakespear calls them) the curled darlings of 'his time, ever wanted something to be equal masters 'of.

(21) Ibid. p. 91.

(22) Ibid. p. 95.

him as an honour to the stage and to his country, he might have passed through life with as much ease, satisfaction, and peace of mind, as any man of his time, as having actually saved, even out of his moderate allowance, if not an ample, at least a competent estate; had he not been persuaded to attempt becoming rich, which unluckily engaged him in a design, which swept away all his capital, and left him in real distress (r). This fell out in 1692, and though nothing could fall harder upon such a man, and at such a time of life, yet he bore it with manly patience, not only without murmur or complaint, but even without mention, and was so far from suffering this severe stroke of ill fortune, fallen upon him, by following the advice of one he thought his friend, to prejudice that friend, who ventured and lost more than himself, that, on the contrary, he continued his friendship to his daughter, after his decease, and did for her all he could have done for his own (s) [*H*]. Such was the virtue! such the integrity! such the magnanimity of Mr Betterton! who in his private character was as great as in any he borrowed from the poets, and was therefore always considered as the head of the Theatre, though vested there with very little power. The patentees, as there was now only one Theatre, considered it as a means of accumulating wealth to themselves by the labours of others, and having this maxim once in their minds, it began to have so strong an influence on their conduct, that the Actors soon found themselves in a very dismal condition. They were oppressed without decency, left without means of redress for the present, and without hopes for the future. In this dismal situation, Betterton endeavoured to convince the Managers of their folly, and laboured to shew, from reason and experience, that the means they used were very ill suited to the ends they proposed, and that every government must fail, where the *few* forget their obligations to the *many*. This language, in the ears of this theatrical ministry, sounded like treason; and therefore, instead of thinking how to remedy the mischiefs complained of, they bent their thoughts to get the better of their monitor, as if the not hearing of faults was equivalent to mending them. It was with this view, that they began to give some of Betterton's best parts to young Actors, supposing this would lessen his character and abate his influence (t). This policy ruined them, and assisted him; the publick resented having Plays ill acted, when they knew they might be acted better. The wisest and best Players attached themselves wholly to Betterton, and desired him to turn his thoughts on some method of procuring himself and them justice. Thus, stage-tyranny brought about the destruction of that power by which it was exercised, and the very steps taken to render

(r) From the information of an intimate friend of Mr Betterton's lately deceased.

(s) See this transaction more fully explained in note [*H*].

(t) Cibber's Life, p. 153.

'of. There was some years ago to be had, almost in 'every print-shop, a metzotinto from Kneller, extremely like him. In all I have said of Betterton, I 'confine myself to the time of his strength and highest 'power in action, that you may make allowances from 'what he was able to execute at fifty, to what you 'might have seen of him at past seventy. For though 'to the last he was without his equal, he might not 'then be equal to his former self; yet so far was he 'from being ever overtaken, that for many years after his decease, I seldom saw any of his parts in 'Shakespear supplied by others, but it drew from me 'the lamentation of Ophelia upon Hamlet's being unlike what she had seen him.

'Ah! woe is me!

'T' have seen what I have seen, see what I see!'

[*H*] *Did for her all he could have done for his own.*] This extraordinary shipwreck of Mr Betterton's small fortune hath been very differently represented, and it is not an easy matter to come at the truth. Mr Gildon is very concise upon this head. 'Mr Betterton, says he, 'was so sensible of friendship, that though he lost near 'eight thousand pounds by the father, yet he took care 'of the daughter (23).' The like imperfect accounts we have elsewhere; but I presume no reader can be very well satisfied with such an abrupt hint, in relation to the most singular and extraordinary circumstance of Betterton's life, and therefore I shall endeavour to give him as clear and circumstantial an account of this matter, as at this distance of time can be reasonably expected. As Mr Betterton's character in private life was extremely fair, and his company very agreeable, he had abundance of friends at all ends of the town, but more especially in the city. Amongst these there was a Gentleman, whom I forbear to name, of great reputation, and of considerable fortune, who not only honoured him with his favour and protection, but entered with him also into the strictest intimacy and friendship. This Gentleman, in the year 1692, was concerned in an adventure to the East-Indies upon the footing then allowed by the Company's Charter, which vessels so employed were stiled interlopers. The prospect of success was great, the gain unusually high; and this induced Mr Betterton, to whom his friend offered any share in this business that he pleased, to think of so large a sum as eight thousand pounds; but it was not for himself, for he had no such sum in his power; and whoever considers the situation of the stage at that time, will need no other argument to convince him of it. Yet he had another friend, whom he was willing to oblige, which was the famous Dr Radcliffe; so Mr Betterton advanced somewhat more than two thousand pounds, which was his all, and the Doctor made it up eight thousand. The vessel sailed to the East-Indies, and made as prosperous a voyage as those who were concerned in her could wish; and the war with France being then very warm, the Captain very prudently came home north about, and arrived safely in Ireland. But whether obliged by the orders of his owners, or elated by his success hitherto, so it was, that in his passage from Ireland he was taken by the French. His cargo was worth upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, which ruined Mr Betterton, and broke the fortune and the heart of his friend in the city. As for Dr Radcliffe, he expressed a great concern for Mr Betterton, and none at all for himself. It is, said the Doctor wittily, only trotting up some hundred pair of stairs more, and things are as they were. The Gentleman in the city left behind him an only daughter, whom Mr Betterton took home, educated with all the care, and treated with all the tenderness of a parent, 'till she thought fit to marry herself to Mr Bowman the Player, who is but very lately dead, and whose behaviour was such, as not only recommended him to the personal esteem of all that knew him, but gave credit to the reports of the excellency of the old stage, when Players in general were like him (24). This is a testimony of respect due to his memory, which I am very glad to have this occasion of paying; for so long as this work shall last, I hope it will be of use in consecrating to posterity the fame of worthy persons deceased of all ranks, as well as the candour and impartiality of those to whom providence has consigned the great charge of doing justice to the dead, and which it is their duty to perform with religious exactness.

(23) Life of Mr Betterton, p. 11.

(24) These facts are many of them well known, but the whole of them was communicated by a person who desires to be concealed.

[*I*] *Pointed*

(u) Case of the Actors laid before the Lord Chamberlain.

(w) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 157.

(x) Case of the Actors, before-mentioned.

render Betterton desperate, pointed out the way to his deliverance (u) [I]. The general acquaintance he had amongst persons of the first distinction, gave him an opportunity of representing his case to them, and his case was so very reasonable in itself, that being truly represented, it was sufficient to affect all great and generous minds, with a desire of procuring so worthy and so extraordinary a person, relief (w). But though the quality of those who sought this was great, and the thing sought very reasonable, yet for all that it was far from being easily brought about. But at length, partly through the hardship Mr Betterton and his people endured, and partly through the obstinacy of the patentees, who would listen to nothing, it was held equally legal and just, that the royal authority should interpose for the cure of an evil, which sprung entirely from an abuse of royal favour (x) [K]. King William granted this favour at the instance of the famous Earl of Dorset, the friend, the favourite, and protector of the Muses; the Nobility also, led by his example, contributed, by a voluntary subscription, to raise a Theatre

[I] *Pointed out the way to his deliverance.*] It does not appear that Mr Betterton had any intention of distinguishing his own interest from those of the Patentees, 'till they convinced him, by their behaviour, that they were already distinguished in their opinions. The person they fixed upon to come into Betterton's parts was one George Powell, a man as opposite to the person he thought to supplant, as nature could well form him (25). He had fire without judgment, confidence without merit, and strength of lungs which very much exceeded the strength of his understanding. With these abilities, or rather with this want of ability, he stept into Betterton's parts, and which was no less welcome to him, from forty shillings to four pounds a week salary. At the same time this step was taken amongst the men, another of the like kind was attempted in reference to the women. Mrs Bracegirdle was then a young player, but had given such an earnest of what she afterwards performed, that no scruple was made of offering her the parts of Mrs Barry, the greatest actress that had appeared upon the English stage; but Mrs Bracegirdle shewed her capacity and her virtue at the same time by a steady refusal. Mr Betterton, when things were come to this pass, thought fit to provide for his own security, by setting on foot a kind of association amongst the actors, which sufficiently demonstrated his influence and their good sense, since the ablest and most esteemed amongst them readily agreed to support him (26). The Patentees had recourse to the same method, and listed such and so many as they could on their side. But though Betterton had a visible advantage over them in this method of proceeding, yet he was a man of too much judgment and good sense, not to foresee that any conquest would be prejudicial to the victors, as well as the vanquished; and therefore the only use he made of his success was, to propose an accommodation, as a thing most for the benefit of both parties; but this the Patentees rejected with that haughtiness incident to weak minds, who fancy the desire of quiet, is a mark of want of strength, or of a want of resolution. They did not consider of how much consequence it is in all such disputes to be, and to be thought, in the right, or at least they did not reflect, that by the making this proposition, Mr Betterton and his party would secure the good opinion of the publick. They were heated with a fond presumption of their own power, and blinded by a false notion they had conceived, that it was not to be controuled. They thought they had the Law on their side, and that whatever became of the justice of their cause, the power vested in them by their royal patents would enable them to triumph over all opposition. These were their maxims, and indeed the maxims of all tyrants; and these were the steps by which they provoked and produced that rebellion which they meant to prevent, and which they might have so easily have prevented, if they had distinguished better their true interests, from what they were persuaded by their passions to mistake for their interests; a lesson which was soon after sufficiently taught them by experience, though their pride hindered them from learning it at present.

(25) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 153.

(26) History of the Stage, p. 137.

[K] *Which sprung entirely from the abuse of royal favour.*] It was in the winter of the year 1694, that this quarrel rose to so great a height, and the interruption it occasioned in their playing, proved the loss of a thousand pounds to the Patentees before Christmas. They flattered themselves with the hopes of going on better during the remaining part of the season, by drawing off some of those who sided with Mr Betterton, in which they met with an unforeseen disappointment by the death of Queen Mary, which occasioned a total suspension of all publick diversions (27). This gave Mr Betterton and his friends leisure to enquire upon what ground they stood, and whether it might not be in the power of the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Chamberlain, to redress their grievances. His Lordship was known to be well inclined, but it was not found that his office enabled him to compel the Patentees to do what it was reasonable they should have done in favour of the actors. Upon this the subject was canvassed at Court, and even in the circle, so that at last it reached the Royal ear (28). The King, who naturally hated oppression, signified a willingness to relieve these people from a yoke they were not able to bear, and with which the publick also was highly displeased. The Lawyers were not long in finding out how this might be done, they had indeed given their opinions that the former patents were good, but they agreed now that a new patent would be as good. By this the knot was cut that could not be untied, and Mr Betterton and his friends left at liberty to entertain the town on a stage of their own; and to enable them to do this, several persons of distinction subscribed forty guineas apiece, and it was agreed to build a new theatre, where the Tennis-court then stood, in Lincoln's Inn-Fields (29). The managers of the old patent then found, when it was too late, that they had pushed the matter too far, and that when Betterton and his party left them, they should be too weak to attempt any thing with success. They had however the good fortune to draw over Mr Williams and Mrs Mountfort from their adversaries, which did them some hurt, and the managers a great deal of good. They likewise endeavoured to obtain recruits from the country, in which they were not altogether unsuccessful, for this brought Mr Johnson and Mr Bullock to the house; nor were they altogether deprived of good actors by the going off of Mr Betterton, since they had still with them Mr Cibber, Mr Kent, Mr Verbruggen, Mr Powell, and Mr Haynes. As for women, they had only Mrs Rogers, and Mrs Verbruggen; and to these we must add Mr Williams, and Mrs Mountfort, to whom the other company refused shares, as Mr Cibber very justly observes against that principle of equity on which they should have founded all their proceedings (30). I have been the more particular in this account, because it serves to shew how excellent the other players must have been when in this condition; the Patentees proceeded with fear and trembling, as knowing that Betterton's company would, in the opinion of all proper judges, prove infinitely superior to them; though, as we have shewn, setting this comparison aside, their company was very far from being despicable. They had indeed one advantage, which was that of opening before their rivals, and they did not fail to make use of it; but at the same time, they had the misfortune to make use of a very bad Play, which they revived upon this occasion. It was *Abdelazar*, or, *The Moors Revenge*, very poorly written by Mrs Behn, and they acted it before a numerous audience (31). The stage however appeared so indifferently filled when Mr Betterton, Mrs Barry, and Mrs Bracegirdle, were absent, that the very next night their audience sunk to nothing; so that they were not long in doubt as to the consequences of this separation with respect to themselves. The Patentees saw plainly their error, and that whatever became of the other company, their own, by dint of their wise management, was fallen as low as their bitterest enemies could wish it, without any visible prospect of their being able to raise it again.

(27) Life of King William, p. 313.

(28) See the article of SACKVILLE, (CHARLES) Earl of Dorset.

(29) Life of Betterton, p. 10.

(30) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 162.

(31) See Langbain's Account of English dramatick Poets, p. 18.

[L] That

Theatre for them to play in, and this produced the new Play-House, near that which is still standing in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (y). This Theatre was opened in April 1695, with very great advantages. Mr Congreve accepted a share with this company, as Mr Dryden had formerly with the King's company, and the first Play they acted was his admirable Comedy of *Love for Love*. The King honoured it with his presence, there was a large and splendid audience, Mr Betterton spoke a prologue, and Mrs Bracegirdle an epilogue suitable to the occasion, and it appeared plainly, by the reception they met with, the town knew how to discern and reward that merit, the ill-judging Patentees had treated so ill (z) [L]. But with all these vast advantages, Betterton's company were not able to maintain this flow of prosperity beyond two or three seasons. Mr Congreve was an excellent, and therefore a slow, writer; the other house had the advantage of two authors who produced without pain, Vanbrugh and Cibber, they wrote, if not finished, at least taking Plays, and though they were sometimes mauled by the criticks, they were sure of being applauded by the people (a). This gave such a turn in their favour, that with all their merit, Betterton's Actors had been undone, but for the seasonable relief of *The Mourning Bride*, and the *Way of the World*, which came like reprieves, and saved them at the last gasp (b). In a few years, however, it appearing plainly, that without a new support from their friends, it was impossible for them to maintain their independance, the protectors of Mr Betterton set on foot a new subscription, for building a Theatre in the Hay-Market, under the direction of Sir John Vanbrugh, which was finished in 1706 (c). This favour was kindly received by Mr Betterton, but he was now grown old, his health and strength much impaired by constant application, and his fortune in a condition still worse than those of his personal circumstances. He chose therefore, all things considered, and more especially an untractable spirit grown up amongst his Actors, occasioned by losses and disappointments, to decline his post, and put the whole design under the conduct of Mr Congreve and Sir John Vanbrugh (d). The former of these abandoned it soon after to Sir John entirely, and Betterton's strength failing, many of the old Players dying, and other accidents happening, a re-union of the companies became not only expedient but necessary, and accordingly it took place soon after. We are now released from the task of pursuing the stage history any father, hitherto it was that of Betterton, with whom it grew, it flourished, it reached perfection, it declined, it decayed; and as the story of a great Prince carries in it that of his people, so

(y) Life of Betterton.

(z) Cibber's Life, p. 160.

(a) Historical Remarks on the British Theatre, p. 195.

(b) Cibber's Life, p. 161.

(c) Memoirs of Vanbrugh's Life, p. 65.

(d) Cibber's Life, p. 262.

[L] *That merit the ill-judging Patentees had treated so ill.*] It is very certain, that if true merit alone could have supported an undertaking of this kind, Mr Betterton's company would have met with constant and universal approbation. The actors he carried with him to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields were such, as, together with himself and his wife, might have raised any stage to reputation; which may the more easily be credited, when we reflect that their memories are still fresh, amongst those who are the best judges of the pieces they performed. Amongst the men were Mr Underhill, Mr Smith, Mr Bowman, Mr Dogget, Mr Sandford, and Mr Bowen. Amongst the women, Mrs Barry, Mrs Bracegirdle, Mrs Bowman, Mrs Ayliff, and Mrs Leigh (32). The Prologue at their opening was very happily written, and contains a very beautiful and easy compliment to those who had assisted them in obtaining this establishment. The reader perhaps being now so well acquainted with the subject, will the better relish the following lines from it (33).

(32) From private information of a person then upon the stage.

(33) See this Prologue in the second Volume of Congreve's Works.

The husbandman in vain renews his toil
To cultivate each year a hungry soil,
And fondly hopes for rich and generous fruit,
When what should feed the tree devours the root.
Th' unladen boughs he sees bode certain dearth,
Unless transplanted to more kindly earth.
So the poor husbands of the stage, who found
Their labours lost upon ungrateful ground,
This last and only remedy have prov'd,
And hope new fruit from antient stocks remov'd.
Well may they hope when you so kindly aid,
Well plant a soil which you so rich have made.
As nature gave the world to man's first age,
So from your bounty we receive this stage.
The freedom man was born to you've restor'd,
And to our world such plenty you afford,
It seems, like Eden, fruitful of it's own accord.
But since in Paradise frail flesh gave way,
And when but two were made, both went astray;
Forbear your wonder, and the fault forgive,
If in our larger family we grieve
One falling Adam, and one tempted Eve (*).
We who remain would gratefully repay
What our endeavours can, and bring this day
The first-fruit offering of a Virgin-Play.

(*) Alluding to Mr Williams and Mrs Mountfort.

The Epilogue, spoke by Mrs Bracegirdle, also contains some farther remarks upon this theatrical revolution, and alludes to the players having formerly had recourse to the same method, and to the same part of the town, in time of distress, I shall quote some lines from thence for the reasons before given (34).

(34) Ibid. p. 175.

Sure Providence at first designed this place
To be the players refuge in distress;
For still in every storm they all run hither,
As to a shed that shields them from the weather.
But thinking of this change which last befel us,
'Tis like what I have heard our Poets tell us:
For when behind the scenes their suits are pleading,
To help their love, sometimes they shew their reading;
And wanting ready cash to pay for hearts,
They top their learning on us, and their parts.
Once of Philosophers they told us stories.
Whom, as I think, they call'd—*Py—Pythagories*.
I'm sure 'tis some such Latin name they give 'em,
And we who know no better must believe 'em.
Now to these men (say they) such souls were giv'n,
That after death ne'er went to Hell nor Heaven;
But liv'd, I know not how, in beasts; and then,
When many years are past, in men again.
Methinks we Play'rs resemble such a soul,
That does from bodies, we from houses stroll.
Thus Aristotle's soul that was,
May now be damn'd to animate an ass;
Or in this very house, for ought we know,
Is doing painful penance in some beau:
And thus our audience, which did once resort
To shining theatres to see our sport,
Now find us toss'd into a *Tennis-court*.

so to write the life of Betterton fairly, is to give the History of the Theatre during his time (e). At last, indeed, they separated, but by degrees, and not with any unkindness. After Mr Betterton reached seventy, his infirmities grew on him greatly, his fits of the gout were more lasting and more severe. His circumstances also, which had not been mended by his having the conduct of the Theatre, grew daily streighter, and all this joined to his wife's ill state of health, made his condition but melancholy, at a time of life, when the highest affluence could not have made them chearful. Yet even under all these pressures he kept up his spirit, and was as serene as ever, though somewhat less active; nay, he acted still when his health would permit, which, however, was but seldom (f). The publick (in those days grateful) remembered the pleasure that Betterton had given them, and could not suffer, after fifty years service, so deserving a person should withdraw, without some considerable marks of their bounty. It was in the spring 1709, that a benefit, which was not then, as now, a common favour, much less a thing of right, was granted to Mr Betterton, and the Play of *Love for Love* (g) was acted at the Theatre Royal, on the seventh of April, for that purpose. Two of the best Actresses that ever graced our stage, and who had then quitted it, came upon that occasion to render it more advantageous, the part of *Valentine* was played by Betterton, *Angelica* by Mr Bracegirdle, and Mrs Barry performed that of *Frail*. The epilogue spoke by her was written by Mr Rowe, who had deserved the laurel he wore if it had been his single performance; and so well was this affair conducted, that we are told it produced Mr Betterton five hundred pounds, and a promise the favour should be annually continued (h) [M]. These

(e) See Betterton's Life.

(f) Cibber's Life, p. 331.

(g) See the Tatler quoted in the notes.

(h) Life of Betterton.

[M] *A promise that the favour should be annually continued.*] In order to justify this fact, I find myself obliged to quote a paper, in which this transaction is set in the fairest light by Sir Richard Steele, who describes every action of humanity with almost as much warmth as he felt it. After mentioning the Ladies and Mr Dogget's behaviour with just commendations, he goes on thus (35). 'There has not been known so great a concourse of persons of distinction as at that time; the stage itself was covered with Gentlemen and Ladies, and when the curtain was drawn, it discovered even there a very splendid audience. This unusual encouragement, which was given to a play for the advantage of so great an actor, gives an undeniable instance, that the true relish for manly entertainments and rational pleasures is not wholly lost. All the parts were acted to perfection: the actors were careful of their carriage, and no one was guilty of the affectation to insert witticisms of his own, but a due respect was had to the audience for encouraging this accomplished player. It is not now doubted but plays will revive, and take their usual place in the opinion of persons of wit and merit, notwithstanding their late apostacy in favour of dress and sound. This place is very much altered since Mr Dryden frequented it; where you used to see Songs, Epigrams, and Satires, in the hands of every man you met, you have now only a pack of cards; and instead of the cavils about the turn of the expression, the elegance of the stile, and the like, the learned now dispute only about the truth of the game. But however the company is altered, all have shewn a great respect for Mr Betterton; and the very gaming part of this house have been so much touched with a sense of the uncertainty of human affairs, (which alter with themselves every moment) that in this Gentleman they pitied Mark Anthony of Rome, Hamlet of Denmark, Mithridates of Pontus, Theodosius of Greece, and Henry the Eighth of England. It is well known, he has been in the condition of each of those illustrious personages for several hours together, and behaved himself in those high stations, in all the changes of the scene, with suitable dignity. For these reasons we intend to repeat this favour to him on a proper occasion, lest he who can instruct us so well in personating feigned sorrows, should be lost to us by suffering under real ones.' He was no less indebted to his friend Nicholas Rowe, Esq; than he was to Sir Richard Steele, for the Epilogue which he wrote for Mrs Bracegirdle was of such a nature, as could not but convey to every generous heart and elegant mind, a tender feeling for the distress of him for whose sake it was written. The passage therein, which relates to Shakespear, is very fine and very poetical, at the same time that it is very natural and very moving. The reader will hereafter see the cause that very probably suggested this thought to Mr Rowe; but in order to judge the better of it, it is requisite that he should see the piece itself. Indeed I am greatly mistaken if this method of comparing occasional poems with the narratives of the events, by which they were occasioned, is not the best way of disclosing their beauties, and doing justice to their authors. Such poems make really a part of the memoirs of that life to which they relate, and therefore are never more properly introduced than in this manner, provided they are not too numerous, and the life to which they relate has dignity enough to deserve such illustrations. That of Mr Betterton needs no apology of this kind; for if Cicero took so much pains to raise the character of the Roman Roscius, I certainly run no hazard of being censured of over fondness for him, whom the best judges have deservedly stiled the Roscius of England. But it is now time to come to the poem, which gave occasion to these remarks, and which I take to be equally correct and gallant (36).

(35) Tatler, No. 1. under the head of *Will's* Coffee-House.

(36) This Epilogue is prefixed to the Life of Betterton.

As some brave Knight, who once with spear and shield
Had fought renown in many a well-fought field,
But now no more with sacred fame inspir'd,
Was to a peaceful hermitage retir'd;
There, if by chance disast'rous tales he hears,
Of matrons wrongs and captive virgins tears,
He feels soft pity urge his generous breast,
And vows once more to succour the distrest.
Buckled in mail he sallies on the plain,
And turns him to the feats of arms again.

So we to former leagues of friendship true,
Have bid once more our peaceful homes adieu,
To aid old Thomas, and to pleasure you.
Like errant damsels boldly we engage,
Arm'd, as you see, for the defenceless stage.
Time was when this good man no help did lack,
And scorn'd that any She should hold his back:
But now, so age and frailty have ordain'd,
By two at once he's forc'd to be sustain'd.
You see what failing nature brings man to;
And yet let none insult, for ought we know
She may not wear so well with some of you.
Tho' old, you find his strength is not clean past,
But, true as steel, he's mettle to the last.
If better he perform'd in days of yore,
Yet now he gives you all that's in his power;
What can the youngest of you all do more?
What he has been, tho' present praise be dumb,
Shall hap'ly be a theme in times to come,
As now we talk of Roscius and of Rome.
Had you with-held your favours on this night,
Old Shakespear's ghost had ris'n to do him right;
With indignation had you seen him frown
Upon a worthless, witless, tasteless town:

Griev'd

These extraordinary marks of publick gratitude, had a proper effect upon Mr Betterton, who, instead of indulging himself on their bounty, exerted the spirits given by this seasonable act of generosity, in their service, and appeared and acted as often as his health would permit (*i*). On the twentieth of September following in particular, he performed the character of *HAMLET*, with such vivacity, as well as justice, that it gave universal satisfaction to the best judges (*k*). This activity of his in the winter, kept off the gout longer than usual, but the fit was the more violent for it when it came upon him in the spring. This was the more unlucky, by it's being about the time of his benefit, when the success of his Play, was sure to depend, in a great measure, upon his own performance. The day fixed was April the thirteenth, and the Play he made choice of, was *The Maid's Tragedy*, in which he acted the part of *Melantius*, and notice was given accordingly by his good friend the *TATLER* (*l*), but the fit intervened, and that he might not disappoint the town, Mr Betterton was forced to allow of outward applications to reduce the swelling of his feet, which had such an effect, that he was able to appear on the stage, though he was forced to use a slipper. He acted that day with unusual spirit and briskness by which he obtained universal applause (*m*). But this could not defend him from paying a very dear price for these momentary marks of approbation, since the gouty humour, repelled by fomentations, soon seized upon the noble parts, which being, perhaps, weakened by his extraordinary fatigue on that occasion, he was not able to make a long resistance, but on the twenty-eighth of April 1710, paid that tribute to nature, from which neither heroes, nor those who play them, can be exempted (*n*). His behaviour raised his reputation and character, in his life-time, as high as he could wish; he received the strongest proofs of publick esteem, we may say, almost literally, in his last moments; and such honours were paid his memory after death, as only his memory could deserve: For on the second of May following, his corps was, with much ceremony, interred in Westminster-abbey (*o*), and such an account given of this solemnity, by the most agreeable writer of those times, as will outlast even brazen monuments, and perhaps the very Abbey itself [*N*]. As to the character of this great man, in the way of his profession, the reader

(*i*) Hist. of the Stage, p. 139.

(*k*) The Tatler, No. 71.

(*l*) Ibid. No. 157.

(*m*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 99.

(*n*) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. V. p. 211.

(*o*) Antiquities of St Peter's Westminster, Vol. II. p. 188.

Griev'd and repining, you had heard him say,
Why are the Muses labours cast away?
Why did I only write, what only he could play?
But since, like friends to wit, thus throng'd you meet,
Go on, and make the gen'rous work complete;
Be true to merit, and still own his cause;
Find something for him more than bare applause.
In just remembrance of your pleasures past.
Be kind, and give him a discharge at last:
In peace and ease life's remnant let him wear,
And hang his consecrated BUSKIN here.

[*N*] *And perhaps the very Abbey itself.*] It would have been the easiest thing in the world to have referred the reader to the Tatlers for this fine discourse; but then we should have run the hazard of it's not being immediately read, or connected with what has been said upon the subject, which would leave this account imperfect, and hinder the reader's perceiving all the beauties of that (37). For these reasons we have judged it more expedient to give the whole a place here, as securing by that means the finest picture of this great man that was ever drawn, and the most pleasing likeness. We may add also to these another, and perhaps a stronger reason. This humane and admirable paper discovers the sentiments of those days, and how just, how grateful, and full of reverence, the publick was to those who deserved well of it in any character. They were not then satisfied to read a few lines of when and where a man was born, how long he lived, and when he died, but listened with pleasure to his whole story, admired sincerely all his good qualities, deplored his loss, and favourably received the endeavours of that writer, who aimed at doing justice to the dead, and placed his own merit in celebrating that of other men. May we on all sides emulate so laudable a practice!

(37) Tattler, No. 167.

From my own Apartment, May 2.

'HAVING received notice, that the famous actor Mr Betterton was to be interred this evening in the cloysters near Westminster-Abbey, I was resolved to walk thither, and see the last office done to a man whom I had always very much admired, and from whose action I had received more strong impressions of what is great and noble in human nature, than from the arguments of the most solid Philosophers, or the description of the most charming Poets I had ever read. As the rude and untaught multitude are no way wrought upon more effectually, than by seeing publick punishments and executions; so men of letters and education feel their humanity most forcibly exercised, when they attend the obsequies of men who had arrived at any perfection in liberal accomplishments. Theatrical action is to be esteemed as such, except it be objected, that we cannot call that an art which cannot be attained by art. Voice, stature, motion, and other gifts, must be very bountifully bestowed by nature, or labour and industry will but push the unhappy endeavourer in that way, the further off his wishes.

'Such an actor as Mr Betterton ought to be recorded, with the same respect as Roscius among the Romans. The greatest Orator has thought fit to quote his judgment, and celebrate his life. Roscius was the example to all that would form themselves into proper and winning behaviour. His action was so well adapted to the sentiments he expressed, that the youth of Rome thought they wanted only to be virtuous to be as graceful in their appearance as Roscius. The imagination took a lovely impression of what was great and good; and they who never thought of setting up for the art of imitation, became themselves inimitable characters.

'There is no human invention so aptly calculated for the forming a free-born people as that of a theatre. Tully reports, that the celebrated player of whom I am speaking used frequently to say, *The perfection of an actor is only to become what he is doing.* Young men, who are too unattentive to receive lectures, are irresistibly taken with performances. Hence it is, that I extremely lament the little relish the gentry of this nation have at present, for the just and noble representations in some of our Tragedies. The Operas, which are of late introduced, can leave no trace behind them that can be of service beyond the present moment. To sing and to dance, are accomplishments very few have any thoughts of practising; but to speak justly, and more gracefully, is what every man thinks he does perform, or wishes he did.

'I have hardly a notion, that any performer of antiquity could surpass the action of Mr Betterton, in any of the occasions in which he has appeared on our stage. The wonderful agony which he appeared in, when he examined the circumstance of the handkerchief in Othello; the mixture of love that intruded upon his mind upon the innocent answers Desdemona makes; betrayed in his gesture such a variety and vicissitude of passions, as would admonish

'a man

reader has seen it very fully represented, by authors every way equal to the task, and who thought it did honour to their own Genii, to do right to the great Genius of Betterton. But some other particulars there are, relating chiefly to his private life, of which I think it becomes me to take notice. He was a man of great study and application, and in regard to the subjects which employed his attention, as knowing, and as much a master, as any man could be. He was an excellent critick, more especially on Shakespear and Fletcher, not in remarking their defects, but in searching out, and producing to light, all their minute and hidden beauties. In this he was so accurate and so successful, that Mr Rowe (*p*), who was himself an excellent judge, and had also studied the same authors with deep attention, says the strongest things that man can say of Betterton's skill in this respect. His knowledge of Shakespear's merit, gave him so strong, and so perfect an esteem for him, that he made a journey, or rather a pilgrimage, into Staffordshire to visit his tomb, and to collect whatever particulars, relating to his history, tradition might have preserved, and these he freely communicated to the same friend, who acknowledges with much candour, that the memoirs of Shakespear's life he published (from which later lives have been taken) were the produce of that journey, and freely bestowed on him by the collector (*q*). Yet, extensive as his knowledge was, and high as he stood in reputation and esteem, he was the modestest man living. The young Actors revered him as a parent, but they loved him as a parent at the same time. He was gentle in his language, mild in his behaviour, ready in commendation, sincere in advice, and so indirect in his reproofs, that he had an art of shewing men their foibles without their seeing that this was what he intended, and the secret was the better kept, because he never mentioned such failings to another man. Mr Booth, who knew him only in his decline, said, he never saw him, either upon the stage or off, without learning from him, and frequently observed, that Mr Betterton was no Actor, that he put on his part with his clothes, and was the very man he undertook to be, 'till the play was over, and nothing more. So exact in following nature, that the look of surprize he put on in the character of *Hamlet*, struck him so in that of the *Ghost*, (when he first played it) as to disable him, for some moments, from going on (*r*). Yet he was so communicative, that in those parts he played highest, he would enter into the grounds of his action, and explain, as far as it was possible to explain, the principles of his art. He was admirably versed in the action of the stage, considered as independent of sentiment, and knew perfectly the dependance, connection, and business of the scenes, so as to attract, preserve, and satisfy, the attention of an audience, an art extreamly necessary to an Author, and yet the hardest to be acquired of any. He was so far from putting on assuming looks, and a supercilious air to young authors, that he always insisted on their reading his parts to him, and took their instructions in the acting them, with the utmost deference and respect (*s*). But what shewed his accurate

(*p*) Account of Mr W. Shakespear, prefixed to *The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell.*

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) From Mr Booth's frequent mention of this passage at Button's.

(*s*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 95.

'a man to be afraid of his own heart, and perfectly 'convince him, that it is to stab it, to admit that 'worst of daggers, Jealousy. Whoever reads in his 'closet this admirable scene, will find that he cannot, 'except he has as warm an imagination as Shakespear 'himself, find any but dry, incoherent, and broken 'sentences: But a reader that has seen Betterton act 'it, observes there could not be a word added; that 'longer speeches had been unnatural, nay, impossible, 'in Othello's circumstances. The charming passage 'in the same tragedy, where he tells the manner of 'winning the affection of his mistress, was urged with 'so moving and graceful an energy, that while I 'walked in the cloysters, I thought of him with the 'same concern, as if I waited for the remains of a 'person who had in real life done all that I had seen 'him represent. The gloom of the place, and faint 'light before the ceremony appeared, contributed to 'the melancholy disposition I was in; and I began to 'be extremely afflicted, that Brutus and Cassius had 'any difference; that Hotspur's gallantry was so unfortunate; and that the mirth and good humour of 'Falstaff could not exempt him from the grave. Nay, 'this occasion in me, who look upon the distinctions 'amongst men to be merely scenical, raised reflections 'upon the emptiness of all human perfection and greatness in general; and I could not but regret, that the 'sacred heads which lie buried in the neighbourhood 'of this little portion of earth in which my poor old 'friend is deposited, are returned to dust as well as he, 'and that there is no difference in the grave between 'the imaginary and the real monarch. This made 'me say of human life itself with *Mackbeth*:

'To-morrow, to-morrow, and to-morrow,
'Creeps in a stealing pace from day to day
'To the last moment of recorded time!
'And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
'To their eternal night! Out, out, short candle!
'Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
'That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
'And then is heard no more.'

'The mention I have here made of Mr Betterton, 'for whom I had, as long as I have known any thing, 'a very great esteem and gratitude for the pleasure he 'gave me, can do him no good; but it may possibly be 'of service to the unhappy woman he has left behind 'him, to have it known, that this great Tragedian was 'never in a scene half so moving, as the circumstances 'of his affairs created at his departure. His wife, after the cohabitation of forty years in the strictest 'amity, has long pined away with a sense of his decay, as well in his person as his little fortune; and, 'in proportion to that, she has herself decayed both 'in her health and reason. Her husband's death, added to her age and infirmities, would certainly have 'determined her life, but that the greatness of her 'distress has been her relief, by a present deprivation 'of her senses. This absence of reason is her best 'defence against age, sorrow, poverty, and sickness, 'I dwell upon this account so distinctly, in obedience 'to a certain great spirit, who hides her name, and 'has by letter applied to me to recommend to her 'some object of compassion, from whom she may be 'concealed.

'This, I think, is a proper occasion for exerting 'such heroick generosity; and as there is an ingenuous 'shame in those who have known better fortune to be 'reduced to receive obligations, as well as a becoming 'pain in the truly generous to receive thanks; in this 'case both those delicacies are preserved; for the person obliged is as incapable of knowing her benefactress, as her benefactress is unwilling to be known 'by her.'

accurate and thorough skill in dramatick entertainments, was his own performances as an author, which, to those who read them, may possibly seem too high a compliment, because it will be thought, and indeed justly, that we have many better writers of Comedies than he; but yet, as to the single point I commend him for, he has been excelled by none (*t*) [*O*]. As he had the rare felicity of passing through life without envy or reproach, though not without misfortunes, so this felicity was also heightened by his fortunate choice of a wife, with whom he passed his days in domestick quiet, though they were of very different tempers. He was naturally chearful, and had a very high confidence in Providence; but she was of a thoughtful and melancholy temper, more especially after their great loss, and when she saw his health began to decline (*u*). She was so strongly affected by his death, which, as we have shewn, was in some measure sudden, that she ran distracted, though she appeared rather a prudent and constant, than a fond and passionate, wife. She was extreamly useful to the Theatre, and more happy in the instructing young Actresses than any other had been, so that her misfortune was a great, indeed a publick, loss [*P*]. She did not long survive Mr Betterton, according to our best informations, about six months, but this was long enough for Queen Anne to express her compassion, by giving her a pension, which was hardly settled upon her before it ceased. She is said to have recovered her senses a little before she expired (*w*).

(*t*) See this explained in the notes.

(*u*) From accounts of a Lady intimate with her for many years.

(*w*) Reported by the same Lady.

[*O*] *As to the single point for which I commend him, he has been excelled by none.*] The works of Betterton, as a dramatick Poet, are but few, viz. I. *The Woman made a Justice*. II. *The Unjust Judge; or, Appius and Virginia*. This was written originally by Mr John Webster, an old Poet, who flourished in the reign of James I. It was altered only by Mr Betterton, who was so cautious and reserved upon this head, that it was by accident that the fact was known, at least with certainty (38). III. *The Amorous Widow; or, The Wanton Wife*; a play written on the plan of Moliere's *George Dandin*. The *Amorous Widow* is a second plot, interwoven to accommodate the piece more to the English taste. This comedy was acted in Mr Betterton's life-time with great applause, but notwithstanding this he could never be prevailed upon to publish it; so that the world saw it only as a posthumous performance (39). The chief merit of this, and indeed of all his performances, lay in the exact disposition of the scenes, their just length, great propriety, and natural connection; to all which was owing their being justly esteemed the best acting plays that had been brought upon the stage; and of how great consequence this is to the fate of tragedy and comedy may be learned from all Banks's pieces, which, though they have nothing else to recommend them, seldom fail to affect an audience as much, or more, than some that are deservedly in better reputation (40). This remark may be of use to those who write for the stage, since there are many more plays lost for want of attending to this, than from any deficiency of wit or judgment.

(38) Langbain's Account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 509.

(39) It is added to his Life, written by Capt. Gildon, and consequently, first printed in 1710.

(40) See the article of CONGREVE (WILLIAM).

[*P*] *So that her misfortune was a great, indeed a publick, loss.*] All who remember the theatre in those days, and whom pains have been taken to consult, agree, that Mrs Betterton deserved in every respect the character given in the text, and was of infinite service to the English stage. We will give her praises more particularly from one of them (41.) 'She was, says 'Mr Cibber, though far advanced in years, so great a 'mistress of nature, that even Mrs Barry, who acted 'Lady Macbeth after her, could not in that part, 'with all her superior strength and melody of voice, 'throw out those quick and careless strokes of terror 'from the disorder of a guilty mind, which the other 'gave us with a facility in her manner, that rendered 'them at once tremendous and delightful. Time 'could not impair her Skill, tho' he had brought her 'person to decay. She was to the last the admiration 'of all true judges of nature and lovers of Shakespear, 'in whose plays she chiefly excelled, and without a 'rival. When she quitted the stage, several good 'actresses were the better for her instruction. She 'was a woman of an unblemished and sober life, and 'had the honour to teach Queen Anne, when Princess, 'the part of Semandra in Mithridates, which she 'acted at Court in King Charles's time. After the 'death of Mr Betterton her husband, that Princess, 'when Queen, ordered her a pension for life, but she 'lived not to receive more than the first half year of 'it.' Thus the reader has seen in this matchless couple, that all professions honestly and ably discharged are honourable, and that it is not at all impossible for persons of real worth, to transfer the reputation they acquire on the stage to the characters they sustain in life.

(41) Apology for the Life of Mr Cibber, p. 134, 135.

E

BETTS (JOHN), an eminent Physician in the XVIIth century, was son of Mr Edward Betts by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Mr John Venables of Rapley in Hampshire. He was born at Winchester, and educated there in grammar learning. From thence he was elected a Scholar of Corpus-Christi college in Oxford, in February, 1642 (*a*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 9, 1646 (*b*). Being ejected by the Visitors appointed by the Parliament in 1648, he applied himself to the study of Physick (*c*), and commenced Doctor in that faculty, April 11, 1654, having accumulated the degrees (*d*). He practised with great success at London, but chiefly among the Roman Catholicks, being himself of that persuasion. He was afterwards appointed Physician in Ordinary to King Charles II. The time of his death is not certainly known. Dr Betts wrote the two physical treatises mentioned below [*A*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1028.

(*b*) Id. Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 52.

(*c*) Id. Athen. ib.

(*d*) Id. Fast. ib.

[*A*] *He wrote two Physical Treatises.*] The first is intitled, *De Ortu et Natura Sanguinis*; i. e. 'Of 'the Origin and Nature of the Blood.' Lond. 1669, in 8vo. Afterwards there was added to it, *Medicinæ cum Philosophia Naturali Consensus*; i. e. 'The Har'mony between Physic and Natural Philosophy.' Lond. 1662, in 8vo. Dr George Thomson, a Physician, animadverted upon our author's treatise *De Ortu et Natura Sanguinis*, in his *True way of preserving the Blood in it's integrity*. Dr Betts's second piece is intitled, *Anatomia Thomæ Parri annum centesimum quinquagesimum secundum et novem menses agentis, cum clarissimi viri Gulielmi Harvæi aliorumque adstantium Medicorum Regiorum observationibus*; i. e. 'The Ana'tomy of Thomas Parr, who died in the 152d year 'and ninth month of his age, with the Observations 'of the celebrated Dr William Harvey, and others of 'the King's Physicians, who were present (1).' T

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1028.

BEVERIDGE (WILLIAM) a learned Divine in the XVIIth century, and made Bishop of St Asaph in the beginning of the XVIIIth, was born at Barrow in Leicestershire, in the year 1638 (*a*). On the 24th of May, 1653, he was admitted into St John's college in Cambridge; and took his degrees, of Bachelor of Arts in 1656, of Master of Arts in 1660, and of Doctor of Divinity in 1679 (*b*). At his coming to the university, he closely applied himself to the study of the learned languages; and, by his great diligence and application, soon became so well skilled, particularly in all Oriental Learning, that when he was not above eighteen years of age, he wrote a Treatise of the Excellency and Use of the Oriental Tongues, especially the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan, with a Syriac Grammar, in three books; which he published when he was about twenty years of age [*A*]. He also distinguished himself, at the same time, by his early piety and seriousness of mind, and by his exemplary sobriety and integrity of life, all which procured him very great esteem and veneration. The third day of January, 1660-1, he was ordained Deacon, in the church of St Botolph, Aldersgate, by Robert, Bishop of Lincoln: and Priest, in the same place, the 31st of that month (*c*). About which time (*d*), Dr Sheldon, Bishop of London, collated him to the vicarage of Yealing in Middlesex. On the 22d of of November, 1672, he was chosen, by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London, Rector of St Peter's Cornhill, London, and then he resigned the vicarage of Yealing (*e*). Upon his being thus placed in the metropolis of this kingdom, he applied himself, with the utmost labour and zeal, to the discharge of his Ministry in it's several parts and offices. And so instructive was he in his discourses from the pulpit; so warm and affectionate in his private exhortations; so regular and uniform in the publick worship of the Church, and in every part of his pastoral function; and so remarkably were his labours crowned with success, that as he himself was justly stiled 'the great Reviver and Restorer of primitive piety,' so his parish was deservedly proposed, as the best model and pattern, for the rest of it's neighbours to copy after (*f*). His singular merit having recommended him to the favour of his Diocesan, Bishop Henchman, he was collated by him, on the twenty-second of December, 1674, to the prebend of Chiswick in the cathedral of St Paul's, London (*g*). And, by his successor Bishop Compton, he was also, on the third of November, 1681, collated to the archdeaconry of Colchester (*h*). In this dignity he behaved, as he had done before in every station of life; namely, in a most regular, watchful, and exemplary manner. For, not satisfied with the false, or at least imperfect, reports, given in by Church-Wardens at Visitations, he visited every parish within his archdeaconry in person [*B*]. November the 5th, 1684, he was installed Prebendary of Canterbury, in the room of Dr Du Moulin, deceased (*i*). He became also Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. In 1691 he was offered, but refused, the See of Bath and Wells [*C*], then vacant by the deprivation of Dr Thomas Kenn, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (*k*). But though he refused that See, because, probably, being a man of a tender conscience, he would not eat Dr Kenn's bread, according to the language of those times; he afterwards accepted of that of St Asaph, vacant by the translation of Dr George Hooper to Bath and Wells, and was consecrated July 16, 1704 (*l*). Being placed in this eminent station, his care and diligence increased, in proportion as his power in the Church was enlarged; and as he had before discharged the duty of a faithful Pastor over his single fold, so when his authority was extended to larger districts, he still pursued the same pious and laborious methods of advancing the honour and interest of religion, by watching over both clergy and laity, and giving them all necessary direction and assistance, for the effectual performance of their respective duties. Accordingly, he was no sooner advanced to the episcopal chair, but in a most pathetick and obliging Letter to the Clergy of his diocese, he recommended to them, the 'duty of catechising 'and instructing the people committed to their charge, in the principles of the Christian 'religion; to the end they might know what they were to believe, and do, in order to 'salvation.' And told them, 'He thought it necessary to begin with that, without 'which, whatever else he, or they, should do, would turn to little or no account, as 'to the main end of the ministry (*m*).' And to enable them to do this the more effectually, he sent them a plain and easy *Exposition upon the Church Catechism*. This good man, though worthy of a longer life, did not enjoy his episcopal dignity above three years, seven months, and twenty days: for he died at his lodgings in the cloysters in Westminster-Abbey, March the 5th, 1707-8, in the 71st year of his age (*n*); and was

(*a*) From his Will in the Prerogative-Office: See also the time of his death, below.

(*b*) From the College and University Registers, communicated by the learned Dr W. Richardson.

(*c*) Regist. Sanderson. Linc. See Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 353.

(*d*) Viz. Jan. 4. Kennet, ibid. & Regist. Sheldon. and Newcourt's Repert. Ecclesiastic. Vol. I. p. 764.

(*e*) Newcourt, ubi supr, p. 526, and 93.

(*f*) Preface to his *Private Thoughts upon Religion.*

(*g*) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 140.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 93.

(*i*) Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglican. p. 15. edit. 1716.

(*k*) Complete History of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. fol. p. 634. and Wood. Fasti, Vol. II. col. 176.

(*l*) Le Neve, as above, p. 23.

(*m*) Preface to his Private Thoughts on Religion; and to his Sermons.

(*n*) J. Le Neve, Fasti, &c. as above, p. 23.

[*A*] *A Treatise of the Excellency and Use of the Oriental Tongues*, &c.] The whole title of it is as follows: *De Linguarum Orientalium, præsertim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, & Samaritanæ, præstantiâ & usu, cum Grammaticâ Syriacâ tribus libris traditâ, per G. Beveridgium.* Lond. 1658, 8vo.

[*B*] *He visited every parish within his archdeaconry in person.*] And took a very particular and exact account of every church he visited; the condition it was in; what utensils it had, or wanted; what repairs were necessary, and the like. The same method he used with regard to the Clergy's houses: And all those things he set down distinctly in a book, now in the possession of his successor, the present worthy Archdeacon of Colchester; who follows his commendable example of visiting his archdeaconry parochially.

[*C*] *He was offered, but refused, the See of Bath and Wells.*] Upon which occasion there was published, 'A Vindication of their Majesties authority to 'fill the Sees of the deprived Bishops. In a Letter 'out of the Country; occasioned by Dr B——'s 'refusal of the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells.' Licensed May 29, 1691, 4to.

[*D*] *Institutionum*

was buried in St Paul's cathedral (o). He left the main of his estate to the Societies, for *Propagating the Gospel*, and *Promoting Christian Knowledge*. To the curacy of *Mount-Sorrel* in particular, and vicarage of *Barrow* in the county of Leicester, in a thankful remembrance of God's mercies vouchsafed to him thereabouts, he bequeathed twenty pounds a year for ever, on condition that prayers be read morning and evening every day, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in the chapel, and parish church aforesaid; with the sum of forty shillings yearly, to be divided equally upon Christmas-eve, among eight poor house-keepers of Barrow, as the Minister and Church-Wardens should agree, regard being had especially to those who had been most constantly at prayers, and at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the foregoing year. And if it should so happen, that the Common-Prayer could not be read in the church or chapel aforesaid; his will then was, that what should have been given in either place for that, be in each place allowed to one chosen by the Vicar of Barrow to teach school, and instruct the youth in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine of the Church of England (p). His works were many, and full of great variety of learning. Those published by himself were as follows. I. *De Linguarum Orientalium, præsertim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, & Samaritanæ, præstantia & usu*, &c. mentioned above. Lond. 1658, 8vo. II. *Institutionum Chronologicarum libri duo, una cum totidem Arithmetices Chronologicæ libellis*. Lond. 1669, 4to [*D*]. III. Συνοδικον, *sive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apostolorum, & Conciliorum ab Ecclesia Græca receptorum; necnon Canonicarum SS. Patrum Epistolarum; una cum Scholiis antiquorum singulis eorum annexis, & scriptis aliis huc spectantibus; quorum plurima e Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ aliarumque MSS. Codicibus nunc primum edita: reliqua cum iisdem MSS. summa fide & diligentia collata. Totum Opus in duos Tomos divisum Gulielmus Beveregius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter, recensuit, Prolegomenis munivit, & Annotationibus auxit*. Oxonii. 2 vol. fol. 1672 [*E*]. IV. *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ vindicatus & illustratus*. Lond. 1679, 4to [*F*]. V. The Church Catechism explained, for the use of the diocese of St Asaph. Lond. 1704, 4to, reprinted several times since in a smaller volume. Next follow Bishop Beveridge's works, published after his decease by his executor Mr Timothy Gregory. To speak the truth, they do not seem to have been designed by the author for the press; and therefore the publication of them was, in general, a great injury to the good Bishop's memory. However, they are, I. 'Private Thoughts upon Religion, digested into twelve Articles, 'with practical Resolutions formed thereupon.' Written in his younger years, (when he was about twenty-three years old) for the settling of his principles and conduct of Life. Lond. 1709. II. 'Private Thoughts upon a Christian Life; or, Necessary Directions 'for it's beginning and progress upon earth, in order to it's final perfection in the 'Beatifick Vision.' Part II. Lond. 1709. III. 'The great Necessity and Advantage of 'publick Prayer and frequent Communion. Designed to revive primitive Piety; with 'Meditations, Ejaculations, and Prayers, before, at, and after the Sacrament.' Lond. 1710. These have been reprinted several times in 8vo and 12mo. IV. 'One hundred 'and fifty Sermons and Discourses on several Subjects.' Lond. 1708, &c. in 12 vol. 8vo; reprinted at London, 1719, in 2 volumes, fol. V. *Thesaurus Theologicus*; 'or, A

(o) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. Vol. II. Appendix I. p. 138.

(p) From his Will in the Prerogative-Office, London.

[*D*] *Institutionum Chronologicarum Libri duo*, &c.] The first edition was published in 1669; a second came out in 1705, 4to; and a third beautifully printed in 1721, 8vo. This volume is a very good introduction to Chronology. In the first and second books the author treats of the nature and parts of Chronology, and of the terms and other particulars belonging thereto. And in the third and fourth books has given a short System of *Characteristic* Arithmetic, (which had never been handled before by any writer) as far as is necessary for understanding Chronology thoroughly.

[*E*] Συνοδικον, *sive Pandectæ Canonum*, &c.] This beautiful edition contains, in Vol. I. The Canons attributed to the Apostles; the Canons — of the first Council of Nice; of the first Council of Constantinople; of the Council of Ephesus; of the Council of Chalcedon; of the sixth Council in Trullo; of the second Council of Nice; of the first and second Councils of Constantinople held in the church of the Apostles; of the Council of Constantinople held in the church of Sancta Sophia; of the Councils of Carthage, Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicæa, Sardica, Carthage: And the arguments and Arabic paraphrase of Joseph the Egyptian, on the Canons of the four General Councils. The IId volume comprehends the Canons of Dionysius Alexandrinus; of Petrus Alexandrinus; of Gregory Thaumaturgus; of S. Athanasius; S. Basil; S. Gregory Nyssen; the Canonical Answers of Timothy, Bishop of Alexandria; the Canons of Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria; the Catholic Epistles of Cyrill, Archbishop of the same; Verses of St Gregory the Divine and S. Amphilochius, shewing what books of the Old and New Testament are to be read; a Circular Letter of Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople; a Letter of Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Pope Adrian; a Synopsis of the Canonical Letters of Alexius Aristenus. Part II. An Alphabetical Index or Syntagma, by Matthew Blastaris, of the Contents of all the Canons; of the Synod, which restored the Patriarch Photius to the See of Constantinople; the Acts of the eighth Synod of Constantinople. Lastly, Mr Beveridge's large and learned Notes upon the whole. All the particulars above-named are printed in two columns, the Greek on one side, and the Latin translation on the other; with the notes of Theodorus Balsamon, John Zonaras, and Alexius Aristenus, on several of the Canons.

[*F*] *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ vindicatus*, &c.] This Book is a vindication of the author's opinion concerning the Authority of the Apostolical Canons, and the time when they were made. In his Notes on these Canons (1) he had fixed the date of them at *the end of the second*, and *beginning of the third century* (2); taking a middle course between Fran. Turrianus, who affirmed that they were all made by the Apostles at the Council of Jerusalem; and John Daillé, who maintained (3) that they were not composed 'till the fifth century, by some impostor, and did not appear 'till the end of that century. In the Notes above-mentioned, Mr Beveridge had made some reflections on this opinion of Daillé, whereupon an anonymous author published *Observations upon Mr Beveridge's Reflections*; to which the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ vindicatus* is a reply.

(1) Page 2—8.

(2) Ibid. p. 4.

(3) *De Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis*, published in 1653.

[*G*] *Exposition*

‘ A complete Syſtem of Divinity, ſummed up in brief Notes upon ſelect places of the ‘ Old and New Teſtament; wherein the ſacred Text is reduced under proper Heads, ‘ explained and illuſtrated with the Opinions and Authorities of the ancient Fathers, ‘ Councils, &c.’ Lond. 1711, 4 vol. 8vo. VI. ‘ A Defence of the book of Pſalms, ‘ collected into Engliſh Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others; with ‘ critical Obſervations on the New Verſion, compared with the Old.’ Lond. 1710, 8vo. In this book he gives the old verſion the preference to the new. VII. ‘ Expoſition of the ‘ XXXIX Articles.’ Lond. 1710, 1716, fol [*G*]. Biſhop Beveridge’s character is in general repreſented in a moſt advantageous light. He was a perſon of the ſtricteſt integrity, of true and ſincere piety, of exemplary Charity, and of great zeal for religion. For all which excellent qualities he was ſo highly eſteemed, that when he was dying, one of the chief of his order deſervedly ſaid of him, ‘ There goes one of the greateſt, and ‘ of the beſt men that ever England bred (*q*).’ He is alſo celebrated as a man of extenſive and almoſt univerſal learning; furniſhed, to a very eminent degree, with all uſeful knowledge; and much to be admired for his readineſs in the ſcriptures, which he had thoroughly ſtudied, ſo that he was able to produce ſuitable paſſages from them on all occaſions, and happy in explaining them to others (*r*). Mr Nelſon ſays (*s*), that he cannot forbear acknowledging the favourable diſpenſation of Providence to the preſent age, in bleſſing it with ſo many of thoſe pious diſcourſes, which our truly primitive Prelate delivered from the pulpit; and that he the rather takes the liberty to call it a favourable diſpenſation of Providence, becauſe the Biſhop gave no orders himſelf that they ſhould be printed, but humbly neglected them, as not being compoſed for the preſs. But that this circumſtance is ſo far from abating the worth of the ſermons, or diminiſhing the character of the author, that it raiſes the excellency of both, becauſe it ſhews at once the true nature of a popular diſcourſe; which is to improve the generality of hearers, and for that purpoſe to ſpeak to them in a plain and intelligible ſtile, and alſo the great talent the Biſhop had that way. Dr Henry Felton ſays (*t*), that our learned and venerable Biſhop hath delivered himſelf with thoſe ornaments alone, which his ſubject ſuggeſted to him, and hath written in that plainneſs and ſolemnity of ſtile, that gravity and ſimplicity, which give authority to the ſacred truths he teacheth, and unanſwerable evidence to the doctrines he defendeth. That there is ſomething ſo great, primitive, and apoſtolical, in his writings, that it creates an awe and veneration in our mind; that the importance of his ſubjects is above the decoration of words; and what is great and majeſtic in itſelf, looketh moſt like itſelf, the leſs it is adorned. The author of one of the Guardians (*u*), having made an extract out of one of the Biſhop’s ſermons (*w*), tells us, that it may for acuteneſs of judgment, ornament of ſpeech, and true ſublime, compare with any of the choiceſt writings of the Ancients, who lived neareſt to the Apoſtles times. But the author of a pamphlet publiſhed in 1711 (*x*) paſſes a very different judgment upon Biſhop Beveridge’s works; in order to ſtop, as he ſays, the miſchief they are doing, and that which the publication of his Articles may do. — With regard to the Biſhop’s *Language*, he obſerves (*y*), that he delights in jingle and quibbling; affects a tune and rhyme in all he ſays, and reſts arguments upon nothing but words and ſounds. — And as to his *Principles* and *Arguings*, he eſtabliſhes, ſaith that author, falſhood and truth with equal ſtrength (*z*). His writings are full of miſtakes in Logic. — That ſome of his ſermons are a perplexed going round from one thing to another, and from that in return back again to it; and abound in contradictions (*a*). That he proves even the moſt important points by arguments that are not concluſive (*b*). That he is a downright Calviniſt; and ſpeaks in ſuch a manner of the Satisfaction of Chriſt, as would in any one elſe have been called by a man of the Biſhop’s zeal no leſs than blaſphemy (*c*). That he makes many things neceſſary to ſalvation, which the Scripture ſpeaks not one word of (*d*). That, though he dares ſay the Biſhop was far enough from Popery, yet there are ſome things in him which are agreeable to it (*e*). And finally, that he deſtroys That which is the foundation of all Religion, and of all other knowledge in the world, That which is the gift of God, and the glory of our nature, our ſenſes and our reaſon. — But perhaps this animadverter will by ſome be ranked among the perſons, of whom Dr Lupton gives the following character (*f*). ‘ Thoſe who are cenſorious enough to reflect with ſeverity upon the pious ſtrains, ‘ which are to be found in Biſhop Beveridge, &c. may poſſibly be good judges of an ‘ Ode or Eſſay, but do not ſeem to criticize juſtly upon Sermons, or expreſs a juſt value ‘ for ſpiritual things.’ After all, whatever faults may be found in Biſhop Beveridge’s poſthumous works, muſt be charged upon the avarice or injudiciouſneſs of his executor. He is not indeed to be ranked among Tillotſon, S. Clarke, Clagett, and the two Sherlocks, for cloſeneſs of reaſoning, and elegancy of ſtile; but his honeſty and goodneſs will always be had in reverence.

(*q*) Preface to *Private Thoughts upon a Chriſtian Life*.

(*r*) Preface to his Sermons.

(*s*) Life of Biſhop Bull, ſecond edit. Lond. 1714, p. 75, 76.

(*t*) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſics, &c. fourth edit. London, 1730, 8*vo*, p. 190.

(*u*) No 74. Vol. I.

(*w*) Sermon on Exodus iii. 14.

(*x*) Mentioned below in note [*G*].

(*y*) Page 3.

(*z*) Page 7, &c.

(*a*) Page 14, 15.

(*b*) Page 17, &c.

(*c*) Page 46.

(*d*) Page 48.

(*e*) Page 57.

(*f*) In a Letter to Mr Nelſon, Nov. 25, 1712. See Biſhop Bull’s Life, p. 494.

[*G*] *Expoſition of the XXXIX Articles*, &c.] Upon the publication of this, there came out a pamphlet, intitled, ‘ A ſhort view of Dr Beveridge’s writings, ‘ which may ſerve as a preliminary diſcourſe to an ‘ Examination of his Articles.’ Lond. 1711, 8vo. A pamphlet, wherein the good Biſhop’s works are ſeverely attacked, and often juſtly. The Expoſition upon the firſt Article was publiſhed at firſt by itſelf in 1710.

BEVERLY (John of), in Latin *Joannes Beverlacius*, Archbishop of York in the eighth century, was born, of a noble family among the English Saxons, at *Harpham*, a small town in Northumberland (*a*). He was first a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of the monastery of St Hilda (*b*). He was instructed in the learned languages by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was justly esteemed one of the best scholars of his time (*c*). Alfred of Beverly, who wrote his *Life*, pretends, he studied at Oxford, and took there the degree of Master of Arts; but Bishop Godwin assures us this cannot be true, because such distinction of degrees was not then known at Oxford, nor any where else in the Christian world (*d*). Our Abbot's merit recommended him to the favour of Alfred King of Northumberland, who, in the year 685, advanced him to the See of Hagustald or Hexam, and, upon the death of Archbishop Bosa in 687, translated him to that of York (*e*). This prelate was Tutor to the famous Bede, and lived in the strictest friendship with Acca, and other Anglo-Saxon Doctors, several of whom he put upon writing Comments on the Scriptures. He likewise founded, in 704, a college at Beverly for secular priests [*A*]. After he had governed the See of York thirty-four years, being tired with the tumults and confusions of the Church, he divested himself of the episcopal character, and retired to Beverly; and four years after died in *the odour of Sanctity*, on the 7th of May, 721 (*f*) [*B*]. The day of his death was appointed a festival by a Synod

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. I. c. 94.

(*b*) Pits, de Illust. Angl. Scriptor. an. 721.

(*c*) Bale and Pits ubi supra.

(*d*) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Ebor. *an.* 687.

(*e*) Bede, Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. l. v. c. ii. iii. Chronic. Joan. Bromton, *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 794. & Tho. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. *ibid.* col. 1692, 1693.

(*f*) Bale & Pits, ubi supra.

[*A*] *He built a college at Beverly for secular priests.*] Camden informs us (1), that the memory of John of Beverly was so sacred among our Kings, (particularly Athelstane, who honoured him as his guardian Saint, after he had defeated the Danes) that they endowed this college with very considerable immunities. Among other privileges, it had that of an *Asylum* or sanctuary for debtors, and persons suspected of capital crimes. Within it stood a chair of stone, with this inscription:

(1) Britannia, by Bishop Gibson, last edit. Vol. II. col. 891.

Hæc Sedes Lapidea *Freedstool* dicitur, i. e. Pacis Cathedra, ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens omnimodam habet securitatem.

That is,

This Stone-Seat is called Freedstool, i. e. *the Chair of Peace, to which what criminal soever flies has full protection.*

The same author tells us, the town of Beverly had a church before the time of John of Beverly, dedicated to St John the Evangelist, which this Archbishop converted into a chapel for his new-erected monastery. He adds, 'The Minster here is a very fair and neat 'structure. — At the upper end of the quire, on the 'right side of the altar-place, stands the *Freedstool* 'above-mentioned, made of one entire stone, (said to 'have been removed from Dunbar in Scotland) with 'a well of water behind it. At the upper end of the 'body of the church, next the quire, hangs an antient table with the pictures of St John, (from whom 'the church is named) and of King Athelstane the 'founder of it; and between them this distich:

'*Als free make I thee*
'*As heart can wish, or egh can see* (2).'

(2) Camden, ib. & col. 892.

But we have a more particular account of the foundation and history of the church of Beverly, in the *Appendix* to Leland's *Collectanea*, published by Mr T. Hearne. It is intitled, *Out of a loose paper lying in a fol. MS. (containing Excerpta out of Leland's Collectanea, that I have before printed) in the hands of my learned friend, Roger Gale, Esq;* The account is as follows. '*Out of the Great Register, or Town-'Book of Beverly. The First Foundation of the Col-'legiate Church of Blessed John of Beverly.* The 'Collegiate Church of Blessed John of Beverly was 'antiently founded in the county of York, in a certain country called Deyira, to wit, in the wood of 'the Deyirians, in the time of Lucious the most il-'lustrious King of (England, then called) Brittany, 'the first King of the same, the son of Coil, a Pagan 'King, anointed by Pope Eleutherius, the thirteenth 'after Peter, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, the 'Son of God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven 'and earth, together with the Holy Ghost, according 'to the computation of the Church of England, 126. 'Afterwards it was destroyed by the Pagans Orse and 'Hengist, and is again renewed and founded by the 'aforesaid Blessed John Archbishop of York, is or-'dained a monastery of black Monks, of religious 'Nuns, Virgins, seven secular Priests for the service of 'God, and divers other ministers, to wit, in the year 'of our Lord 704 And also again it is destroyed 'by the Pagans Hubba and Hungar Danes, the 'sons of Swayn, King of the Danes. After that it 'is refounded and augmented by the most illustrious 'King of England, Athelstane, who endowed the 'said church with divers privileges, guifts, and bene-'fices; and so it remained honourably endowed under 'the government of seven Canons, untill the coming 'of William called the Bastard, the Conqueror and 'King, and so untill the year of our Lord 1082. 'And then with the consent of William called Rufus 'of England, by Thomas Archbishop called the El-'der, by the assent of the Canons, and others whom 'it concerned, Thomas the nephew of the said Lord 'Archbishop, a priest, was ordained and called the 'first Provost; to whom succeeded Thurstan of blessed 'memory, to whom Thomas called the Norman, to 'whom Robert, to whom, &c. to whom the ve-'nerable father and lord, Lord Peter of Chester; 'who purchased many tenements, revenues, and ser-'vices to the sayd Provostship and Provost thereof, and 'left implements of diverse goods and chattells in all 'the mannors of the said Provostship, both quicke 'and dead; to whom, &c (3).'

(3) *See* Append. to Leland's Collectan. Part ii. p. 45.

[*B*] *He died, &c.*] Godwin tells us (4), he was buried in the church-porch of his monastery; but this is not consistent with what Camden tells us concerning the discovery of his remains about the middle of the 16th century. Let that Antiquarian speak for himself. 'In the year 1564, upon opening a grave, they met 'with a vault of squared free-stone, fifteen feet long, 'and two feet broad at the head, but at the feet a foot 'and a half broad. Within it was a sheet of lead four 'feet long, and in that the ashes, and six beads, '(whereof three crumbled to dust with a touch, and 'of three remaining two were supposed to be corne-'lians) with three great brass pins, and four large iron 'nails. Upon the sheet lay a leaden plate, with this 'inscription:

(4) De Præsul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Ebor. *an.* 687.

✠ Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLXXXVIII, 'combusta fuit hæc ecclesia in mense Septem-'bri, in sequenti nocte post festum Sancti 'Mathæi apostoli: et in an. MCXCVII, VI. 'Idus Martii facta fuit Inquisitio Reli-'quiarum Beati Johannis in hoc loco, et in-'venta sunt hæc ossa in orientali parte se-'pulchri et hic recondita, et pulvis cemen-'to mixtus ibidem inventus est et reconditus.

In English thus:

In the year of our Lord 1188, *this church was burnt in the month of September, on the night following the feast of St Matthew the apostle; and in the year* 1197, *on the sixth of the ides of March, enquiry was made after the reliques of St John in this place, and these bones were found in the east part of the sepulchre, and were buried here, and there also dust mixed with mortar was found and buried.*

(*g*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

Synod held at London in 1416 (*g*). Bede, and other Monkiſh writers, aſcribe ſeveral miracles to John of Beverly, of which we ſhall give the reader a taſte in the remark [*C*]. Between three and four hundred years after his death, his body was taken up by Altric, Archbiſhop of York, and placed in a ſhrine richly adorned with ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones (*h*). Bromton relates (*i*), that William the Conqueror, when he ravaged Northumberland with a numerous army, ſpared Beverly alone, out of a religious veneration for St John of that place. This prelate wrote ſome pieces, which are mentioned in the remark [*D*].

(*h*) Tho. Stubbs, ubi ſupra, col. 1700.

(*i*) Ubi ſupra, col. 966.

Pits helps us to another JOHN of BEVERLY, ſo called from the place of his nativity. He was a Carmelite Monk in the fourteenth century, a very learned man, and Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford. He flouriſhed about the year 1390, in the reign of Richard II, and wrote, I. *Quæſtiones in Magiſtrum Sententiarum*; i. e. 'Queſtions 'on the Maſter of the Sentences.' In four books. II. *Diſputationes ordinariæ*; i. e. 'Diſputations on the uſual topics.' In one book (*k*).

(*k*) Pits, ubi ſupra, an. 1390.

'Croſs over this lay a box of lead, about ſeven inches 'long, ſix broad, and five high; wherein were ſeveral pieces of bones, mixed with a little duſt, and 'yielding a ſweet ſmell; as alſo a knife and beads. 'All theſe things were carefully re-interred in the 'middle alley of the body of the minſter, where 'they were taken up. But a ſeal, which was alſo 'found therein, was not re-interred with the reſt, but 'came into the poſſeſſion of a (*) private hand: Which 'account agrees not with what Biſhop Godwin has left 'us about this Saint; namely, that he was buried in 'the church-porch. For though what is mentioned 'in the inſcription was only a *re-interment* upon the 'inquiſition made, yet it looks a little ſtrange, that 'they ſhould not lay the reliques in the ſame place 'where they found them; unleſs we ſolve it this 'way, that but part of the church was then ſtanding, 'and they might lay him there with a deſign to remove him when it ſhould be rebuilt, but afterwards 'either neglected or forgot it (5).'

(*) Marmaduke Nelſon.

(5) Camden, ubi ſupra.

[C] *Bede, and others, aſcribe ſeveral miracles to this Saint.*] A youth, that had been dumb from his infancy, being brought to the good Biſhop, he ordered him to put out his tongue; and making the ſign of the croſs upon it, he commanded him to draw it in again. Then he bad him pronounce the letter A, which he readily did; then the letter B, and ſo on quite through the alphabet. Next he tried him with ſingle words, and afterwards with ſentences; and from that time the young man had the free and entire uſe of ſpeech (6). A Nun in the monaſtery of Watton, named *Quoanburg*, having been blooded in the arm, and the wound feſtering, was, through the violence of the pain occaſioned thereby, brought in danger of death. The Abbeſs hereupon deſired the Archbiſhop, who was come thither, to viſit the poor girl, and aſſiſt her with his prayers; which John accordingly did, and gave her his benediction. From that inſtant her pain began to abate, and ſhe was ſoon reſtored to perfect health (7). Another time, having conſecrated a church, and being invited to dinner by a nobleman named *Puch*, whoſe wife lay ſick in bed; John ſent her ſome of the conſecrated water, ordering her to drink it; by which means ſhe was inſtantly made whole, and ſerved the good Biſhop at table (8). Of the ſame ſtamp are the other miracles recorded by Bede (9). Bromton tells a ſtory (10) of a miraculous appearance of the Holy Ghoſt, in the ſhape of a dove, and ſitting on the altar, whilſt the holy man was praying in the porch of of St Michael's church in York. William of Malmſbury (11), and Matthew of Weſtminſter (12), report a very ſtrange thing, which continued to their time, and was ſhewn as it were for a ſight. They tell us, that the people of Beverly uſed to bring bulls, the wildeſt and fierceſt they could meet with. Theſe unmanageable creatures they uſed to bring hampered with cords, with ſeveral ſtrong men to drag them along; who, as ſoon as they entered the church-yard of Beverly, dropped their fierce and formidable nature, and were as tame as if they had been metamorphoſed into ſheep. And the people were ſo well aſſured of their inoffenſiveneſs, that they uſed to turn them looſe, and play with them.

(6) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. lib. v. c. 2.

(7) Ibid. c. 3.

(8) Ibid. c. 4.

(9) Ibid. c. 5 & 6.

(10) *Apud* X. Scriptor. col. 794.

(11) De Geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. iii. p. 269. *ap.* Script. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(12) Flores Hiſtor. an. 721.

[*D*] *He wrote ſome pieces.*] Bale and Pits mention the following. I. *Pro Luca exponenda*; i. e. 'An 'Eſſay towards an Expoſition of St Luke,' addreſſed to Bede. II. *Homiliæ in Evangelia*; i. e. 'Homilies 'on the Goſpels.' III. *Epiſtolæ ad Hildam Abbatiſſam*; i. e. 'Letters to the Abbeſs Hilda.' IV. *Epiſtolæ ad Herebaldum, Andenum, et Bertinum*; i. e. 'Letters to his diſciples Herebaldus, Andenus, and 'Bertinus.' T

(*a*) Short Account of the Life of J. Biddle, prefixed to the firſt Vol. of Socinian Tracts, printed at London, 1691, 4to. Mr Wood ſays, his father was a Taylor; which is much the ſame, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. II, col. 300.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Life, &c. as above, p. 4, col. 1.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

BIDDLE (JOHN), a very eminent Socinian writer in the ſeventeenth century, and ſon of Edward Biddle, a middle ſort of Yeoman, who alſo dealt in woollen clothes (*a*), was born at Wotton-Under-Edge in Glouceſterſhire, and baptized the 14th of January, 1615 (*b*). He was educated in the free-ſchool of his native place, and being a hopeful youth, was taken notice of, particularly by George Lord Berkeley; who, for his encouragement, allowed him an exhibition of ten pounds a year, among other poorer ſcholars; though, being under ten years of age, he was not qualified, according to the common method, for that donation. This cauſed him ſo vigorouſly to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, that he made a great progreſs therein, and whilſt at ſchool was author of ſome Tranſlations that were publiſhed [*A*]. But the benefit of the exhibition on one hand, and perhaps his want of a ſufficient maintenance at the Univerſity on the other, detained him longer in that ſchool than was otherwiſe for his improvement; for he continued there 'till he was about nineteen years of age. However, having manifeſted even in that ſtation a ſingular piety of mind, and contempt of ſecular affairs (*c*), he was ſent in 1634 to the Univerſity of Oxford, and entered a Student in Magdalen-hall (*d*) [*B*]. On the 23d

[*A*] *Whilſt at ſchool was author of ſome Tranſlations that were publiſhed*] Namely, of *Virgil*'s *Bucolics*, and the *Two firſt Satyrs of Juvenal*. Both which were printed at London in 1634, 8vo, and dedicated to John Smith of Nibley in the county of Glouceſter, Eſq; He likewiſe compoſed, in the beginning of that year, and recited before a full auditory, an elaborate Oration in Latin, at the funeral of an honourable ſchoolfellow (1).

(1) Wood, Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *And entered a Student in* Magdalen-hall.] 'Here, as the author of his life informs us (2), he 'did ſo philoſophize, as it might be obſerved, he was 'determined more by reaſon than authority; however, in divine things he did not much diſſent from 'the common doctrine, as may be collected from a 'little *Tract* he wrote *againſt Dancing*.'

(2) Life, as above, p. 4, col. 2.

[C] *Chaſe*

23d of June, 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*); and then became an eminent Tutor in the Hall just now mentioned. Before he took the degree of Master of Arts, he was invited by the overseers of the school of his native place to succeed in the mastership of it, but he declined that offer, and recommended to them another fit person, whom they accepted of (*f*). May the 20th, 1641, he took the degree of Master of Arts (*g*); soon after which the magistrates of Gloucester, upon ample recommendations from the principal persons in the University, chose him Master of the free-school of Crypt [*C*] in that city, where he went and settled, and was much esteemed for his diligence in his profession, and other valuable qualities (*h*). But falling into some opinions concerning the Trinity, different from the received ones [*D*], and expressing his thoughts of the same with too much freedom, he was accused to the magistrates of Heresy: And, being summoned before them, he exhibited in writing a confession, dated May 2, 1644 [*E*]; which not being thought satisfactory, he made another, more express than the former, to avoid imprisonment, wherewith he was threatened (*i*). But, how distinct soever he might be in his conceptions concerning the Trinity, he was not determinate enough in his expressing of that doctrine; as he became not long after, by further searching the Scriptures, and conversing with his acquaintance (*k*). When he had digested this point, he comprised it into 'XII Arguments drawn out of the Scripture; wherein the 'commonly received opinion, touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit, is clearly and fully 'refuted [*F*];' which he intended soon to publish (*l*). But an unfaithful acquaintance, who had a copy of them, betraying him to the magistrates of Gloucester, and to the Parliament Committee then residing there, he was, after the perusal of his book, committed on the 2d of December, 1645, to the common gaol, (though at that time afflicted with a sore fever) to remain in that place 'till the Parliament should take cognizance of the matter. However, an eminent person in Gloucester, who had a respect for him [*G*], procured his enlargement, by giving security for his appearance when it should please the Parliament to send for him (*m*). About June, 1646, Archbishop Usher passing through Gloucester in his way to London, had a conference with our author about his notions, but without any success (*n*) [*H*]. Six months after he had been set at liberty he was summoned

(*e*) Idem. Fasti, Vol. I. col. 275.

(*f*) Idem Athenæ, and Life, ubi supra.

(*g*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 2.

(*h*) Wood, and Life of J. Biddle, as above.

(*i*) Wood, and Life, as above.

(*k*) Life, &c. as above.

(*l*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*m*) Wood, and Life, &c. as above.

(*n*) The third Part of *Gangræna*, &c. by T. Edwards, Lond. 1646, 4*to*, p. 87.

[*C*] *Chose him Master of the free-school of* Crypt.] Not of *Crisps*, as the author of his life has it (3); but of the free-school in the parish of St *Mary de Crypt* in that city. It was founded by one Mrs Cooke, who endowed the Master with ten pounds *per annum* if a priest, and nine pounds a year if a layman. But later benefactions have augmented the Master's salary to thirty pounds a year, and there are sixteen pounds given for an Usher (4).

(3) Ubi supra.

(4) See Sir Robert Atkyns's Gloucestershire, in Gloucester.

[*D*] *But falling into some opinions concerning the Trinity, different from the received ones.*] The author of his life tells us (5), that 'having laid aside the impediments of prejudice, he gave himself liberty to 'try all things, that he might hold fast that which is 'good. Thus diligently reading the holy Scriptures, '(for Socinian books he had read none) he perceived 'the common doctrine concerning the holy Trinity 'was not well grounded in Revelation, much less in 'Reason. And being as generous in speaking, as free 'in judging, he did, as occasion offered, discover 'his reasons of questioning it.' Those that accused him were the Presbyterian party (6). And what his particular opinions were, see in the next note.

(5) Ubi supra.

(6) Wood, ubi supra.

[*E*] *He exhibited in writing a confession, dated May* 2, 1644.] Which was as follows. 'I. I be'lieve there is but one Infinite and Almighty Essence, 'called God. II. I believe, that as there is but one 'Infinite and Almighty Essence, so there is but one 'Person in that Essence. III. I believe that our Sa'viour Jesus Christ is truly God, by being truly, really, 'and properly united to the only person of the In'finite and Almighty Essence.' But when this did not satisfy the Magistrates, and they still pressed him to acknowledge three Persons in the divine Essence; he, it seems, knowing that the word *Persons*, when ascribed to God, is taken both by the antient Fathers, and by modern writers in various significations, did, about fourteen days after, confess, 'that there are three in 'that one divine Essence, commonly termed Persons '(7).'

(7) Life, &c. as above, p. 5. col. 1.

[*F*] XII. *Arguments drawn out of the Scripture*, &c.] They are as follows. I. 'He that is distinguished 'from God, is not God. The Holy Spirit is di'stinguished from God. *Ergo*.' This he grounds upon those passages of Scripture, where the Holy Spirit is called *the Spirit of God*, said to be *sent by God*, &c. II. 'If he that gave the Holy Spirit to the Is'raelites to instruct them, be Jehovah alone, then the 'Holy Spirit is not Jehovah, or God. But he that 'gave the Holy Spirit to the Israelites to instruct them, 'is Jehovah alone. *Ergo*.' Nehem. ix. 6, 20. III. 'He that speaketh not of himself, is not God. The 'Holy Spirit speaketh not of himself. *Ergo*.' John xvi. 13. 'IV. He that heareth from another what he 'shall speak, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth so. '*Ergo*.' John xvi. 13. V. 'He that receiveth of 'another's, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth so. '*Ergo*.' John xvi. 14. VI. 'He that is sent by an'other, is not God. The Holy Spirit is sent by an'other. *Ergo*.' John xvi. 7. VII. 'He that is the 'Gift of God, is not God. The Holy Spirit is the 'Gift of God. *Ergo*.' Acts xii. 17. VIII. 'He 'that changeth place, is not God. The Holy Spirit 'changeth place. *Ergo*.' Luke iii. 21, 22. John i. 32. IX. 'He that prayeth unto Christ to come to 'judgment, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth so. '*Ergo*.' Rev. xxii. 17. X. 'He in whom men have 'not believed, and yet have been disciples and be'lievers, is not God. Men have not believed in the 'Holy Spirit, and yet have been so. *Ergo*.' Acts xix. 2. XI. 'He that hath an understanding distinct 'from that of God, is not God. The Holy Spirit hath 'understanding distinct from that of God. *Ergo*.' John xvi. 13, 14, 15. XII. 'He that hath a Will di'stinct in number from that of God, is not God. 'The Holy Spirit hath a Will distinct in number from 'that of God. *Ergo*.' Rom. viii. 26, 27. These several arguments are illustrated by reasonings and proofs, too long to be inserted here. At the end of them there are Expositions of the following texts. *Matth.* xxviii. 19. 1 *John* v. 7. *Acts* v. 3, 4. 1 *Cor.* vi. 19, 20. *Matth.* xii. 31. *Isa.* vi. 9, 10. 2 *Cor.* iii. 17. And 'An Answer to the grand Objection of 'the Adversaries, touching the supposed Omnipresence 'of the Holy Spirit.' These 'XII. *Arguments*, &c.' were first published, as is said above, in 1647, and reprinted in 1653, and lastly in 1691, 4to, in a collection of Socinian Tracts, intitled, 'The Faith of 'One God, &c.' They were answered by Matth. Poole, M. A. the learned editor of *Synopsis Criticorum*, in his *Plea for the Godhead of the Holy Ghost*, &c (8). and by Nich. Estwick, M. A. as also by Dr Cloppenburch, and Sam Des Marets, Professors in Holland.

(8) Wood, as above, col. 301.

[*G*] *However, an eminent person in* Gloucester, *who had a respect for him*, &c.] For Mr Wood informs us (9), that, 'except his opinions, there was little or no'thing blame-worthy in him.'

(9) Athenæ, col. 300.

[*H*] —— *Archbishop Usher* ———— *had a conference with our author about his notions, but without any success.*] The author, from whom we have this particular,

moned to appear at Westminster; and the Parliament immediately appointed a Committee to examine him; before whom he freely, confessed, 'That he did not acknowledge the 'commonly received notion of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, as he was accused; but, 'however, was ready to hear what he could be opposed to him, and if he could not make 'out his opinion to be true, honestly to own his error (o).' But being wearied with tedious and expensive delays, he wrote, on the 1st of April, 1647, a letter to Sir Henry Vane [I], a Member of his Committee (p); wherein he besought him, either to procure his discharge, or to make a report of his case to the House of Commons. Sir Henry proposed it, and shewed himself a friend to our author (q); but the only result of it was, his being committed to the custody of one of their officers, (which restraint continued the five years following) and being referred to the Assembly of Divines, then sitting at Westminster for his conviction, before some of whom he often appeared, gave them in writing his Twelve Arguments against the Deity of the Holy Spirit (r), which were published the same year. Upon their coming out they made so great a noise in the world, that the author was summoned to appear at the bar of the House of Commons; where being asked, 'Whether he owned that book, and the opinions therein,' he answered in the affirmative. Whereupon being remanded to prison (s), the House ordered, on the 6th of September, 1647, that the said book, as blasphemous against the Deity of Christ, should be called in and burnt by the hangman, and that the author should be examined by the Committee of plundered Ministers; accordingly the book was burnt the 8th of the same month (t). But Mr Biddle drew a fresh and more dangerous storm upon himself, by two Tracts he published in the year 1648 [K]. For, upon their appearing, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster

(o) Life, &c. as above.

(p) Wood, ubi supra.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Life, &c. as above, p. 5, col. 2.

(s) Wood, &c. as above.

(t) Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732, p. 268.

(10) T. Edwards, ubi supra.

particular (10), tells us, that 'Bishop Usher, that 'learned and godly Divine, coming through Glo'ster, spake with him [Biddle], and used him with 'all fairnesse and pitty, as well as strength of arguments, 'to convince him of his dangerous error. A Minister 'of the city of Glocester told me, the Bishop la'boured to convince him, telling him that either he 'was in a damnable errour, or else the whole Church 'of Christ, who had in all ages worshipped the Holy 'Ghost, had been guilty of idolatry; but the man 'was no whit moved either by the learning, gravity, 'piety, or zeal of the good Bishop, but continued ob'stinate.'

[I] *He wrote on the 1st of April, 1647, a letter to Sir Henry Vane.*] It was published before his *Twelve Arguments*, &c. in 1647, under the title of, 'A Letter 'written to a certain Knight, a Member of the Ho'nourable House of Commons.' And reprinted in the collection of Socinian Tracts, Lond. 1691, 4to, where it is intitled, 'A Letter written to Sir H. V. a 'Member of the Honourable House of Commons.' It begins thus: 'Sir, Having now attended for the 'space of sixteen months, partly in the country, and 'partly in Westminster, that I might come to my an'swer before the Parliament; and finding, after all 'this tarriance, that I am still as far from having my 'cause determined as ever; I am even forced to make 'my addrefs to you, and to beseech you, if you have 'any bowels towards them that are in misery, that 'you would either procure my discharge, or at least 'make report to the House, touching *my denial of the 'supposed Deity of the Holy Spirit. For that this only 'is the matter in contestation*, you very well know, 'having both heard my confession before the Commit'tee, and remembering how, when I was urged to 'declare my judgment concerning the Deity of Christ, 'I waved the question, as neither being that I was ac'cused of, nor which I had yet sufficiently studied, to 'engage myself publickly therein.' —— Then he proceeds to deliver his opinion touching the Holy Spirit, which he confirms by several passages of Scripture. And complains of his adversaries, who being unable to justify their practice by argument, resorted to the arm of flesh, and instigated the Magistrate against him.

[K] *Two Tracts he published in the year 1648.*] They were, 'A Confession of Faith touching the 'Holy Trinity, according to the Scripture.' And 'The Testimonies of *Irenæus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Ter'tullian*, *Novatianus*, *Theophilus*, *Origen*, (who lived 'in the two first centuries after Christ was born, or 'thereabouts). As also of *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Eu'sebius*, *Hilary*, and *Brightman*; concerning that 'One God, and the Persons of the Holy Trinity. 'Together with Observations on the same.' These were reprinted in 1653, 8vo, and in the collection of Socinian Tracts, Lond. 1691, 4to. The *Confession of* his *Faith* is comprized in the six following articles. I. 'I believe that there is one most High God, Creator 'of Heaven and Earth, and first Cause of all things 'pertaining to our Salvation, and consequently the ul'timate object of our Faith and Worship; and that 'this God is none but the Father of our Lord Jesus 'Christ, the first person of the Holy Trinity. II. I 'believe that there is one chief Son of the most High 'God, or Spiritual, Heavenly, and perpetual Lord and 'King, set over the Church by God, and second Cause 'of all things pertaining to our Salvation, and conse'quently the intermediate object of our Faith and Wor'ship; and that this Son of the most High God is none 'but Jesus Christ, the second Person of the Holy Trinity. 'III. I believe that Jesus Christ, to the intent he 'might be our brother, and have a fellow-feeling of 'our infirmities, and so become the more ready to 'help us, (the consideration whereof is the greatest 'encouragement to piety that can be imagined) hath 'no other than a Human Nature, and therefore in this 'very nature is not only a Person, (since none but a 'Human Person can be our brother) but also our Lord, 'yea our God. IV. Whence, though he be our 'God, by reason of his Divine Sovereignty over us, 'and Worship due to such Sovereignty, yet is he not 'the most High God, the same with the Father, but 'subordinate to him. V. Again; Though he be a 'God, subordinate to the most High God, as having 'received his Godhead, and whatsoever he hath, from 'the Father; yet may not any one thence rightly in'fer, that by this account there will be another God, 'or two Gods. For though we may, with allowance 'of the Scripture, say, that there are many Gods, 'yet neither will the Scripture, nor the thing itself, 'permit us to say, that there is another God, or two 'Gods; because when a word in it's own nature com'mon to many, hath been appropriated, and ascribed 'to one by way of excellency, (as that of God hath 'been to the Father); albeit this doth not hinder us 'from saying, that there are many of that name; 'yet doth it from saying, that there is another, or 'two, since that would be all one as if we should say, 'that there is another, or two most excellent, (which 'is absurd); for when two are segregated in this man'ner out of many, they claim excellency to them'selves alike. Thus though some faithful man be a 'Son of God, subordinate to the chief Son of God 'Christ Jesus, yet we may not thereupon say, that 'there is another Son of God, or two Sons of God; '(since that would be to make another, or two Sons 'of God by way of excellency, whereas there can be 'but one such a Son) howbeit otherwise the Scripture 'warrants us to say, that there are many Sons of God. 'VI. I believe that there is one principal Minister of 'God and Christ, peculiarly sent from Heaven to 'sanctify the Church, who, by reason of his emi'nency and intimacy with God, is singled out of the 'number of the other heavenly Ministers or Angels, 'and comprised in the Holy Trinity, being the Third 'Person thereof; and that this Minister of God and 'Christ

Westminster sollicited the Parliament, in whose hands was the supreme power at that time; and procured a severe Ordinance, May 2, 1648 [L], for inflicting the punishment of death upon those that held opinions contrary to the established ones about the Trinity, and other doctrines accounted blasphemies and heresies, and severe penalties upon those who differed in lesser matters. This seemed a damnatory sentence against our author, which there was no escape from. But he was saved by a dissention in the Parliament itself; to the greatest part of which the army joined it's power, for this reason among others, because there were many, both officers and soldiers, liable to the severities of the Ordinance above-mentioned, which therefore from that time lay unregarded for several years. After the death of King Charles I, when a kind of universal toleration was introduced, our author had more liberty allowed him by his keeper, who suffered him, upon security given, to go into Staffordshire (u), where he lived some time with a Justice of Peace (w), who not only entertained him courteously, but at his death left him a legacy; which was a very seasonable supply to him, as he had already spent in a manner all he had gotten at Gloucester, or elsewhere, though not inconsiderable, in now about four years chargeable restraint. But he could not continue long here, before notice was given to Serjeant John Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, his mortal enemy, who caused him to be re-called by his keeper, and to be kept more straitly. In this long confinement, what proved most grievous to him was, that by reason of his lying under the imputation of blasphemy and heresy, all people in general were so alienated from him, that he could hardly have any one to converse with: And of the Divines, whose duty it was to have endeavoured his information, not one vouchsafed him a visit in his seven years confinement, except Mr Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely. Here he spent his whole substance; so that not having wherewithal to pay for an ordinary meal, he was glad of the cheaper support of drinking a draught of milk from the cow morning and evening (x). Being thus in a manner reduced to great indigence, he was, through the recommendation of a learned man, employed by Roger Daniel of London, to correct the impression of the Greek Septuagint Bible, which that Printer was about to publish with great accuracy. And this employment, with another in private, gained him for a time a comfortable

(u) Life, &c. as above, p. 5, 6.

(w) Who made him his Chaplain, and also Preacher of a church there. Wood, ubi supra, col. 302.

(x) Life, &c. p. 6.

'Christ is the Holy Spirit.' —— These six articles he endeavours to confirm by texts of Scripture, and by several other arguments. —— At the end of his *Testimonies out of Irenæus*, &c. he makes this remark. 'Those Human Testimonies above written have I alledged, not that I much regard them as to myself (who make use of no other rule to determine controversies about religion, than the *Scripture*; and of no other *Authentick Interpreter*, if a scruple arise concerning the sense of the Scripture, than *Reason*); but for the sake of the adversaries, who continually crake, *the Fathers, the Fathers* (11).' Nich. Estwick wrote an Examination of this confession of Faith, Lond. 1656, 4to.

(11) Socinian Tracts, entitled *The Faith of One God*, &c. Lond. 1691, 4to.

[L] *And procured a severe Ordinance, May 2, 1648.*] This Ordinance declared all such persons guilty of *Felony*, as should 'willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing, maintain and publish, that there is no God, or that God is not present in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal, or that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, and the Holy Ghost is not God, or that they Three are not one eternal God; or that shall in like manner maintain and publish, that Christ is not God, equal with the Father; or shall deny the Manhood of Christ, or that the Manhood or Godhead of Christ are several natures, or that the Humanity of Christ is pure and unspotted of all sin; or that shall maintain and publish, as aforesaid, that Christ did not die, nor rise from the dead, nor is ascended into Heaven bodily; or that shall deny his death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that shall maintain and publish, as aforesaid, that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God; or that the Holy Scripture, of the Old and New Testament, is not the word of God; or that the bodies of men, after they are dead, shall not rise again; or that there is no day of judgment after death. —— All such persons, upon complaint and proof made of the same, before any two of the next Justices of the Peace for that place or county, by the oaths of two witnesses, or confession of the party; the said party so accused shall be by the said Justices committed to prison without bail or mainprise, until the next gaol-delivery, and the witnesses bound over to give their evidence at the said gaol-delivery; at which time the party shall be indicted for felonious publishing and maintaining such error. And in case the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial shall not abjure his said error, and defence and maintenance of the same, he shall *suffer the pains of death*, as in case of felony, without benefit of Clergy; but in case he shall recant, he shall nevertheless remain in prison, until he finds two sureties to be bound with him, before two or more Justices of the Peace, that he shall not thenceforth publish or maintain the said errors any more, and the Justices shall have power to take bail. And if any person indicted formerly for maintaining and publishing erroneous opinions, shall again publish and maintain the same, he shall suffer *death*, as in case of felony, without benefit of Clergy.' —— The Ordinance further enjoins, that all persons who should publish or maintain, 'That all men shall be saved; or that man by nature hath free will to turn to God; or that God may be worshipped in or by pictures or images; or that the soul of any man after death goeth to Purgatory; — or that Revelations, or the workings of the Spirit, are a rule of Faith or Christian life, though diverse from, or contrary to, the written word of God; or that man is bound to believe no more than by his reason he can comprehend; or that the moral Law of God, contained in the Ten Commandments, is no rule of Christian life; or that a Believer need not repent, or pray for pardon of sins; or that the two Sacraments are not commanded by the word of God, or are unlawful; — or that the Churches of England are no true Churches, nor their Ministers and Ordinances true Ministers and Ordinances; or that the Church-Government by Presbytery is unchristian or unlawful; or that all use of arms, though for the publick defence, (and be the cause never so just) is unlawful: — That all persons, I say, who should publish or maintain any of the said errors, and be convicted thereof, should be ordered to renounce them in the publick congregation of the same parish from whence the complaint comes, or where the offence was committed. And in case of refusal, to be committed to prison by two of the next Justices, until he find two sufficient sureties, that he shall not maintain or publish the said errors any more.' This Ordinance was published in 1648, 4to, and is preserved in the *Introduction* prefixed to an edition of Fr. Cheynell's *Chillingworthi Novissima*; the author of which Introduction justly observes, that though 'the Presbyterians were possessed of their power but a very short time, yet in that space they were for carrying their Ecclesiastical Tyranny beyond what themselves charged on their former Oppressors.'

'[M] The

a comfortable subsistance. In 1651, the Parliament published a general Act of Oblivion, that restored, among others, our author to his full liberty; which he improved among those friends he had gained in London, in meeting together every Sunday for expounding the Scripture, and discoursing thereupon; by which means his opinions concerning the Unity of God, Christ his only Son, and his Holy Spirit, were so propagated, that the Presbyterian Ministers at London became exceedingly uneasy at it, but could not hinder it's progress by the secular power, which then admitted an universal liberty of religion and conscience. In the year 1654 he had three public disputations in his Meeting with Mr P. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and of Christ, and concerning Punitive Justice (y). The same year he published his Twofold Scripture-Catechism [M], which coming into the hands of some of the Members of Oliver Cromwell's Parliament, which met September 3, 1654, a complaint was made against it in the House of Commons. Whereupon the author being brought to the bar in the beginning of December, and asked, Whether he wrote that book? He answered by asking, Whether it seemed reasonable, that one brought before a judgment-seat as a criminal, should accuse himself? After some debates and resolutions [N], he was, on the 13th of December, committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse; prohibited the use of pen, ink, and paper, or the access of any visitant, and his books were ordered to be burnt; which was accordingly done the 14th of the same month (z). A bill likewise was ordered to be brought in for punishing him; so that he had nothing less than capital punishment to expect. But, after about six months imprisonment, he obtained his liberty at the Court of the Upper, or King's, Bench, May 28, by due course of Law (a). Scarce was a year expired, when another no less formidable danger overtook him, by his rashly engaging in a dispute with an Anabaptist Teacher [O]. 'For he was upon that account first cast into the Poultry-Compter, July 3, 1655, and afterwards into Newgate; and tried for his life the next sessions, on the Ordinance against blasphemy mentioned above. After the reading of the indictment, he prayed that Counsel might be allowed him to plead the illegality of it; which being denied him by the Judges, and the sentence of a Mute threatened, he at length gave into Court his exceptions ingrossed in parchment, and with much struggling had Counsel allowed him, but the trial was deferred to the next day. In the mean time, the Protector well knowing it was not for the interest of his Government to have him either condemned or absolved [P], took him out of the hands of

(y) Life, &c. p. 6, 7. and Wood, ubi supra, col. 302. The author of his Life tells us, that J. Biddle acquitted himself with so much learning, judgment, and knowledge in the sense of the Holy Scriptures, that instead of losing, he gained much credit both to himself and his cause.

(z) Whitelock's Memorials, as above, p. 609. Life, &c. and Wood, ubi supra.

(a) Wood, and Life, ibid.

[M] *The same year he published his Twofold Scripture Catechism.*] That is, a larger, and a shorter Catechism, in which the answers are expressed in the very words of Scripture. The title of the first is, 'A Scripture 'Catechism; wherein the chiefest points of the 'Christian Religion being question-wise proposed, re'solve themselves by pertinent answers taken word for 'word out of the Scripture, without either conse'quences or comments. Composed for their sakes 'that would fain be mere Christians, and not of this 'or that sect, in as much as all sects of Christians, by 'what names soever distinguished, have either more or 'less departed from the simplicity and truth of the 'Scripture.' Lond. 1654, 8vo. The title of the other is, 'A Brief Scripture Catechism for Children; 'wherein, notwithstanding the brevity thereof, all 'things necessary unto life and godliness are contained. 'By John Biddle, Master of Arts, of the University 'of Oxford.' In three sheets, small octavo. This Twofold Catechism was animadverted upon by Dr John Owen, in his *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, or Mystery of the Gospel vindicated, &c. Oxon 1655, 4to.

[N] *After some debates and resolutions.*] The matter was referred to a Committee, by whom Biddle was examined, and in conclusion he adhered to the answer he had before given to the House. Report being made of it by the Committee, the House voted, on the 12th of December, 'That the whole drift and 'scope of the said Twofold Catechism is to teach and 'hold forth many blasphemous and heretical opinions; 'and that, in the Preface of the said Catechism, the 'author thereof doth maintain and assert many blas'phemous and heretical opinions, and doth therein 'cast a reproach upon all the Catechisms now extant.' And therefore, that all the printed copies of the said Catechism should be burnt by the common hangman; that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex should see it done; and that the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers should search for the said printed copies, and deliver them to the Sheriffs. — But this was not all, for the matter was agitated again in January following by the Committee, who resolved on the 16th of the same month, as above. And the matter being reported to the Parliament, they ordered a bill to be brought in for punishing Biddle; but they came at last to no resolution, though pressed eagerly by the Presbyterian Ministers to take away his life (12).

(12) Wood, ubi supra, col. 303.

[O] *By his rashly engaging in a dispute with an Anabaptist Teacher.*] That Teacher was one John Griffin; many of whose congregation having embraced Biddle's opinions concerning the Trinity, he thought the best way to regain them, and to stop the spreading of their errors, would be openly to confute their seducer. For that purpose he challenges Biddle to a publick disputation at his Meeting in the stone chapel in St Paul's Cathedral, on this question, 'Whether Jesus Christ be the most High, or Almighty 'God.' Biddle would have declined the dispute, as knowing Griffin to be inferior to him in learning, &c. but at last accepted it: And they two meeting, amongst a numerous audience, some of whom were greatly prejudiced against our author; Griffin, either imprudently, or for some worse end, repeats the question, asking, 'If any man there did deny, that Christ was 'God most High?' To which Biddle resolutely answers, 'I do deny it.' And by this open profession gave his adversaries the opportunity of a positive and clear accusation, which they soon laid hold of. But Griffin being baffled, for want of knowing the true way of arguing, the disputation was deferred 'till another day; and Griffin, though not able to cope with Biddle, had the confidence to consent to a second meeting, when Biddle was to take his turn of proving the negative of the question between them. In the mean while, Griffin and his party not thinking themselves a match for our author, they accused him of fresh blasphemies, and procured an order from the Protector to apprehend him on the 3d of July, (being the day before the intended second disputation) and to commit him to the Compter, &c. as is related above (13).

(13) Life, and Wood, as above.

[P] *The Protector well knowing it was not for the interest of his Government to have him either condemned or absolved.*] For, on the one hand, the Presbyterians, and all enemies to liberty of religion, of which there appeared a great number at his trial, would be offended at his release; and all that were for liberty, especially many congregations of Anabaptists, had petitioned the Protector for his discharge from prosecution upon the Ordinance above-mentioned, by which their liberties were

of the Law, and detained him in prison, intending to dispose of him otherwise (*b*). But being wearied with receiving petitions for and against him [*Q*], he banished him for life to St Mary's castle in the isle of Scilly, and sent him thither in the beginning of October, 1655 (*c*). Soon after he allowed him a hundred crowns a year for his subsistance (*d*). In this exile Biddle continued about three years, during which time he employed himself in studying several intricate matters, particularly the Revelation of St John [*R*]. When he had continued a prisoner 'till the beginning of the year 1658, the Protector, at length, through the intercession of many friends, suffered a Writ of Habeas Corpus to be granted out of the Upper-Bench Court, (as it was then called) and to be obeyed by the Governor of Scilly, whereby the prisoner was brought back, and nothing being laid to his charge, was set at liberty. Upon his return to London, he resumed his long interrupted exercises among his friends; and, according to some [*S*], was Pastor of an Independent Church in that city. But he could not long continue there, for Oliver Cromwell dying September 3, 1658, his son Richard succeeded, and called a Parliament, dangerous certainly to J. Biddle, if any other; as consisting chiefly of Presbyterians, whom, of all men, he most dreaded: Therefore, by the advice of a noble friend, he retired privately into the country. That Parliament being soon dissolved, he returned to his former station 'till the restoration of King Charles II (*e*), when the liberty of Dissenters was taken away, and their Meetings punished as seditious. On which account our author restrained himself from public to more private assemblies. But he could not even so be safe; for on the 1st of June, 1662, he was seized in his lodgings in London, where he and some few of his friends were met for divine worship, and carried before a Justice of Peace, who committed them all to prison, without admitting them to bail. There they lay, 'till the Recorder took security for their answering to the charge brought against them at the next sessions. But the Court not being then able to find a Statute whereon to form any criminal indictment, they were referred to the sessions following, and therein proceeded against at Common Law; when every one of the hearers was fined in twenty pounds, and J. Biddle in one hundred, to lie in prison 'till paid (*f*) [*T*]. But in less than five weeks after, through the noisomeness of the place, and the pent air (very offensive to him, whose only recreation and exercise had been for many years to walk daily into the open air), he contracted a disease [*U*], which put an end to his life on the 22d of September, 1662, in the 47th year of his age (*g*). He was buried in the cœmetery near Old Bethlem in Morefields, London; and an altar monument of stone was erected over his grave, with an inscription, shewing 'that he was Master of Arts of the University of Oxford, 'and had given the world great specimens of his learning and piety, &c (*h*).' As for his

(*b*) Wood, and Life, ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. Wood, col. 304.

(*d*) Life, p. 8. col. 1.

(*e*) Life, &c. as above.

(*f*) Ibid. & Wood, ubi supra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Wood, col. 305.

were threatened, and the capital article of the Protector's Government infringed; which runs thus: 'That such as profess Faith in God by Jesus Christ, '(though differing in judgment from the Doctrine, 'Worship, or Discipline, publickly held forth) shall 'not be restrained from, but protected in the profession 'of their Faith, and exercise of their Religion, &c.' Art. 37. And, 'That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, '&c. to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall 'be esteemed as null and void.' Art. 38 (14).

[*Q*] *But being wearied with receiving petitions for and against him.*] For several of the leaders among the Anabaptists, who had embraced his opinions, drew up a petition in his behalf, in September 1655, and presented it to Cromwell: But, instead of complying with their desires, he represented to them, 'how inconsistent it was for them, who pro'fessed to be members of the Church of Christ, and 'to worship him with the worship due to God, to 'give any countenance to one who reproached them'selves, and and all the Christian Churches in the 'world, as being guilty of Idolatry.' — Shewing also, that if it be true, which Biddle holds, 'That Jesus 'Christ is but a Creature, then all those that worship 'him with the worship due to God, are Idolaters, 'and that the maintainers of that opinion of Biddle 'are guilty of great blasphemy against Christ (15).' — To the famous Mr Thomas Firmin, who likewise presented a petition for his release from Newgate (16), the Protector gave this short answer. 'You curl-pate 'boy, you, do you think I'll shew favour to a man 'that denies his Saviour, and disturbs the Govern'ment (17).' —— At length, his Highness yielded to the repeated sollicitations of the Presbyterian and Independent Ministers, who were continually teazing and importuning him to send him into banishment (18).

[*R*] *Particularly the Revelation of St John.*] After his return to London, he published 'An Essay to the 'explaining of the Revelation; or, Notes on some of 'the chapters of the Apocalyps.' In which he treats of the Beast in the Apocalyps, Antichrist, the personal reign of Christ on earth, &c (19).

(14) Life, &c. p. 8. and Whitelock, as above, p. 576.

(15) Wood, ubi supra, col. 304.

(16) This Mr Firmin was a disciple of our author's, and gave him bed and board for a while before he was sent to Scilly. Life of T. Firmin, Lond. 1698, p. 10.

(17) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 760.

(18) Wood, as above, col. 304.

(19) Idem. col. 305.

[*S*] *And, according to some, was Pastor of an Independent Church, &c.*] The person who relates this, is Sir Peter Pett, in the Preface to his *Happy Future State of England* (20); where he further tells us that this congregation held the following notions: 'That 'the Fathers under the old covenant had only tem'poral promises; that the universal obedience per'formed to the commands of God and Christ was the 'saving Faith; that Christ rose again only by the 'power of the Father, and not his own; that justify'ing Faith is not the pure gift of God, but may be 'acquired by men's natural abilities; that Faith can'not believe any thing contrary to, or above reason; 'that there is no Original Sin; that Christ hath not 'the same body now in glory, in which he suffered 'and rose again; that the Saints shall not have the 'same body in Heaven which they had on earth; 'that Christ was not Lord or King before his resur'rection, or Priest before his ascension; that the 'Saints shall not before the day of judgment enjoy 'the bliss of Heaven; that God doth not certainly 'know future contingencies; that there is not any 'authority of Fathers or General Councils in deter'mining matters of Faith; that Christ before his 'death had not any dominion over the Angels; and 'that Christ by dying made not Satisfaction for us.'

[*T*] *And J. Biddle in one hundred, (pounds) to lie in prison 'till paid.*] One of the Sheriffs would have been satisfied with ten pounds for him, and even have paid it; but Sir Richard Brown, the Justice who had committed him, could not be induced to consent thereto upon any terms; but threatened him with a seven years imprisonment, though he should pay the whole hundred pounds. This was the cause of his continuing in prison (21).

[*U*] *He contracted a disease.*] Notwithstanding the violence of it, Sir Richard Brown could not be moved to grant the sick prisoner the present comfort of a removal, in order to a recovery; but Sheriff Meynel did grant it. However, the second day after his removal, between five and six o'clock in the morning, Sept. 22, he expired, as is related above (22).

(20) Lond. 1688, fol.

(21) Life, &c. p. 9.

(22) Ibid.

[*W*] As

his character, bating his mistaken opinions, he is, in general, acknowledged to have been a man most eminent for piety and virtue, as well as learning and knowledge; as will appear by the instances which we shall give in the note [*W*].

[*W*] *As will appear by the instances which we shall give.*] These we take from his *Life*, which, as Mr Wood informs us (23), was written by John Farrington of the Inner-Temple, and published in Latin at London in 1682, 8vo. The author of that Life, highly commends J. Biddle for 'his great *zeal for* '*promoting holiness of life* and manners; for (says he) 'this was always his end and design in what he taught. 'He valued not his doctrines for speculation, but 'practice; insomuch that he would not discourse of 'those points wherein he differed from others, with 'those that appeared not religious according to their 'knowledge. Neither could he bear those that dis'sembled in profession for worldly interests. He was 'a strict observer himself, and a severe exactor in 'others, *of reverence in speaking of God, and Christ,* '*and holy things*; so that he would by no means hear 'their names, or any sentence of holy Scripture, used 'vainly or lightly, much less any foolish talking, or 'scurrility. He would often tell his friends, that no 'religion would benefit a bad man, and call upon them 'to resolve, as well to profess and practise the truth 'that is according to godliness, as to study to find it 'out. —— His *Learning in* matters of religion was 'gained by a diligent study of the holy Scriptures, 'especially of the New Testament; wherein he was 'so conversant, that he retained it all in his memory 'word for word, not only in English, but in Greek, as 'far as the 4th chapter of the Revelation of St John. 'This thorough knowledge in the Scriptures, joined 'to a happy and ready *memory*, whereby he retained 'also the sum of what he had read in other authors, 'gave him great advantage against all opponents, and 'in all discourses, but without the least appearance of 'boasting. —— No tincture of *Ambition* appeared in 'him, nor the least degree of *Covetousness*; for he 'always sustained himself by his own industry, when 'he was in a capacity of using it; and would never ac'cept of any supplies, though offered, but when his 'necessities, arising from imprisonment, sickness, or 'the like, forced him to it; for he had learned to be 'contented with a little, and sought not more, yea, 'out of that little would contribute to the necessities 'of others. *Temperance* was at all times most con'spicuous in him, as well in eating as in drinking; 'and he thought it not enough to be very chaste, but 'that he ought to avoid all suspicion of unchastity, 'insomuch that he would not willingly look upon a 'woman without just occasion; and was very uneasy 'if left in a room with one alone, 'till relieved by 'more company. —— He would be merry and plea'sant, and liked well that the company should be so 'too; yet even in his common conversation he al'ways retained an awe of the Divine Presence, and 'was sometimes observed to lift up his hand suddenly, 'which those that were intimate with him knew to be 'an effect of a secret ejaculation. But in his closet'devotions he was wont to prostrate himself upon the 'ground, after the manner of our Saviour in his 'agony, and would commend that posture of worship 'also to his most intimate friends. Finally, he was as 'eminent for his justice and charity towards men, 'as he was for his piety towards God.' C

(23) Athenæ, ubi supra, col. 306.

BILSON (THOMAS), a learned writer, and Bishop, in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth, century, was born in the city of Winchester (*a*); being the son of Harman Bilson, the same probably who was Fellow of Merton-college in 1536 (*b*); and derived his descent by his grandmother, or great-grandmother, from the Duke of Bavaria [*A*]. Thomas, of whom we are now writing, was educated in Wykeham's school near Winchester; and in 1565 admitted perpetual Fellow of New-college, after he had served two years of probation (*c*). October 10, 1566, he took his degree of Bachelor, and April 25, 1570, that of Master of Arts (*d*). Also, that of Bachelor of Divinity, June 24, 1579, and finally the degree of Doctor of Divinity on the 24th of January 1580 (*e*). In his younger years, he was a great lover of, and extremely studious in, Poetry [*B*], Philosophy, and Physick (*f*). But when he entered into Holy Orders, and applied himself to the study of Divinity, which his genius chiefly led him to, he became a most solid and constant preacher; and so compleat, for skill in languages, for readiness in the Fathers, and for judgment to make use of his reading (*g*), that he was one of the most accomplished scholars of his time. The first preferment he had was that of Master of Winchester-school [*C*]; next, he was made Prebendary of Winchester, and afterwards Warden of the college there (*h*). To which college he did a very important service, about the year 1584, by preserving the revenues of it (*i*), when they were like to be swallowed up by a notorious forgery [*D*]. In 1585, he published his book of 'The 'true difference betweene Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion [*E*],' and dedicated

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Hantshire, p. 7. A. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 142. and Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 403.

(*b*) Wood, Athen. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 97, 104.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 119, 121.

(*f*) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir J. Harrington, Kt. Lond. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 72 and Wood, Athen. col. 403.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) See Epistle to the Reader, before Dr Bilson's *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, London, 1585, 8*vo*.

[*A*] *And derived his descent, by his grandmother, or great-grandmother, from the Duke of Bavaria*] Harman's father was Arnold Bilson, son and heir of Arnold Bilson, by his wife, the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; but whether natural or legitimate is unknown (1).

[*B*] *In his younger years, he was a great lover of, and extremely studious in, Poetry*, &c.] He composed several Poems, Orations, and other things, in Latin; which were in manuscript in Mr Wood's library (2), but have never been published.

[*C*] *The first preferment he had, was that of Master of Winchester-school.*] While he was in that station, Garnet, who was afterwards executed for being concerned in the Gunpowder-plot, resolved, with some other of the scholars, to cut off their Master's right hand [Bilson's], but their wicked design was happily discovered, and prevented in time (3).

[*D*] *He did a very important service to Winchester-college, by preserving the revenues of it, when they were like to be swallowed up by a notorious forgery.*] Of which take an account in his own words. ' — There 'hapned an injurie to be offered to the *Inheritance of* '*the College* where I am, by *a false title derived from* '*before the foundation of the House*, and so strengthened 'on every side with ancient Deeds and Evidences, that 'the forgerie was hard to be discerned, and harder to 'be convinced, but by infinite searching in the muniments of many Churches and Bishopricks, as well as 'in our owne, and re-examining sundrie large and la'borious commissions which they had taken out before 'my time, to testifie the keeping, and justifie the de'livering, of those suspected Deeds and Ligiers. To 'the detecting and impugning of this, no person was, 'or would be used, but myselfe, the Cause was so 'huge, the comparing of the Circumstances, and con'trarieties both of Deeds and Witnesses, so tedious; 'the Proofe so perplexed and intricate: and the Dan'ger so neerely touched the whole State of the House: 'I was forced for two yeares to lay all Studies aside, 'and addict myself wholly, first to the deprehending, 'and then to the pursuing of this falsehood (4).'

[*E*] *The true difference betweene Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*] The rest of the title is as follows: ' — Wherein the Princes lawful Power to 'command

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi supra. Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 497.

(2) Wood, Ibid. col. 405.

(3) Church-Hist. by T. Fuller, book x. p. 39.

(4) Epistle to the reader, before *The true Difference between Christian Subjection*, &c.

dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth. In 1593, came out his book entitled, 'The perpetuall 'Government of Christes Church: Wherein are handled, The fatherly Superioritie which 'God first established in the Patriarkes for the guiding of his Church, and after continued in the tribe of LEVI and the Prophetes: and lastlie confirmed in the New 'Testament to the Apostles and their Successors: As also the points in question at this 'day, Touching the Jewish Synedrion: the true kingdome of Christ: the Apostles 'commission: the Laie Presbyterie: the Distinction of Bishops from Presbyters, and 'their succession from the Apostles times and hands: the calling and moderating of 'Provinciall Synods by Primates and Metropolitanes: the allotting of Dioeceses, and the 'Popular electing of such as must feede and watch the flock: And divers other points 'concerning the pastoral regiment of the house of God [*F*]. On the 20th of April, 1596, he was elected, confirmed June the 11th, and the 13th of the same month, consecrated Bishop of Worcester [*G*]; and translated in May following to the bishoprick of Winchester, and made a Privy-Counsellor (*k*). In 1599, he published 'The Effect 'of certaine Sermons (*l*) touching the full redemption of Mankind by the Death and 'Bloud of Christ Jesus; wherein besides the Merite of Christs Suffering, the Manner of 'his Offering, the Power of his Death, the Comfort of his Crosse, the Glorie of his 'Resurrection, Are handled, What Paines Christ suffered in his Soule on the Crosse: 'Together, with the place and purpose of his descent to hel after death:' *&c.* Lond. 4*to.* These Sermons being preached at Paul's Cross in Lent 1597, by the encouragement of Archbishop Whitgift (*m*), greatly alarmed most of the Puritans (*n*), because they contradicted some of their tenets [*H*]. Whereupon, they uniting their forces, and making their observations thereon, sent them to Henry Jacob, a learned Puritan (*o*), who published them with his Collections, and under his own name [*I*]. The Queen being at Farnham-castle (*p*); and, to use the Bishop's words, 'taking knowledge of the things 'questioned between him and his opponents, directly commanded him neither to desert 'the doctrine, nor to let the calling which he bore in the Church of God, to be 'trampled

(*k*) Godwin, de Præsulibus, Lond. 1616, 4*to*, p. 524, & 302. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, *&c.* by Br. Willis, Esq; Lond. 1727, p. 648.

(*l*) On *Galatians* vi. 14.

(*m*) Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift, by J. Strype, book iv. p. 502, edit. 1718.

(*n*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 404.

(*o*) Wood, Athen. ubi supra, col. 404, 464.

(*p*) Which belongs to the Bishops of Winchester.

'command for truth, and indepriveable Right to beare 'the Sword, are defended against the Pope's Censures, 'and the Jesuits Sophismes, uttered in their Apologie, 'and Defence of English Catholikes: With a Demonstration, that the things Reformed in the Church of 'England, by the Lawes of this Realm, are truly Catholike, notwithstanding the vaine shew made to the 'contrarie in their late Rhemish Testament.' Oxford, 1585, 4to; London, 1586, 8vo. The book is divided into four parts, and written dialogue-wise. In the *first and second part* Dr Bilson answers Dr Allen's 'Apology and true Declaration of the Institution and 'Endeavours of the two English Colleges.' [at Rome and Rhemes] Wherein Queen Elizabeth's Government was charged with Heresy, Tyranny, and Blasphemy. And it was asserted, that none of her Ecclesiastical Laws were orderly or duly made. — That her Sovereignty was a thing improbable, unreasonable, unnatural, impossible; and the Oath of Allegiance to her intolerable, repugnant to God, the Church, her Majesty's honour, and all mens consciences. The *third part* contains an Answer to 'A Defence of the English Catholicks that 'suffer for their Faith.' In which it was affirmed, that subjects bearing arms against their natural Princes, upon the Pope's warrant, do a holy, just, and honourable service. In opposition to which, Dr Bilson shews, that Princes are placed by God, and so not to be displaced by man, and subjects threatened damnation by God's own mouth, if they resist. The *fourth part* is an answer to the Rhemish Testament. —— In this book are many passages in favour of *the Right of Subjects in some Cases to resist their Princes*; which have very much puzzled the patrons of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance (5). Nay one affirms, that Dr Bilson was employed by Queen Elizabeth to write it, when she designed to take the Low-Countries into her protection; and that to justify the revolt of Holland, he gave strange liberty in many cases, especially concerning religion, for subjects to cast off their obedience (6).

[*F*] *The perpetual Government of Christ's Church*] It was printed at London, 4to, in the old English letter. In this book the author shews, that the Church of God hath been always governed by an inequality and superiority of pastors and teachers among themselves. It is one of the best books written in favour of Episcopacy.

[*G*] *On the 20th of April, 1596, he was elected, confirmed June the 11th, and the 13th of the same month consecrated, Bishop of Worcester.*] His competitor to that See was the learned Dr Thomas James, Keeper of the public library at Oxford, recommended by Archbishop Whitgift; but the Lord-Treasurer's interest prevailed in favour of Dr Bilson (7).

(5) See Hist. of Passive Obedience, Amst. 1689, p. 27. Mr Collier says, that it gives a dangerous liberty to subjects in many cases. Ecclef. Hist. Vol. II. p. 709, edit. 1714, fol.

(6) Cressy's Exomologesis, ch. xii.

(7) See Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift, by J. Strype, p. 495, 496, edit. 1718, fol.

[*H*] *These Sermons — greatly alarmed most of the Puritans, because they contradicted some of their tenets.*] The Puritans notions reflected upon, and contradicted, in these Sermons, were 1. That Christ suffered for us in his Soul the Wrath of God, and the Pains of Hell, and finished all his Sufferings upon the Cross before he died. 2. That Christ, after his death, went not into Hell in his Soul, to triumph there (as was imagined) over Satan, as he had done on the Cross over Death and Sin; and that the word *Hades*, which was commonly rendered Hell, did not signify the place of the damned, but only the state of the dead, or the invisible world (8). —— In opposition to that, Bishop Bilson maintained, 1. That it is no where recorded in the holy Scriptures, nor justly to be concluded from thence, that Christ suffered the true pains of Hell. 2. That as the Scriptures describe to us the paines of the damned, and of Hell; there are manie terrors and torments, which without evident impietie cannot be ascribed to the Sonne of God. 3. That the death and bloud of Christ Jesus were evidently, frequently, constantly set downe in the writings of the Apostles, as the sufficient price of our Redemption, and true meane of our reconciliation to God, and sealed with the Sacraments of the New Testament, as the verie groundworke of our Salvation by Christ; and so have been received, and believed in the Church of God, 1400 years before ever any man made mention of hell-paines to be suffered in the Soule of Christ. Lastly, Where the Scriptures are plain and pregnant, that Christ died for our sinnes, and by his death destroyed him that had the power of death, even the divell, and reconciled us when we were strangers and enemies *in the body of his flesh* through death: besides, that the Holie Ghost in these places by expresse words nameth the *bodily death* of Christ, as the meane of our Redemption and reconciliation to God; no considerate Divine might affirme or imagine Christ suffered the death of the Soule; for so much as the death of the Soule must exclude Christ from the Grace, Spirit, and Life of God, and leave in him neither faith, hope, nor love, sanctitie, nor innocencie, which God forbid any Christian should so much as dreame (9).

[*I*] *Who published them with his collections, and under his own name.*] With this title, 'A Treatise of 'the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the work of 'our Redemption, &c. Writtten against certain Errors in these points publickly preached in London, '1597.' Lond. 1598, 8vo. —— In 1600 he published 'A Defence of this Treatise, &c.' Lond. 4to, to which Bishop Bilson's *Survey*, &c. above-mentioned is an Answer (10).

(8) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Lond. 1732, 8*vo*, Vol. I. p. 584.

(9) Preface to those Sermons, p. 2.

(10) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 465.

'trampled under foot by such unquiet Refusers of trueth and authoritie (q).' Upon which royal command, he writ that most learned treatise, chiefly delivered in Sermons, which was published in 1604, under the title of 'The Survey of Christs Sufferings for 'Mans redemption: And of his Descent to Hades or Hel for our deliverance.' Lond. fol [K]. It was this learned person also, that preached the Sermon at Westminster before King James I and his Queen, at their Coronation on St James's day, 28 July, 1603, from *Rom.* xiii. 1. which was published at London, 1603, 8*vo* (r). In January 1603-4, he was one of the Speakers and Managers at the Hampton-Court Conference, in which he spoke much, and, according to Mr Fuller (s), most learnedly. And, in general, he was one of the chief maintainers and supports of the Church of England; as were also Dr Richard Field of Oxford, and Dr William Whitaker, and Mr Fulke of Cambridge; while John Rainolds and Tho. Sparke were promoters of Non-conformity (t). The care of revising, and putting the last hand to, the new Translation of the English Bible in King James Ist's reign, was committed to our author, and to Dr Miles Smith afterwards Bishop of Gloucester (u). His last publick act, recorded in History, was, the being one of the Delegates (w) that pronounced and signed the sentence of Divorce between Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, and the Lady Frances Howard, in the year 1613 [L]: And his son being knighted soon after, upon this very account as was imagined, the world was so malicious as to give him the title of Sir Nullity Bilson (x). This learned Bishop, after having gone through many employments, and lived in continual drudgery for the publick good, departed this life on the 18th of June in 1616 (y), and was buried in Westminster-Abbey, near the entrance into St Edmund's chapel, on the south side of the monument of King Richard II (z). His character is represented to the utmost advantage by several persons. Sir Anth. Weldon calls him 'an excellent 'Civillian, and a very great Scholler (a):' Mr Th. Fuller, 'a deep and profound Scholar, 'excellently well read in the Fathers (b).' Bishop Godwin, 'a very grave man; and 'how great a Divine (adds he) if any one knows not, let him consult his learned 'writings (c).' Sir John Harrington, 'I find but foure lines [in Bishop Godwin's 'book] concerning him; and if I should give him his due, in proportion to the rest, I 'should spend foure leaves. Not that I need make him better known, being one of the 'most eminent of his ranck, and a man that carried prelature in his very aspect. His 'rising was meerly by his learning, as true Prelates should rise. *Sint non modo labe mali 'sed suspicione carentes*, not onely free from the spot, but from the speech of corrup'tion (d).' He writ in a more elegant style, and in fuller and better-turned periods, than was usual in the times wherein he lived.

(q) Preface to the King's Majestie, before *The Survey of Christ's Sufferings for Man's Redemption*, &c. p. 7.

(r) Wood, Athen. ubi supra, col. 404.

(s) Church Hist. book x. p. 71.

(t) Wood, Athen. col. 403.

(u) Fuller's Worthies, in Hantshire, p. 7.

(w) A. Wilson's Life and Reign of King James I. p. 692. in Compleat Hist. edit 1706; Frankland's Annals, p. 1, &c. *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, &c. Lond. 1650, 12*mo*, p. 113, &c.

(x) The Court and Character of King James, by Sir Anth. Weldon, Lond. 1650, 12*mo*, p 77. and Rapin's Hist. of England, fol. Vol. II, p. 184.

(y) Mr Fuller, by Mistake, says it was in 1618. *Worthies*, ubi supra.

(z) Wood, Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 172. and Athen. Vol. I. col. 405.

(a) Court and Character of King James, ubi supra, p. 77.

(b) Church Hist. book x. p. 71.

(c) De Præsulibus, as above, p. 302.

(d) Briefe View, &c. as above, being a Character and History of some of the Bishops, p. 71.

[K] *The Survey of Christ's Sufferings for Man's redemption; and of his descent to Hades or Hel for our deliverance.*] This book, as was observed in the last note, contains an Answer to Henry Jacob's 'Defence 'of a Treatise touching the Sufferings and Victory of 'Christ in the work of our Redemption (11).' And is a full and learned vindication of the Sermons, and the Doctrine, mentioned above in the note [H]. The author gives us (12) the substance of this Survey in the following words. 'The maine ground of the Gospel 'was this, that Christ died for our Sinnes according to 'the Scriptures, and was buried, and rose the third 'day. Since then we are reconciled to God by the 'death of his Sonne, we must acknowledge no other 'death of Christ, than that which he suffered in the 'bodie of his flesh, which death the Scriptures most 'apparently describe to be the death of Christ's body. '—— The Scriptures do no where teach, nor mention 'the death of Christ's Soul, or the death of the damned, which is the second death, to be needful for 'our Redemption. —— The true and full Satisfaction 'for our sins must not be derived from the singularity 'and infinity of Christ's pains, longer and greater 'than which the divels and damned do every one suffer; but from the dignity of the person, who being 'the only and eternal Son of God that made us, humbled himself in our stead, and in our nature, to restore 'us, and offered recompense for our sins, which was 'his submission and obedience unto the death of the 'Cross, more pleasing to God than our condemnation 'to hell could have been.' In the second part, treating of Christ's descent in hell, he shews that Christ's Soul did not, at his death, ascend to heaven, and there remained 'till his resurrection, but actually went into hell; to 'destroy the divel's kingdom, triumph over 'powers and principalities, spoil them by delivering 'all his elect, dead, living, and yet unborn, from the 'right, power, and fear of eternal death; taking 'into his hands the keys of death and hell, that he 'might be Lord of all, in Heaven, Earth, and Hell.' In the same part he endeavours to prove, that *Sheol*, or Hades, when distinguished from the death of the body, or referred to the soul after death, apparently signifieth Hell.

(11) Wood, ibid.

(12) Resolutions of the Survey, in the beginning of it.

[L] *He was one of the Delegates that pronounced and signed the sentence of divorce between the Earl of Essex, and the Lady Frances Howard.*] That affair is so well known, and related by so many of our Historians, that it need not be enlarged upon here. However, besides the authors cited above in the margin, see a book intitled, *Truth brought to light by Time* (13). Two several commissions were issued out upon this occasion, which is not commonly taken notice of. In the first Bishop Bilson was not put in, but he was in the second (14). C

(13) Lond. 1651, 4*to*, p. 79.

(14) See *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, ubi supra.

BINGHAM (Joseph) the learned author of *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, or, the Antiquities of the Christian Church, was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire in September 1668: and learned the first rudiments of Grammar at a school in the same town, under Mr Edward Clarke. In 1683, at the age of fifteen, he was admitted into University-College in Oxford; where he behaved in a very sober and studious manner. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1687, and soon after was chosen Fellow of the college just now mentioned. He proceeded to his Master's degree in the year 1690 (a). Not long after [A], he was presented by the most famous John Radcliffe, M. D. to the rectory

(a) For these particulars we are obliged to his son, the Rev. R. Bingham, Rector of Havant.

[A] *Not long after*, &c.] This I infer from a passage in the Preface to the first volume of his *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, where he says, that 'Providence removed 'him *early* from the University —— .'

[B] With

rectory of Headbourn-worthy, a living of an hundred pounds a year, near Winchester in Hamshire; without any importunity or seeking of his own (*b*). In that country-retirement, with all the disadvantages he lay under for want of many useful and necessary books [*B*], he undertook a very learned and laborious work, of which he published the first Volume in 1708, under this title, '*Origines Ecclesiasticæ*; Or, The Antiquities of the Christian Church [*C*]:' And which he compleated afterwards in nine volumes more,

(*b*) From the same information. See also Preface to Vol. I. of our Author's Origines Ecclesiasticæ.

[*B*] *With all the disadvantages he lay under for want of many useful and necessary books.*] Of this he complains in the following words (1). 'I confess, indeed, this work will suffer something in my hands for want of several books, which I have no opportunity to see, nor ability to purchase; but that perhaps may tempt some others, who are at the fountains of learning, and have all manner of books at command, to add to my labours, and improve this Essay to a much greater perfection. — The chief assistance I have hitherto had, is from the noble benefaction of ——— the renowned Bishop Morley; who, among many other eminent works of charity and generosity, — has bequeathed a very valuable collection of books to the church of Winchester, for the advancement of learning among the parochial Clergy: And I reckon it none of the least part of my happiness, that Providence removing me early from the University (where the best supplies of learning are to be had) placed me by the hands of a generous benefactor (2), without any importunity or seeking of my own, in such a station, as gives me liberty and opportunity to make use of so good a library, though not so perfect as I could wish.' —— He complains likewise elsewhere (3) 'of his own difficult circumstances, under which he was forced to labour for want of proper assistance of abundance of books.' — And yet, what vast numbers he used and consulted, see in the *Index Auctorum* at the end of the work.

(1) Preface to Vol. I.

(2) Dr Radcliffe.

(3) Dedication to Vol. I.

[*C*] *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*; *or*, *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, &c.] The Contents of the several books and chapters of this curious work are as follow. Book I. Of the several names and orders of men in the Christian Church. Ch. 1. Of those titles and appellations which Christians owned and distinguished themselves by. Ch. 2. Of the names of reproach which Jews, Infidels, and Hereticks, cast upon the Christians. Ch. 3. Of the several orders of men in the Christian Church. Ch. 4. A more particular account of the Believers, and their several titles of honour and privileges above the Catechumens. Ch. 5. Of the distinction of Believers from the Rulers; where, of the distinction observed in the names and offices of Laity and Clergy, and of the antiquity of these distinctions. Book II. Of the several superior orders of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the original of Bishops, and that they were a distinct order from Presbyters in the primitive Church. Ch. 2. Of the several titles of honours given to Bishops in the primitive Church. Ch. 3. Of the offices of Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters. Ch. 4. Of the power of Bishops over the Laity, Monks, subordinate Magistrates, and all persons within their diocese; and of their office in disposing of the revenues of the Church. Ch. 5. Of the office of Bishops, in relation to the whole Catholick Church. Ch. 6. Of the independency of Bishops, especially in the Cyprianick, and in the African Churches. Ch. 7. Of the power of Bishops in hearing and determining secular causes. Ch. 8. Of the privilege of Bishops to intercede for criminals. Ch. 9. Of some particular honours, and instances of respect, shewed to Bishops by all persons in general. Ch. 10. Of the age, and some other particular qualifications required in such as were to be ordained Bishops. Ch. 11. Of some particular laws and customs observed about the ordination of Bishops. Ch. 12. Of the rule which prohibits Bishops to be ordained in small cities. Ch. 13. Of the rule which forbids two Bishops to be ordained in one city. Ch. 14. Of the *Chorepiscopi*, Περιοδευταὶ, and Suffragan Bishops; and how these differed from one another. Ch 15. Of the *Intercessores* and *Interventores* in the African Churches. Ch. 16. Of Primates or Metropolitans. Ch. 17. Of Patriarchs. Ch. 18. Of the Αὐτοκέφαλοι, or Independent Bishops. Ch. 19. Of Presbyters. Ch. 20. Of Deacons. Ch. 21. Of Archdeacons. Ch. 22. Of Deaconesses. Book III. Of the inferior orders of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the first original of the inferior orders, and the number and use of them; and how they differed from the superior orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Ch. 2. Of Subdeacons. Ch. 3. Of Acolythists. Ch. 4. Of Exorcists. Ch. 5. Of *Lectors*, or Readers. Ch. 6. Of the *Ostiarii*, or Door-keepers. Ch. 7. Of the *Psalmistæ*, or Singers. Ch. 8. Of the *Copiatæ*, or *Fossarii*. Ch. 9. Of the *Parabolani*. Ch. 10. Of the Catechists. Ch. 11. Of the *Defensores*, or Syndicks of the Church. Ch. 12. Of the *Oeconomi*, or Stewards and Guardians of the Church. Ch. 13. A brief account of some other inferior Officers in the Church. Book IV. Of the elections and ordinations of the Clergy, and the particular qualifications of such as were to be ordained. Ch. 1. Of the several ways of designing persons to the Ministry, in the Apostolical and primitive ages of the Church. Ch. 2. A more particular account of the ancient manner and method of elections of the Clergy. Ch. 3. Of the examination and qualifications of persons to be ordained in the primitive Church; and first of their Faith and Morals. Ch. 4. Of the qualifications of persons to be ordained, respecting their outward state and condition in the world. Ch. 5. Of the state of Digamy and Celibacy in particular; and of the laws of the Church about these in reference to the antient Clergy. Ch. 6. Of the ordinations of the primitive Clergy, and the laws and customs generally observed therein. Ch. 7. The case of forced ordinations and re-ordinations considered. Book V. Of the privileges, immunities, and revenues of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Some instances of respect which the Clergy paid mutually to one another. Ch. 2. Instances of respect shewed to the Clergy by the Civil Government; where particularly of their exemption from the cognisance of the secular Courts in Ecclesiastical Causes. Ch. 3. Of the immunities of the Clergy in reference to Taxes and civil Offices, and other burthensome employments in the Roman Empire. Ch. 4. Of the Revenues of the antient Clergy. Ch. 5. Of Tithes and First-fruits in particular. Ch. 6. Of the management and distribution of the Revenues of the antient Clergy. Book VI. An account of several Laws and rules relating to the employment, life and conversation of the primive Clergy. Ch. 1. Of the excellency of these rules in general, and the exemplariness of the Clergy in conforming to them. Ch. 2. Of Laws relating to the life and conversation of the primitive Clergy. Ch. 3. Of Laws more particularly relating to the exercise of the duties and offices of their function. Ch. 4. An account of some other Laws and rules, which were a sort of out-guards and fences to the former. Ch. 5. Some reflections on the foregoing Discourse, concluding with an Addresss to the Clergy of the present Church. Book VII. Of the Asceticks in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the difference between the first Asceticks and Monks; and of the first original of the Monastick Life. Ch. 2. Of the several sorts of Monks, and their different ways of living in the Church Ch. 3. An account of such antient Laws and Rules as relate to the Monastick life, and chiefly that of the Cenobites. Ch. 4. The case and state of Virgins and Widows in the antient Church. Book VIII. An account of the antient Churches, their original, names, parts, utensils, consecrations, immunities, &c. Ch. 1. Of the several names and first original of Churches among Christians. Ch. 2. Of the difference between Churches in the first ages, and those that followed; and of Heathen Temples and Jewish Synagogues turned into Christian Churches. Ch. 3. Of the different forms and parts of the antient Churches; and first of the exterior *Narthex*, or outward Ante-Temple. Ch. 4. Of the interior *Narthex*, and the parts and uses of it. Ch. 5. Of the *Naos*, or Nave and body of the Church, and it's parts and uses. Ch. 6. Of the *Bema*, or third part of the Temple, called the Altar part, or Sanctuary, and the parts and uses of it. Ch. 7. Of the Baptisteries, and other outer buildings, called the *Exedræ* of the Church. Ch. 8. Of

more, 8vo, containing in the whole XXIII books. He discovers in that work a prodigious

Of the *Donaria* and *Anathemata*, and other ornaments of the antient Churches. Ch. 9. Of the consecration of Churches. Ch. 10. Of the respect and reverence which the primitive Christians paid to their Churches. Ch. 11. Of the first original of *Asylums*, or places of Sanctuary and refuge, with the Laws relating to them in Christian Churches. Book IX. A Geographical description of the Districts of the antient Church, or an account of it's division into Provinces, Dioceses, and Parishes; and of the first Original of these: With several Maps. Ch. 1. Of the state and division of the Roman Empire, and of the Church's conformity to that in modelling her own external polity and government. Ch. 2. A more particular account of the nature and extent of Dioceses, or Episcopal Churches, in Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, and other Eastern Provinces. Ch. 3. A continuation of this account of Dioceses in the Provinces of Asia Minor. Ch. 4. A continuation of the former account in the European Provinces of Thracia, Macedonia, Greece, Illyricum, &c. Ch. 5. A particular account of the seventeen Provinces of the Roman and Italick Dioceses, and of the Episcopal Dioceses contained in them. Ch. 6. Of the Dioceses in France, Spain, and the British Isles. Ch. 7. The *Notitia*, or Geographical description of the Bishopricks of the antient Church, as first made by the order of Leo Sapiens in the IXth century, compared with some others. Ch. 8. Of the division of the Dioceses into Parishes, and the first original of them. The Conclusion, wherein is proposed an easy and honourable method for establishing a primitive Diocesan Episcopacy (conformable to the model of the smaller sort of antient Dioceses) in all the Protestant Churches. With an Appendix, containing a Catalogue of the antient Dioceses in the six African Provinces. Book X. Of the institution of the Catechumens, and the first use of the Creeds in the Church. Ch. 1. Of the several names of the Catechumens, and the solemnity that was used in admitting them to that state in the Church; also of Catechizing, and the time of their continuance in that exercise. Ch. 2. Of the several classes or degrees of Catechumens, and the gradual exercises and discipline of every order. Ch. 3. Of the original, nature, and names of the antient Creeds of the Church. Ch. 4. A collection of several antient forms of the Creed out of the primitive records of the Church. Ch. 5. Of the original, nature, and reasons of that antient discipline of concealing the sacred mysteries of the Church from the sight and knowledge of the Catechumens. Book XI. Of the Rites and Customs observed in the administration of Baptism in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the several names and appellations of Baptism in the primitive Church. Ch. 2. Of the matter of Baptism; with an account of such Hereticks as rejected or corrupted Baptism by water. Ch. 3. Of the antient form of Baptism; and of such Hereticks as altered or corrupted it. Ch. 4. Of the subject of Baptism, or an account of what persons were antiently allowed to be baptized. Where particularly of Infant-baptism. Ch. 5. Of the Baptism of adult persons. Ch. 6. Of the time and place of Baptism. Ch. 7. Of the renunciations and professions made by all persons immediately before their Baptism. Ch. 8. Of the use of Sponsors or Sureties in Baptism. Ch. 9. Of the unction and the Sign of the Cross in Baptism. Ch. 10. Of the consecration of the water in Baptism. Ch. 11. Of the different ways of baptizing by immersion, trine immersion, and aspersion in the case of Clinick Baptism. Book XII. Of Confirmation, and other ceremonies following Baptism, before men were made partakers of the Eucharist. Ch. 1. Of the Time when, and the persons to whom Confirmation was administered. Ch. 2. Of the Minister of Confirmation. Ch. 3. Of the manner of administring Confirmation, and the ceremonies used in the celebration of it. Ch. 4. Of the remaining ceremonies of Baptism following Confirmation. Ch. 5. Of the Laws against re-baptization both in Church and State. Book XIII. General observations relating to Divine Worship in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Some necessary remarks upon the antient names of Divine Service, which modern corruptions have rendered ambiguous. Ch. 2. That the devotions of the antient Church were paid to every person of the Blessed Trinity. Ch. 3. That in the antient Church religious worship was given to no Creature, Saint, or Angel, Cross, Image, or Relick, but to God alone. Ch. 4. That antiently Divine Service was always performed in the Vulgar Tongue, understood by the people. Ch. 5. Of the original and use of Liturgies, in stated and set Forms of Prayer, in the primitive Church. Ch. 6. An extract of the several parts of the antient Liturgy out of the genuine writings of St Chrysostom, following the order of his works. Ch. 7. Of the use of the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy of the antient Church. Ch. 8. Of the use of habits and gesture, and other rites and ceremonies in the antient Church. Ch. 9. Of the times of their religious Assemblies, and the several parts of Divine Service performed in them. Ch. 10. The Order of their daily Morning Service. Ch. 11. The Order of their daily Evening Service. Book XIV. Of that part of Divine Servine which the Ancients comprized under the general name of *Missa Catechumenorum*, the Service of the Catechumens, or Ante-Communion Service on the Lord's Day. Ch. 1. Of the Psalmody of the antient Church. Ch. 2. A particular account of some of the most noted Hymns used in the Service of the antient Church. Ch. 3. Of the manner of reading the Scriptures in the publick Service of the Church. Ch. 4. Of Preaching, and the usages relating to it in the antient Church. Ch. 5. Of the Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes, or Candidates of Baptism, and the Penitents. Book XV. Of the *Missa Fidelium*, or Communion-Service. Ch. 1. Of the Prayers preceding the Oblation. Ch. 2. Of the Oblations of the people, and other things introductory to the consecration of the Eucharist. Ch. 3. Of the Oblation or Consecration Prayers, and the several parts of them. Ch. 4. Of Communicants, or persons who were allowed to receive this Sacrament, and the manner of receiving it. Ch. 5. A resolution of several questions relating further to the manner of communicating in the antient Church. Ch. 6. Of their Post-Communion-Service. Ch. 7. How the remains of the Eucharist were disposed of; and of the common entertainment called *Agape*, or Feast of Charity. Ch. 8. Of the preparation which the Antients required as necessary in Communicants, to qualify them for a worthy reception. Ch. 9. Of frequent Communion, and the times of celebrating it in the antient Church. Book XVI. Of the unity and discipline of the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of the union and communion observed among Catholicks in the antient Church. Ch. 2. Of the discipline of the Church, and the various kinds of it; together with the various methods observed in the administration of it. Ch. 3. Of the objects of Ecclesiastical Censures, or the persons on whom they might be inflicted; with a general account of the crimes for which they might be inflicted. Ch. 4. A particular account of those called *Great Crimes*. Of transgressions of the first and second commandments. Of the principal of these, viz. Idolatry. Of the several species of Idolatry, and degrees of punishment allotted to them according to the proportion and quality of the offences. Ch. 5. Of the practice of curious and forbidden arts, Divination, Magick, and Inchantment; and of the Laws of the Church made for the punishment of them. Ch. 6. Of apostacy to Judaism and Paganism; of Heresy and Schism; and of Sacrilege and Simony. Ch. 7. Of Sins against the third commandment, Blasphemy, profane Swearing, Perjury, and breach of Vows. Ch. 8. Of Sins against the fourth commandment, or violations of the Laws enjoining the religious observation of the Lord's Day. Ch. 9. Of great transgressions against the fifth commandment, viz. disobedience to Parents and Masters; treason and rebellion against Princes; and contempt of the Laws of the Church. Ch. 10. Of great transgressions against the sixth commandment; of murder and manslaughter, parricide, self-murder, dismembring the body, exposing of infants, causing abortion, &c. Ch. 11. Of great transgressions against the seventh commandment, fornication, adultery, incest, polygamy, &c. Ch. 12. Of great transgressions of the eighth commandment, theft, oppression, fraud, &c. Ch. 13. Of great transgressions against the ninth commandment, false accusation, libelling, informing, calumny and slander, railing and reviling,

prodigious fund of reading, especially in the Fathers; as likewise a great deal of judgment, sincerity, and candour: And gives, at the same time, a specimen of what industry and a diligent application, are capable of doing (c). But, besides this difficult and voluminous undertaking, he published other books: Namely, 'The French Church's Apology for the Church of England: Or, the Objections of Dissenters against the Articles, Homilies, Liturgy, and Canons of the English Church, considered, and answered upon the Principles of the Reformed Church of France. A work chiefly extracted out of the authentick Acts and Decrees of the French National Synods, and the most approved writers of that Church [D],' Lond. 1706, 8*vo*. And, 'A Scholastical History of the Practice of the Church in reference to the Administration of Baptism by Laymen. Wherein an Account is given of the practice of the Primitive Church, the Practice of the Modern Greek Church, and the Practice of the Churches of the Reformation. With an Appendix containing some Remarks on the Historical Part of Mr Lawrence's Writings touching the Invalidity of Lay-Baptism, his Preliminary Discourse of the various Opinions of the Fathers concerning Rebaptization, and invalid Baptisms, and his Discourse of Sacerderdotal Powers.' Part I. Lond. 1712, 8*vo*. 'A Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism. Part II. With some Considerations on Dr Brett's and 'Mr

(c) See Preface to Vol. X.

reviling. Ch. 14. Of great transgressions against the tenth commandment, envy, covetousness, &c. Book XVII. Of the Exercise of Discipline upon the Clergy in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of the difference of Ecclesiastical Censures inflicted on Clergymen and Laymen. Ch. 2 Of reducing the Clergy to the state and communion of Laymen, as a punishment for great offences. Ch. 3. Of the punishment, called *Peregrina Communio*, or reducing Clergymen to the communion of Strangers. Ch. 4. Of some other special and peculiar ways of inflicting punishment on the Clergy. Ch. 5. A particular account of the crimes for which Clergymen were liable to be punished with any of the forementioned kinds of Censure. Book XVIII. Of the several Orders of Penitents, and the method of performing publick Penance in the Church, by going through the several stages of Repentance. Ch. 1. A particular account of the several Orders of Penitents in the Church. Ch. 2. Of the Ceremonies used in admitting Penitents to do publick Penance, and the manner of performing publick Penance in the Church. Ch. 3. A particular account of the *Exomologesis*, or penitential Confession of the antient Church; shewing it to be a different thing from the private or auricular Confession introduced by the Church of Rome. Ch. 4. Of the great rigour, strictness, and severity of the Discipline and Penance of the antient Church. Book XIX Of Absolution, or the manner of re-admitting Penitents into the Communion of the Church again. Ch. 1. Of the nature of Absolution, and the several sorts of it; more particularly of such as relate to the penitential Discipline of the Church. Ch. 2. Of the circumstances, rites and customs anciently observed in the publick Absolution of Sinners. Ch. 3. Of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and particularly of the Minister of Absolution. Two Sermons, and two Letters to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester, concerning the Nature and Necessity of the several sorts of Absolution; shewing how far that Necessity extends, and where it ceases. Book XX. Of the Festivals observed in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the distinction to be made between Civil and Ecclesiastical Festivals. Ch. 2. Of the original and observation of the Lord's Day among Christians. Ch. 3. Of the observation of the Sabbath, or Saturday, as a weekly Festival. Ch. 4. Of the Festival of Christ's Nativity and Epiphany. Ch. 5. Of Easter, or the Paschal Festival. Ch. 6. Of Pentecost, or Whitsontide. Ch. 7. Of the Festivals of the Apostles and Martyrs. Ch. 8 Of some other Festivals of a later date and lesser observation. Book XXI. Of the Fasts in use in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of the Quadragesimal, or Lent Fast. Ch. 2. Of the Fasts of the Four Seasons; of monthly Fasts, and the original of Ember-Weeks and Rogation-Days. Ch. 3. Of the weekly Fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays, or the Stationary days of the antient Church. Book XXII. Of the Marriage-Rites observed in the antient Church. Ch. 1. A short account of the Hereticks who condemned or vilified Marriage antiently, under pretence of greater purity and perfection; and of such also as gave licence to community of Wives, and Fornication. Ch 2. Of the just impediments of Marriage in particular cases, shewing what persons might, or might not, be lawfully joined together; and of the times and seasons when the celebration of Marriage was forbidden. Ch. 3. Of the manner of making espousals preceding Marriage in the antient Church. Ch. 4. Of the manner of celebrating marriage in the antient Church. Ch. 5. Of Divorces; how far they were allowed or disallowed by the antient Christians. Book XXIII. Of Funeral Rites, or the Custom and Manner of burying the Dead, observed in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of Cemeteries or Burying-places; with an enquiry, how and when the custom of burying in Churches first came in. Ch. 2. Some farther observations concerning the place, and manner, and time of burying. Ch. 3. How they prepared the Body for the Funeral, and with what religious ceremonies and solemnities they interred it. Ch. 4. An account of the Laws made to secure the Bodies and Graves of the dead, from the violence of robbers and sacrilegious invaders, and buyers and sellers of relicks, and their worshippers.

[D] *The* French *Church's Apology for the Church of* England.] He informs us in the Preface, that what first put him upon compiling this work, and furnished him with the principal part of the materials for it, was the perusal of a book, intitled, '*Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*; or, The Acts, Decrees, and Canons of the National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France.' Published in two volumes, fol. Lond. 1692, by Mr John Quick, Minister of the Gospel; (that is, a Dissenting Minister among the Presbyterians). The whole collected out of the original manuscript Acts of those Synods; being a work never before extant in any language; wherein are contained many excellent expedients for preventing and healing of schisms in the Churches, and for re-uniting the dismembered body of divided Protestants. Our author considered therefore, that if these Synods afforded any such expedients, they were likely to weigh as much with Dissenters, especially those of the Presbyterian party, as any other arguments: Considering, 1. That they themselves have commonly made their appeals to the Foreign Churches against the Church of England; blaming her establishment and methods, and measures of Reformation; and requiring her to be reformed in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the example of the best Reformed Churches; which are the very words of the Solemn League and Covenant. 2. That in all probability they will freely own the French Church to be one of the best Reformed Churches, and let her authority be of some consideration with them. 3. That the Translator and Publisher of these Synods being (one of themselves) a professed Dissenting Minister, cannot by them be suspected to have translated any thing partially in favour of the Church of England. Mr Bingham endeavours therefore to make appear to them out of these very Synods, (which are the most publick and authentick rule of the French Church) in Book I. That the methods and measures of Reformation in the Church of England, are the same that the French Church did take, or would have taken if she could; and that our expedients for preventing and healing schisms in the Church, are no other than what are laid down and prescribed in these Synods. Book II. That our Articles and Homilies contain no other Doctrine, but what is publickly taught in the Articles and Homilies of the French Church. Book III. That the objections against our Liturgy and Rubricks, will

(d) Lawrence's; an ingenious Layman.

'Mr L———'s (d) Answers to the first Part.' Lond. 8vo [E]. To which is prefixed, 'The State of the present Controversy.' And, at the end there is, 'An Appendix containing some Remarks on the Author of the Second Part of Lay-Baptism invalid.' He published likewise 'A Discourse concerning the Mercy of God to Penitent Sinners: Intended for the use of Persons troubled in mind.' Being a Sermon on *Psalm* ciii. 13. Printed singly at first. And reprinted among the rest of his Works, in two Volumes, fol. Lond. 1725. Notwithstanding his great learning, merit, and other excellent qualifications, he continued only Rector of Headbourne-worthy, till the year 1712, when he was collated to the rectory of Havant near Portsmouth, by Sir Jonathan Trelawney Bishop of Winchester, to whom he dedicated several of his books. This learned and industrious person died Aug. 17, 1723, in the 55th year of his age, and was buried in the church-yard of Headbourn-worthy. He expressed, in his Will, a dislike to any such thing as a monument over his grave; which is the reason why none is yet erected to his memory. But there was one intended, with an inscription which we shall give in the note [F]. As to his character; Though he had not the strongest constitution (e), he was a person of very great industry, and indefatigable application, as his works abundantly testify. He was at the same time a great lover of truth (f); and of so free and disinterested a temper, that 'though he loved not to enter into dispute with any 'men, yet he did not think any Great Names so Venerable, as to be of sufficient Authority to 'lead others by their Dictates only, especially in Matters of Fact and History, unless 'they assign just Grounds and Reasons for their Assertions (g).

(e) See his Works in folio, Vol. II. p. 417.

(f) Ibid. p. 587, 701, &c.

(g) Ibid. p. 523.

will hold as well against the Liturgy and publick Offices that are used among them. Book IV. That our Canons require but the same things, or things equivalent to what the Canons of these Synods enjoin. In these three last Books, the Dissenters objections against the Articles and Homilies, Liturgy and Canons of the Church of England, are considered and answered from the principles and practice of the Reformed Church of France. The principal person whom he takes objections from, and answers them upon the principles and grounds of the French Church, is Mr R. Baxter, in one of his books, intitled, 'English Nonconformity, 'as under King Charles II and King James II, stated 'and argued,' 4to, Lond. 1689, where he has summed up their principal reasons for their Nonconformity. To these our author returns answers, either from the French Synods, or their most approved writers, as the subject requires. Towards the conclusion of his Preface, he makes this pertinent remark. — 'I cannot 'think the true method of preventing the dangers '*arising from our divisions*, is to make such concessions 'to Dissenters, as will shake and destroy the present 'Constitution; but to reason them into Union upon 'such principles as are common to all the Churches of 'the Reformation.'

[E] *A Scholastical History of the practice of the Church in reference to the administration of Baptism by Laymen*, &c.] His design in this work, briefly, is to shew, that although Laymen were always prohibited to baptize in ordinary cases, yet they were allowed to do it in *cases extraordinary*; and this extraordinary Baptism of theirs was counted valid, without any need of Rebaptization.

[F] *But there was one intended, with an inscription*, &c.]

The inscription is as follows.

Obstupesce Viator!
Venerandi hic conduntur Cineres
Josephi Bingham A. M.
Nati Wakefeldiæ apud Eboracenses
Collegii Universitatis apud Oxon.
quondam Socii.
Cujus multiplicem si spectes Doctrinam,
Quam Scriptis prodidit,
Si exactam veteris Disciplinæ et
Consuetudinum Ecclesiasticarum
Notitiam,
Cyprianicâ ætate vel etiam Ignatianâ
Moribus quoque primævis
Vixisse agnoscas,
Nisi quod non esset Episcopus.
At væ Sæculo meritorum immemori
Et ingrato!
Cum qui Patriarchatum in Ecclesiâ
Meruit,
Nonnisi Headbourn-Worthy & Havanti in Agro Hanton.
Parochus, obiit
Decimo Septimo die Aug.
Anno { Christo 1723.
{ Ætatis 55

C

(a) Winstanley's Lives of the English Poets, p. 180.

BIRKENHEAD or BERKENHEAD (Sir JOHN) a very famous political author in the XVIIth century (a). He was the son of Richard Birkenhead, of Northwych in the county of Cheshire, an honest Sadler (b), and if some authors may deserve credit, he kept also a little alehouse (c). Our author was born, as the university registers shew, about the year 1615, and having received some tincture of learning in the common grammar schools, came to Oxford, and was entered, in 1632, a Servitor of Oriel-college, under the tuition of the learned Dr Humphrey Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Bangor (d), by whom being recommended to Dr William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, he became his Amanuensis, and in that capacity discovered so great parts and diligence, that the Archbishop, by his diploma, created him Master of Arts in 1639, and the year following, by letter commendatory from the same great Prelate, he was chosen Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls-college in the same university (e). This preferment brought him to reside constantly in Oxford, and on King Charles I, making that city his head quarters, during the Civil War, our author was made choice of to write a kind of Journal, in defence or support of the Royal Cause, by which he gained great reputation (f) [A]. His labours in this way being equally useful and acceptable to the Royalists,

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(c) A seasonable Argument to perswade all Grand Juries to petition for a new Parliament, London, 1677, 4to, p. 19.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(e) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 282.

(f) Grey's Examination of Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II and III, in a multitude of places.

[A] *By which he gained great reputation.*] In those days, the Press being entirely at liberty on both sides, the war was carried on from thence with the greatest vigour. The work, under the care of Mr Birkenhead, was intitled, I. '*Mercurius Aulicus*; communicating the intelligence and affairs of the Court 'to the rest of the kingdom.' It was printed weekly in one sheet, and sometimes more, in quarto; and was

Royalists, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to be chosen Reader in Moral Philosophy, which was accordingly done, and he enjoyed this employment, though with very small profit, till 1648, when he was expelled by the Parliament Visitors (g). He retired afterwards to London, where adhering steadily to his principles, he acquired, amongst those of his own sentiments, the title of *the Loyal Poet*, and suffered, from such as had then the power in their hands, several imprisonments, which served only to sharpen his spleen, without abating his courage. He published, while he thus lived in obscurity, and, as Wood says, by his wits (h), some very tart performances, which were then very highly relished, and are still admired by the curious. These were like his former productions, levelled against the Republican grandees, and were all written with the same vindictive poignancy that was then fashionable [*B*]. Upon the Restoration of King

(g) List of the reverend and worthy Persons who suffered for their loyalty in the university of Oxford.

(h) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 640. Winstanley's Lives of the English Poets, p. 180.

was chiefly calculated to raise the reputation of the King's friends and commanders, and run down and ridicule those who sided with the Parliament. They came out regularly, from the beginning of 1642 to the latter end of 1645, and afterwards occasionally. When Mr Birkenhead was otherwise engaged, Dr Peter Heylyn supplied his place, but was not thought so capable of that kind of writing, that is to say, he did not excel in that sort of low, popular wit, which is necessary to render such kind of pieces acceptable to the publick, the only method of making them answer their intention (1). The Parliament thought fit to oppose this Court-Journal by another of their side of the question, under the title of *Mercurius Britannicus*, written by one Marchmont Needham, to whom the Royalists gave the name of *foul-mouthed Needham*; who, finding himself somewhat unequal to the Oxford writer, thought fit to ascribe the *Mercurius Aulicus* to several persons, that his deficiency might do the less prejudice to his party (2). 'The penning, says he, of 'these *Mercurii Aulici* was the act of many, viz. *Birkenhead* the Scribe, Secretary *Nicholas* the Informer, 'and *George Digby* the Contriver.' But to make the inequality appear still greater, he (3) insinuated farther, *that a weekly assessment of wit was imposed on every college in the University for the better furnishing this performance.* There has been a very strange mistake committed by a late writer upon this subject. He had heard that this gentleman was a Poet, and from thence took it for granted, that whatever he wrote must be in verse; this induced him to give the following character, which shews how necessary it is to supply the defects of such collections by a work of this nature (4). 'The steadfast adherence, says he, of this gentleman 'to the *Royal Cause*, procured him the title of the '*Loyal Poet*; and though the reward of his loyalty 'was the most severe imprisonment, yet his principles 'were immoveable in all changes of fortune. Among 'his other pieces, the poem, intitled *Mercurius Aulicus*, will do him immortal honour, which a writer 'of that time thus justly celebrates:

'Whilst laurel sprigs another's head shall crown,
'Thou the whole grove may'st challenge as thy own.

'This worthy patriot lived to see the Restoration, and 'had not only that happiness, but likewise to be a 'spectator of the deserved execution of some of the 'rebels, who had so basely conspired to take away his 'life, and whom he had so truly delineated in his admirable poem above-mentioned.'

[*B*] *All written with the same vindictive poignancy, that was then fashionable.*] It would be a very difficult thing to give a correct catalogue of this gentleman's writings; but, however, it may not be amiss to mention some of the most considerable, the rather, because at present remarkably scarce; and such as have mentioned them don't always speak of them with tolerable accuracy or exactness.

II. *The Assembly-man.* This was written by our author in the year 1647, but was printed, as Mr Wood tells us, in 1662-3. It was printed again in 1681-2; and the reader may form a tolerable notion of it from the subsequent quotation, in which he gives us an account, after his manner, of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, which was, properly speaking, the Parliament's Convocation (5).

'This Assembly at first was a full *century*, which should 'be reckoned, as the Scholiast's *Hecatomb*, by their 'feet, not heads; or count them by scores, for in 'things without heads sixscore go to an hundred. They 'would be a new *Septuagint*; the old translated scriptures out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, these turn them into '*four shillings* a day. And these *Assemblers* were begot 'in one day, as *Hercules*'s fifty bastards all in one night. 'Their first list was sprinkled with some names of honour (Dr *Sanderson*, Dr *Morley*, Dr *Hammond*, &c.); 'but these were Divines too worthy to mix with such 'scandalous Ministers, and would not assemble without 'the *Royal Call.* Nay, the first list had one Archbishop, and a Bishop and an half (for Bishop *Browning* 'was then but elect): But now their assembly (as Philosopers think the world) consists of *atoms*, petty small '*Levites*, whose parts are not *perceptible*. And yet 'these inferior postern Teachers have intoxicated *England* (for a man sometimes grows drunk by a glister). 'When they all meet they shew beasts in *Affrick*, by 'coupling together monsters. Mr *Selden* visits them '(as Persians use) to see wild asses fight. When the 'Commons have tired him by their *new Law*, these 'Brethren refresh him by their *mad Gospel*. They 'lately were gravelled 'twixt *Jerusalem* and *Jericho*: 'They knew not the distance 'twixt those two places; 'one cried, twenty miles, another ten. 'Twas concluded seven, for this reason, *that* fish was brought 'from Jericho to Jerusalem market. Mr *Selden* smiled, 'and said, *perhaps the fish was salt fish*, and so stopped 'their mouths. Earl Philip goes thither to hear them 'spend; when he heard them toss their *National*, '*Provincial, Classical, Congregational*, he swore damnably that a pack of good dogs made better musick.'

III. 'News from *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*; or, '*Oxford Manchester'd*, &c. 1648; consisting of a single 'sheet in quarto.' This is a speech which our author was pleased to put into the mouth of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, upon his being sent by the Parliament to new model the university of Oxford, in the same manner that Edward Earl of Manchester had treated Cambridge when he visited it as Chancellor. This speech is supposed to have been delivered by the Earl in the Convocation-house at Oxon, on the 12th of April, 1648, and is beyond question a very humorous performance, in which that Peer's wild way of talking is happily imitated, and the purpose our author meant to serve, as effectually prosecuted as in that satirical method could be done.

IV. '*Paul*'s Church-yard; *Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, nundinis Paulinis (una cum templo) prostant venales*, &c. printed in three sheets, quarto, '1649.' These sheets were published separately, as if they had been parts of one general catalogue. They consisted of the feigned titles of books, and of Acts of Parliament, with several queries upon the times. They were written with great wit and spirit (6), allowing for the taste of that age, had a very quick sale, and contributed not a little to make those laughed at for the use of their power, who were otherwise very terrible from their possession of it.

He wrote besides several other small pieces in the same way, particularly *The four-legged Quaker*, a ballad, to the tune of *the Dog and Elder's Maid*. A New Ballad of a famous *German Prince*, without date. Some other pamphlets published in those times, seem from their stile and manner to be of his composition, though never owned by him either at the time they were published, or after the Restoration, when it was safer as well as more honourable. Perhaps he had private reasons for not owning them, as they were most of them personal satires against men, some of whom having changed their principles, were not without power in the reign of King Charles II.

Our author has also several copies of verses and translations extant, to which are vocal compositions set by Mr Henry Lawes; as particularly Anacreon's ode, called the *Lute*, translated from the Greek, and to be sung

(1) Life of Dr Heylyn. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639. Winstanly's Lives of English Poets, p. 180.

(2) Mercur. Britan, No. xvi.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Jacob's Lives and Characters of English Poets, Vol. I. p. 8, 9, all, but the blunder of making *Mercurius Aulicus* a Poem, being stolen from the Account given by Winstanley.

(5) Assembly-Man, p. 1.

(6) Grey's Examination of Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 98, 170, 261, &c.

King Charles II, our ingenious author came to be as eminently distinguished as his great merit deserved. He was created, April 6, 1661, on the King's letters sent for that purpose, Doctor of the Civil Law by the university of Oxford (*i*), and in that quality, was one of the eminent Civilians consulted by the Convocation on the question, *Whether Bishops ought to be present in capital cases?* and with the rest, Feb. 2, 1661-2, gave it under his hand, they ought and might (*k*). He was, about the same time, elected a Burgess, to serve in Parliament for Wilton in the county of Wilts, and continuing his services to his Master, was by him promoted, on the first vacancy, to some office at Court, which he quitted afterwards, and became Master in the Faculty Office (*l*). He was knighted November 14, 1662, and upon Sir Richard Fanshaw's going with a publick character to the Court of Madrid, Sir John Birkenhead succeeded him as Master of Requests (*m*). These were the rewards of his wit and loyalty; but it may not be amiss to mention another evidence of his good sense and learning, which is his being elected a Member of the Royal Society (*n*), an honour done to none who were not well known in the Republick of Letters, as men capable of promoting the truly noble designs of that most learned and famous Body. He lived afterwards in credit and esteem with witty and learned men, and received various favours from the Court, in consideration of the past, and to instigate him to other services (*o*); which, however, drew upon him some very severe attacks from those who opposed the Court, and hated all who favoured it. Anthony Wood has not only preserved some of their coarsest imputations, in what he is pleased to say of our author, but is also disposed to throw some unkind insinuations himself, to hurt his reputation (*p*); but this will probably have the less effect, since his memory has been transmitted with honour to posterity by others [*C*]. He died in Westminster,

(*i*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*k*) Gibson's Cod. Jur. Vol. I. p. 145. Kennet's Register, p. 620.

(*l*) History of the Restoration, p. 195.

(*m*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(*n*) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 431.

(*o*) A seasonable Argument, &c. ubi supra.

(*p*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639, 640, 641.

(*q*) Ibid. ubi supra.

sung by a Base alone; and an Anniversary on the *Nuptials* of *John* Earl of *Bridgwater*, 22 July, 1652. He wrote likewise a poem *on his staying in London*, after the Act of banishment for Cavaliers; and another called the *Jolt*, made upon Cromwell the Protector's being thrown out of his coach-box in Hyde-Park.

He published Mr Robert Waring's (7) *Effigies Amoris, sive quid sit Amor efflagitanti responsum.* London, 1649, in 12mo, from the original at the author's desire, who was willing to be concealed. The third edition was published after the Restoration by William Griffith of Oxford, with an epistle before it, written by him to Sir John Birkenhead; wherein he gives the character of that gentleman as well as of the author. This was the same piece afterwards translated into English by the famous Mr Norris of Bemerton (8), and published under the title of *The Picture of* LOVE *unveiled.*

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 224.

(8) Printed at London, 1682, 8vo.

We meet also with several copies of verses written by this gentleman, and prefixed to the works of the most eminent Wits and greatest Poets of his time; and they are such as shew he was a person who excelled in that way himself, as well as one who admired the good sense of other men. The following lines are from a poem of his prefixed to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, in which he speaks thus of the death of the former.

——— But as when fate one eye deprives,
The other strives to double that survives:
So Beaumont died, yet left in legacy
His rules and standard wit (Fletcher) to thee.
Still the same planet, though not fill'd so soon,
A two-horned crescent then, now one full moon;
Joint love before, now honour doth provoke;
So the twin-giants forcing a huge oak,
One slipp'd his footing, th' other sees him fall,
Grasp'd the whole tree, and single held up all, &c.

Of Beaumont's performances he gave this commendation.

I grieve not now that old *Menander*'s vein
Is ruin'd to survive in thee again:
Such in his time was he, of the same piece,
The smooth, even natural wit, and love of Greece;
Whose few sententious fragments shew more worth,
Than all the Poets *Athens* e'er brought forth.

But his Latin lines under Fletcher's picture are justly considered as doing him as much honour as any that ever fell from his pen, and shall therefore be here preserved.

Felicis ævi, ac *Præsulis* natus; comes
Beaumontio; sic quippe Parnassus, *Biceps*;
FLETCHERUS unam in pyramida furcas agens.
Struxit chorum plus simplicem vates duplex;
Plus duplicem solus: nec ullum transtulit;
Nec transferrendus: Dramatum æterni sales,
Anglo theatro, orbi, sibi, superstites.
FLETCHERE, facies absque vultu pingitur;
Quantus! vel *umbram* circuit nemo tuam.

[*C*] *Has been transmitted with honour to posterity by others.*] It is not easy to conceive why Mr Wood, who is otherwise ready enough to bestow praises upon men of this gentleman's principles, should be notwithstanding inclined to treat him very harshly, and with great disrespect. In speaking of his conduct, after he was driven from Oxford to London, he makes use of the following terms (9). *He lived by his wits in helping young gentlemen out at dead lifts, and making Poems, Songs, and Epistles on and to their respective mistresses; as also in translating and writing several little things, and other petite employments.* He afterwards cites more gross abuse than his own, from a pamphlet written with an avowed design of abusing every body that is mentioned in it; and, not satisfied with this, he has also written a Comment upon this abuse in the following terms. 'The truth is, had he not been given to 'so much bantering, which is now taken up by vain 'and idle people, he might have passed for a good 'wit. And had he also expressed himself grateful and 'respectful to those who had been his benefactors in 'the time of his necessity, which he did not, but rather slighted them (shewing thereby the baseness of 'his spirit), he might have passed for a friend and a 'loving companion.' One would imagine from hence, that Mr Wood must have been acquainted with these facts of his own knowledge; and yet in his life written by himself, and in which abundance of little circumstances relating to almost every body that he knew are set down, there is not one word of our author, which induces me to believe, that he took this upon trust from papers that were sent him; for I find in this life, as in most others, he sets down many things as his own opinion in the words of other persons, without taking the least notice of those from whom he transcribed. But men of as great reputation as Mr Wood, and who had an opportunity of knowing Sir John Birkenhead to the full as well as he, mention him in very different terms, and as a person of quite another character. The celebrated Mr Dryden calls him his learned and worthy friend (10). He is mentioned with great respect by Langbaine in his account of English dramatick Poets (11). And another author who has treated upon the same subject, excuses his giving us but a very short account

(9) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639, 640.

(10) Defence of an Essay upon Dramatick Poetry, prefixed to *The Indian Emperor.*

(11) Account of English Dramatick Poets, p. 26.

Westminster, December 4, 1679, and was interred at St Martin's in the Fields (q), leaving to his executors, Sir Richard Mason, and Sir Muddiford Bamston, a large and curious collection of pamphlets on all subjects.

(q) Obituarium by J. Beauchamp MS. p. 195.

account of his performances, by saying, that (12) *as for his learned writings, those who were ignorant of them, must plead ignorance both to wit and learning.* There might be much more said upon this subject, but that we are not at all inclined to tire the reader with a tedious train of laboured commendations. It is enough if we have set this life in a clearer light than that in which it has hitherto stood, and vindicated the author's merit from the prejudices of a peevish writer, or of one who willingly employed his pen in transcribing the effects of other peoples malice. E

(12) Winstanley's Lives of English Poets, p. 181.

BLACKALL (OFFSPRING) (a), Bishop of Exeter at the beginning of the present century, was born in London in the year 1654, and was educated at Catherine-Hall in the university of Cambridge. In 1690, he was promoted to the living of St Mary Aldermanbury in London. In 1695, he was chosen Lecturer of St Olave in the Old Jewry; which lectureship he resigned, in 1698, for that of St Dunstan's in the West. He was likewise one of King William's Chaplains in Ordinary; though it is said, he had refused for two years to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary [A]. In 1699, he animadverted upon Mr Toland for maintaining, that King Charles I was not author of the *Icon Basilike* [B]. In 1700, he preached a course of Sermons at Mr

(a) *The particulars of the text of this article, excepting what relates to the Bishop's writings, are extracted from the authors of the General Dictionary, to whom they were communicated by his widow, &c.*

[A] *It is said, he had refused for two years to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary.*] This is asserted in a pamphlet published in 1705, intitled, *Dr Blackall's Offspring:*

Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo. Juv.

London, printed for the use of the Vestry of St Dunstan's in the West. It was occasioned by a *Sermon* of the Doctor's on *Proverbs* xxiv. 21. intitled, *The Subjects Duty*, preached at the parish church of St Dunstan's in the West, Tuesday, March the 8th, being the anniversary of her Majesty's happy accession. The pamphlet pretends, that the principles advanced in the Sermon seem *altogether irreconcileable to a gentleman's character, who made a keck in a late reign at the oath of allegiance to the people's election*; and calls upon the Doctor to reconcile his *sticking out two years against taking the oath of allegiance to the late King and Queen, with his reasons of compliance afterwards* (1).

(1) Page 3, 4, 5.

[B] *He animadverted upon Mr Toland for maintaining, that King Charles I was not author of the* Icon Basilike.] That author, in his *Life of Milton*, having stated the proofs, that Dr Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, was the true author of the book in question, makes the following reflection. 'When I seriously consider how all this happened among ourselves, within the compass of forty years, in a time of great learning and politeness, when both parties so narrowly watched over one another's actions, and what a great revolution in civil and religious affairs was partly occasioned by the credit of that book, I cease to wonder any longer how so many supposititious pieces under the name of Christ, his Apostles, and other great persons, should be published and approved in the primitive times, when it was of so much importance to have them believed; when the cheats were too many on all sides for them to reproach one another, which yet they often did; when commerce was not near so general as now, and the whole earth entirely overspread with the darkness of superstition. I doubt rather the spuriousness of several more such books is yet undiscovered, through the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concerned, and the decay of other monuments, which might give us true information.' This observation gave offence to many; and, among the rest, Mr Blackall, in a Sermon preached on the 30th of January before the House of Commons, upon *John* ix. 3. particularly took notice of it in these words. *We may cease to wonder, that he should have the boldness, without proof, and against proof, to deny the authority of this book, who is such an Infidel as to doubt, and is shameless and impudent enough, even in print, and in a Christian country, publickly to affront our Holy Religion, by declaring his doubt, that several pieces under the name of Christ and his Apostles (he must mean those now received by the Christian Church, for I know of no other) are supposititious, though, through the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concerned, and the decay of other monuments, which might give us true information, the spuriousness thereof is yet undiscovered.* Mr Toland, in his *Amyntor* (2), endeavoured to vindicate himself by shewing, that, in the passage animadverted upon, his meaning was, that 'a great many spurious books were early fathered upon Christ, his Apostles, and other great names, part whereof are still acknowledged to be genuine, and the rest to be forged;' *in neither of which assertions*, says he, *I could be justly supposed to mean any books of the New Testament.* This occasioned our author to publish a little pamphlet in 12mo, intitled, *Mr Blackall's Reasons for not replying to a book lately published, intitled,* Amyntor; *in a Letter to a Friend*, April 21, 1699. And the principal reason assigned is, because Mr Toland, in explaining his meaning, had agreed with him, that the books of the New Testament are genuine; which was all he (Mr Blackall) ever meant to contend for (3). In this piece Mr Blackall mentions an objection made by Mr Toland, in the conclusion of his *Amyntor*, against the observation of the 30th of January, and the Sermons which have been preached on that day; *a subject* (he says) *more proper to be debated in Parliament, than by private persons* (4). But he speaks directly to another remark of the same author's, who pretended, that several persons took offence at his calling King Charles I, in that Sermon, *the best of Kings, and the best of men*, and especially *because he had not excepted his* (then) *present Majesty*. 'He might have added, *says our author* (5), that it was a greater fault in me, than it would have been in another, because I write myself *Chaplain to his Majesty*. But the author, I think, does not say, he himself was offended at this expression; and I suppose those several (if indeed there were any that upon this account only were angry at it) were only such as not only have not been conversant in antient authors, but are not yet so far read even in their Testament, as to the beginning of St Luke's Gospel, where, *verse* 3, he stiles Theophilus *most excellent*, by which, I suppose, few, even of these beginners to read, do think that St Luke meant to make a comparison between him and other excellent persons, and much less to prefer Theophilus before all other men, the holy Apostles of our Lord not excepted. And therefore this being so manifestly an invidious cavil, I think, needs no answer, especially when, in the Sermon itself, though I commend King Charles I for his virtues, I did allow, that he had faults. But the faults that were then, and have been since charged upon him, being only such as he might be, and I believe was, led into by misinformation, and a mistake of the extent of his power and prerogative, I said, they were only such as were consistent with integrity of mind; and such faults as these can hardly, I think, be called Vices and Immoralities.' *As to the reflections* (adds Mr Blackall) *which he has almost in every page made upon me, particularly as to the meanness of my parts, and my great want of learning, I value them not. Let the world believe of me as it pleases: or if I was minded to make any answer to these parts of his book, it should be only this: That my natural parts are such as God was pleased to give me, to which I can no more add, than to my stature. However,*

(2) *Published in* 1699, p. 15.

(3) Dr *Blackall's Reasons, &c.* p. 10.

(4) Ibid. p. 16.

(5) Ibid. p. 17.

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Mr Boyle's Lecture in the cathedral church of St Paul's. He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter the 8th of February, 1707. In 1709, he was engaged in a controversy with Mr Hoadly [C], the present Bishop of Winchester (b), concerning the institution of Civil Government, and the measures of submission. This worthy Prelate died at Exeter, the 29th of November 1716, and was buried in the cathedral there. His Sermons [D] were collected and published together, in two volumes in *folio*, Lond. 1723. Sir William Dawes, late Archbishop of York, gives (c) our author a most excellent character [E].

(b) In 1746.

(c) In his *Preface* to Bishop Blackall's *Sermons*.

ever, such as they are, I am contented with them, and thankful for them: And that my learning is as much, as by moderate study with such parts I have been able to attain. And to this perhaps I should subjoin a prayer, in which I make no doubt I. T. (*) *would think himself included (as well as he is thought by some to be in the prayer for Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks), viz. That they, who have better parts and more learning, may use and improve them to the glory of him that gave them, and do more good in the world than I am able to do.*

(*) John Toland.

[C] *He was engaged in a controversy with Mr Hoadly.*] It was occasioned by his Sermon upon *Rom.* xiii. 3, 4. intitled, *The Divine Institution of Magistracy, and the gracious design of it's institution*, preached before the Queen at St James's on Tuesday, March 8, 1708, being the anniversary of her Majesty's happy accession to the throne, and published by her Majesty's special command. The next year, 1709, Mr Hoadly animadverted upon the Bishop's Sermon in a piece, intitled, *Some Considerations humbly offered to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Exeter, occasioned by his Lordship's Sermon before her Majesty, March 8*, 1708 (6). Upon which the Bishop published *An Answer to Mr Hoadly's Letter*, dated from Bath, May the 10th, 1709. Mr Hoadly endeavoured to vindicate himself in *An Humble Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Exeter's Answer; in which the Considerations offered to his Lordship are vindicated, and an Apology is added for defending the foundation of the present Government.* London, 1709, in 8vo. For the subject-matter of this controversy, the reader is referred to the pieces themselves. It need only be observed here, that Bishop Blackall defends the *High-Church, Tory*, principles (as they usually are called), of the *Divine Institution* of *Magistracy*, and unlimited *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*; which Mr Hoadly opposes. There were several pamphlets wrote on the side of the Bishop against Mr Hoadly; particularly one, intitled, *The best Answer that ever was made, and to which no Answer will be made*; supposed to be written by Mr Lesley, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and which Mr Hoadly animadverts upon in the *Postscript* to his *Humble Reply*.

(6) It is extant in Mr Hoadly's *Tracts*, p. 307, Lond. 1715, 8vo.

[D] *His Sermons.*] Dr Felton, speaking of the *celebrated authors in Divinity* (7), says, 'Bishop Fleetwood's *softness*, and Bishop Blackall's *plainness*, are their characters: excellent writers both!' And Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York, in his *Preface* to these *Sermons*, tells us, *it might seem abundantly sufficient to recommend them to the world, only to assure it, that they are indeed the Sermons of our author, whose constant way of preaching was well known in the city of London to have been so excellent*, easy, clear, judicious, substantial, pious, affecting, *and upon all accounts truly* useful *and* edifying, *that he had universally acquired the reputation of being one of the best preachers, which the last century, above all others fruitful of good ones, had bred: That they are a complete set of Discourses upon one of the noblest and most important subjects of our Holy Religion*, viz. *a System of Christian Morality, according to it's utmost improvement and perfection, delivered by our Lord himself in his Sermon on the Mount.*

(7) In his *Dissertation on reading the Classicks*, &c. Lond. 1730, in 12mo, p. 188.

[E] *Sir William —— gives our author a most excellent character.*] Having told us, that his Sermons contain a complete System of Christian Morality (8), he adds: 'The author was, by his happy temper of mind and truly Christian conversation of life, peculiarly fitted to treat well on this subject; and was indeed himself all that he preached, and had lived over every rule of this divine Philosophy, before he presumed to teach it to others; and by so doing he had feelingly and experimentally learned it's reasonableness, usefulness, necessity, practicableness, and true way of practising it, and it's conduciveness to attain that blessed state, which it proposed and promised to mankind.' *I*, continues the Archbishop, *who had the happiness of a long and intimate friendship with him, do sincerely declare, that, in my whole conversation, I never met with a more perfect pattern of a true Christian life in all it's parts, than in him; so much primitive simplicity and integrity; such constant evenness of mind, and uniform conduct of behaviour; such unaffected, and yet most ardent piety towards God; such orthodox and stedfast faith in Christ; such disinterested and fervent charity to all mankind; such profound modesty, humility, and sobriety; such an equal mixture of meekness and courage, of chearfulness and gravity, of pleasing and profiting all he conversed with; such an exact discharge of all the relative duties; and, in one word, such an indifferency to this lower world and the things of it; and such an entire affection and joyous hope and expectation of the things which are above; as are rarely to be found altogether even in very good Christians.*

(8) See the preceding Remark.

T

BLAGRAVE (JOHN)

BLAGRAVE (JOHN) a very eminent English Mathematician, who flourished in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. He descended from an antient and honourable family in Berkshire, and was second son to John Blagrave, of Bulmarsh Court, near the town of Sunning in that county, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford, of Down-Ampney in Gloucestershire, Knight, but when born is uncertain (a). His family having been long settled near Reading, and having a good estate in that neighbourhood, where it still flourishes (b) [A], he was bred to the first rudiments of learning in the school

(a) See the Genealogy of this family in Ashmole's Berkshire, Vol. III. p. 329.

(b) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 43—48.

[A] *A good estate in that neighbourhood, where it still flourishes.*] This family, according to a very antient pedigree, seems to have been originally from Staffordshire; at least Ralph Blagrave was of that county, and removed from thence into Berkshire, where he settled at Bulmarsh, or, as it is written in some authors, Bulnashe; but the time is not very certain (1). He had two sons, Richard and Robert; the latter fixed in London, and married Anne, the daughter of Mr Pyke of Surrey, by whom he had John Blagrave; to whom, leaving a considerable estate, he also thought fit to follow the eldest branch of his family, and to settle near Reading (2). This gentleman married Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Hungerford, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. The name of the eldest son was Anthony; of the second, John, of whom we are now speaking; of the third, Edward; of the fourth, Alexander; and the daughter's name was Dorothy (3). Our author's eldest brother, Anthony, was High-Sheriff of Berkshire in the second year of King James I (4), and had served as Burgess for Reading in the last Parliament of Queen Elizabeth (5). I cannot precisely say in what degree of relation Sir John Blagrave stood to our author, who was Sheriff of Berkshire in the 22d of King James I (6), and who I believe was a Lawyer, but it is very probable he was very nearly allied to him. The family have continued ever since in that neighbourhood, and one of the Representatives of the Borough of Reading has been of this family in every reign down to the present.

(1) See the Genealogy of this family in Ashmole's Berkshire, Vol. III. p. 329.

(2) From private information.

(3) See the Genealogy above referred to.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, Berkshire, p. 110.

(5) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 47.

(6) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra.

[B] Their

school there, and afterwards removed to St John's-college in Oxford, then very lately founded by his countryman Sir Thomas White (c). It does not appear that he was so *sollicitous* about the fame of learning, as about the thing itself; for having acquired *this*, he soon quitted the university, without so much as taking a degree, and retired to his own patrimonial seat, at Southcote-Lodge within the parish of St Mary at Reading, where he enjoyed a learned privacy, but not inglorious ease (d). His bent was towards the Mathematicks, which he studied with much assiduity while at Oxford, and for the sake of studying which without interruption, he addicted himself to a retired life (e). But in doing this he had a due regard for the publick, and employed himself in compiling such laborious and useful works, as might serve to render speculative Mathematicks accurate, and practical parts of them easy (f). As these are things which usually require the whole man, and are not to be accomplished without strict and constant application; so our author, being conscious of his genius for such enquiries, and desirous of assisting others to the utmost of his power, spent several years in this way, and finished some large, learned, and instructive volumes, for the times in which they were wrote, and such as were justly admired and commended by posterity (g). Their titles may be seen in the notes, with some account of them [B]. He was also a person of much virtue, candour, and beneficence in private life. Having a very sincere affection for his family, and foreseeing it would be numerous, though he thought proper not to enter into the married state, he took provident care of them, as far as was in his power (h). His father had bestowed upon him the lease of the lands of Southcote for ninety-nine years, commencing in 1591, and he left all the posterity of his three brothers the sum of fifty pounds each, payable at the age of twenty-six, and he calculated this donation so well, that very near fourscore of his nephews, and their descendants, were the better for his legacy (i), which was always regularly paid. Besides this provision for futurity, he was very liberal towards those in his life-time with whom he was acquainted. His tenderness for his relations did not, however, exceed his charity for the poor, and as he provided for his kindred to the utmost verge of his lease-hold estate, so he settled certain lands he had at Swallowfield in the same county, for the provision of the poor for ever; and this too was a charity which shewed the prudence as well as piety of the donor (k) [C]. We have no farther particulars of this gentleman's life worth mentioning, only it may not be amiss to observe, he is omitted by Fuller in his Worthies, though a more considerable and remarkable person than many he has mentioned. Our author deceased at his own house near Reading, August 9, 1611, and lies interred near his mother in the church of St Lawrence there, with a fine monument to his memory, and an inscription (l) which is not exactly copied by Anthony Wood, and therefore is preserved in the notes.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(d) See his Character in Ashmole's Berkshire, Vol. III. p. 371.

(e) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(f) See the titles of his books in note [B].

(g) See the monumental Inscription in note [D].

(h) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(i) Ashmole's Berkshire, Vol. III. p. 372.

(k) See the Inscription in note [D].

(l) Ashmole's Berkshire, Vol. II. p. 359.

[B] *Their titles may be seen in the notes, with some account of them.*] The worthy end which this learned and ingenious gentleman proposed in all his writings, was to render those sciences familiar to his countrymen, which hitherto had been but in a few hands, and were rather superstitiously admired than thoroughly understood. That he might effect this the more easily, he made it his business to shew the general usefulness of such studies, and to convince his readers, that instead of being amusements only fit for scholars and speculative persons, they were of general advantage, and in truth of indispensible necessity for providing the conveniencies of common life. He likewise shewed, that they were very far from being so hard and difficult to be acquired, or so much exalted above ordinary understandings, as was commonly imagined; and that moderate abilities, and a reasonable share of application, would enable men to conquer those difficulties which vulgar prejudices had represented as insuperable. Amongst these practical treatises were those that follow.

I. *A Mathematical Jewel*, shewing the making and most excellent use of an Instrument so called; the use of which Jewell is so abundant, that it leadeth the direct path-way through the whole art of Astronomy, Cosmography, Geography, &c. London, 1585, fol.

II. Of the making and use of the *Familiar Staff*; so called, for that it may be made useful and familiarly to walk with, as for that it performeth the Geometrical mensuration of all Altitudes. London, 1590, 4to.

III. *Astrolabium Uranicum generale*; A necessary and pleasant solace and recreation for Navigators in their long journeying; containing the use of an Instrument, or Astrolabe, &c. London, 1596, in quarto.

IV. *The Art of Dialling*, in two parts. London, 1609, in 4to. Mr Wood seems to intimate, that he also wrote several other things (7), which may very possibly be true; but I have never met with any of them, or so much as their titles; and considering he did not survive above two years after publishing the book last mentioned, the fact may admit of some doubt, unless the reader should be of opinion, that what is contained in the succeeding note [D], amounts to an argument of the truth of Mr Wood's conjecture, since the Instruments therein mentioned might very well refer to other works than those of which we have set down the titles.

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

[C] *A charity which shewed the prudence, as well as piety of the donor.*] As he was born in, and had spent most of his days near, the town of Reading in Berks, he was very desirous of leaving therein some lasting monuments of his beneficent disposition, which might have equal reference to each of the three parishes in their town, viz. St Mary's, supposed to be built where the nunnery stood in the Saxon times; St Lawrence, which stands beyond the river Kennet; and that of St Giles, at the farthest end of the town (8). The legacies he bequeathed were equally calculated for the benefit of those who were to receive them, and of the inhabitants of that antient Borough in general. The best account we have, is that preserved by Mr Ashmole, in the following words (9).

'You are to note, that he doth devise that each 'Church-warden should send on Good-Friday one vir'tuous maid that has lived five years with her master. 'All three maids appear at the Town-hall before the 'Mayor and Aldermen, and cast dice. She that 'throws most has ten pounds put in a purse, and she 'is to be attended with the other two that lost the 'throw. The next year come again the two maids, 'and one more added to them. He orders in his Will, 'that each maid should have three throws before she 'loses it; and if she has no luck in the three years, 'he orders that still new faces may come and be pre'sented. On the same Good-Friday he gives eighty 'widows money to attend, and orders ten shillings for 'a good sermon, and so he wishes well to all his 'countrymen. It is lucky money, for I never heard 'but the maid that had the ten pounds suddenly had a 'good husband.'

(8) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 43.

(9) Ashmole's Berkshire, Vol. III. p. 372.

[D] The

notes [*D*]. There was a learned Lawyer of both our author's names, *viz.* Sir John Blagrave, who read upon the Statute of 32 Hen. VIII. cap. x. concerning Jointures, which work was published, and very probably he was of the same family (*m*). There was also one Joseph Blagrave, who published the *Astrological Practice of Physick* (*n*), but him I take to have been beholden to our author's books for his knowledge, though not for his opinions. I cannot tell whether we ought to attribute to him, or to some other person of his name, a Discourse upon the same subject, which was never printed, but had been in the hands of some very learned persons, who have borrowed from it largely in their writings on this topick, and I mention it the rather, because, if it be still in being, the possessor may be encouraged to make it publick, as it contains abundance of very curious, and some very useful remarks, on things which were formerly the objects of superstition, as they are now of contempt [*E*].

(*m*) Hyde's Catal. libror. impress. Bibliothec. Bodleian. edit. 1674, p. 92.

(*n*) Catalogue of Books printed from 1636 to 1673, by B. C.

[*D*] *Therefore is preserved in the notes*] The following account is taken from the indefatigable Elias Ashmole, Esq; who had it from his own inspection of the monuments and inscriptions in the parish church of St Lawrence in Reading; and from the circumstances before related, the whole is rendered perfectly clear and perspicuous; whereas in Wood it is so mangled, as to be scarce intelligible, especially as he has no distinct relation of the charity left to the maids, upon which the verse part of the inscription chiefly turns (10).

(10) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 359.

'On the north side against the wall is a noble monument, representing a man under an arch, to the middle, holding one hand on a globe, the other on a quadrant. He is habited in a short cloak, a cassock and a ruff, surrounded with books on each side of him. On one side of him is the figure of a woman to the breasts, naked, holding an instrument in her hand, as offering it to him, and under her feet the word CUBUS. On the other side is another woman, somewhat naked, though with a scarf thrown closely round her, and offering in like manner, under her feet, ΤΗΤΡΑΕΔΡΟΝ. On the top are two women leaning on their arms, inscribed ΟΚΤΑΗΔΡΟΝ — ΔΟΔΙΚΑΔΡΟΝ. In the middle of them a person armed, cap-a pee, intitled ΙΚΟΤΗΔΡΟΝ. And under the first figure mentioned, this inscription following in an oval.

JOHANNES BLAGRAVE,
totus Mathematicus,
cum matre sepultus.

Here lies his corps, which living had a spirit,
Wherein much worthy knowledge did inherit;
By which with zeal our GOD *he did adore,*
Left for maid-servants, and to feed the poor.
His virtuous mother came of worthy race,
A Hungerford, *and buried near this place.*
When GOD *sent Death their lives away to call,*
They liv'd beloved, and died bewailed of all.

[*E*] *Formerly the objects of superstition, as they are now of contempt.*] This treatise I formerly saw in the hands of a person who bought it at the sale of the library of an eminent Physician near Covent-Garden, and read it over with great satisfaction. In the first leaf it was said to be written by Mr J. Blagrave, and is addressed to Mr B. of Swallowfield. The title was, *A Remonstrance in favour of* Antient Learning *against the proud pretensions of* the Moderns, *more especially in respect to the* Doctrine *of the* Stars. The size of the book was a middling quarto, the character small, but very fair; and from the mentioning more than once the Royal Society, and some of it's members, it appeared to have been written about 1669, or 1670. It was divided into five chapters, and those chapters into several sections, the substance of which are as follows:

I. *Of the different* Objects *of antient and modern learning.* Under this head he endeavours to maintain, that the Antients were rather given to practical and useful, than refined and speculative sciences. He instances in Architecture, of which they wrote but few books, and those too very concise; but they left behind them buildings, which are allowed to be masterpieces in their kind, and which the greatest of modern artists boast of imitating. He next mentions Physick, in regard to which he confesses they did not cultivate Anatomy, Pharmacy, or Chemistry, so assiduously as those that came after them; but for the art of curing diseases, he thinks it was never carried much farther than by Hippocrates. He instances lastly in Tacticks, or the art of ranging armies in the field; in respect to which he observes, that though there are no systems left of this art, yet history shews us the Antients were perfectly acquainted with it. He then proceeds to the Doctrine of the Stars, and labours to prove that the Antients did not think an enquiry into the motions of the heavenly bodies of so great use to mankind as the disquisition of their influences; and in this he defends them by many ingenious arguments.

II. *Of the* Astrology *of the* Antients *considered as a* Science. He observes, that the true meaning of the word is no more than the Doctrine of the Stars, and that the confining it to the signification of their aspects is a late distinction, and ought not therefore to prejudice the notions of those great men, who meant to signify thereby the entire knowledge of the heavenly bodies, so far as it was attainable by the human understanding. He farther takes notice, that the observation of the motions of the heavenly bodies considered abstractedly, is a science of far less use to mankind, than the application of it for the perfecting other branches of knowledge. He gives an instance of this in the art of Navigation, to which it hath been applied both by the Antients and Moderns; from whence he concludes, that the application of this kind of science to Physical purposes is equally rational, and that there is no absurdity in supposing, that by due attention it may be improved to equal advantage. He concludes this chapter with several curious comparative instances drawn partly from the writings of other men, but chiefly from his own observations and experience.

III. *Of the* disadvantages *the* Antients *were under in their* writings. In reference to this the author lays it down, that the wise men among the Antients laboured under great difficulties, particularly from the prevailing of false religion, which obliged them to accommodate their thoughts to the prevailing superstitions of their respective countries, from the constant practice of concealing all kind of sublime science, from the knowledge of the vulgar, which induced them to make use of fables, allegories, and other such like kind of writings, as always disguised, and too often irretrievably darkened the truth; from the subjection, that they laboured under to the Civil powers, who either from views of their own, or to gratify the universal superstition of their subjects, discouraged all such as were inclined to speak plainly, or to write clearly. On each of these points he justifies his own sentiments by those of the learned in all ages, and produces a vast variety of instances, as proofs of what he has advanced. He concludes upon the whole, that the greatest advantage the Moderns have over the Antients, is their embracing the Christian religion, which allows them to think, argue, and write freely. But notwithstanding all this he is of opinion, that great use may be made of what was delivered by the Antients, when the hidden sense of their works can be extracted; and of this also he gives many curious and instructive examples, after the manner in which the famous Lord Bacon has explained the fables, and thereby justified the wisdom of the Antients.

IV. *Of the* Hypotheses *in use amongst the* Antients. He observes with respect to these, that the Moderns have not so great advantages as is generally imagined; since the old systems of Democritus and Ptolemy contain in every respect all that has been since advanced, as to the distribution of the universe, or rather of the several bodies of which it is composed; so that later writers are rather revivers than inventors, if we except Tycho Brahe, whose system however never met with general approbation. He then shews, that the Astrological

Astrological *scheme* of *the twelve houses*, is as much an hypothesis as any of the rest, and that if it has *faults* or imperfections, they ought rather to be enquired into and amended, than exploded and rejected with scorn and contempt. He takes care however to qualify this, by shewing that those absurdities which have brought the Physical Doctrine of the Stars into derision, are not justly chargeable upon the Antients, but were introduced in later times by men of far less capacity, and who had recourse to notion and fancy instead of reason and experiment. He gives various instances in support of his opinion, and with great judgment and discretion, distinguishes between the follies of Judicial Astrology and the true knowledge of Astral Influences, without which, as he remarks, no just account can be given of the variations of seasons, of the difference of the tides, of periods in diseases, and of many other things; with respect to which, the doctrines of the Antients, however perplexed and obscure, are to the full as reasonable and intelligible as those of the Moderns, who, by endeavouring to reject them, have been frequently obliged to dispute against, and sometimes absolutely to deny certain and evident truths. In proof of this also he brings many instances, which shew a very unusual extent of learning.

V. *Of the* true Method *of prosecuting* useful Science. In this chapter he takes a great deal of pains to prove, that it is not agreeable either to the dictates of reason, or the lights of experience, to destroy, without reserve, those edifices that have been erected in antient times, and have been preserved and repaired through a long course of ages. And he labours to prove, that the Physical Doctrine of the Stars ought to be considered in this light. He shews, that the celebrated Roger Bacon, whom he honours with the title of the Parent of Modern Learning, was of this opinion, and that he has written upon the subject with much learning and good sense. He observes, that Tycho Brahe concurred likewise in this sentiment; as did also the famous Kepler, whom he calls the Father of Modern Astronomy; and he produces also several passages from the writings of the learned Verulam to the same purpose. From all which he concludes, that instead of decrying Astrology as false and fallacious, we ought to study how to render it reasonable and intelligible, by establishing right principles, and reasoning upon them in a proper manner; for want of which, he says, one of the noblest and most elevated branches of human knowledge is in danger of being lost, and laughed out of doors.

As the matter and the manner of this learned work seem both of them to render it worthy of publick notice, and as the very memory of it, as well as the piece itself, was in danger of being lost, if this short extract of it had not been accidentally made several years ago, we judge the inserting it here could not fail of being agreeable to our readers in general, at the same time that it will serve to secure to the real author the honour of his performance, in case at any time hereafter it should see the light. E

BLAKE (ROBERT) one of our most famous Admirals in the last century, was descended from the antient family of Blakes, of Plansfield, in the parish of Spaxton in the county of Somerset (*a*). His father's name was Humphrey, and his occupation that of a Merchant, being settled at Bridgwater, in the neighhourhood of which he had purchased an estate, having, by the Spanish trade, raised a considerable fortune for those times (*b*). He had several children, of whom the eldest, Robert, was born in the month of August, 1589, and educated, during his father's life-time, at a free-school in Bridgwater. He removed himself to Oxford, where he was matriculated, in Lent term 1615, as a Member of St Alban's Hall (*c*). Some time after he stood for a Scholarship of Christ-Church, but lost it. From Alban-Hall he translated himself to Wadham-college, in which many of his countrymen studied. On the tenth of February, 1617, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*). In 1619, being then about twenty-one years of age, he was candidate for a Fellowship in Merton-College, but missed again of his hopes, as some thought, on account of his low stature, for Sir Henry Savile, who was then Warden of that college, had great respect to the comeliness of students persons (*e*). A strange foible in so great a man! In 1623, Mr Blake wrote a copy of verses on the death of Mr Camden (*f*), and some time after left the university [*A*]. While he continued there, he was taken notice of as an early riser and a very studious young man, yet he was not so much given up to his books, but that he took a great deal of exercise, delighted in fishing, and fowling, with other such like sports, and if the scandal of those times might be credited, would now and then steal swans (*g*). He could not be less than five and twenty when he left Oxford, which would incline one to credit, what we are told by several authors, that he was Master of Arts, if Wood did not positively assert the contrary (*h*). Mr Blake lived at Bridgwater in a private manner, and was distinguished among the good fellows in his neighbourhood, as a plain-dealer. He was naturally of a grave, severe temper, but would readily unbend in an evening, when he discovered a humourous bluntness in his conversation,

(*a*) Lives British and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75, Lond. 1704, 8vo.

(*b*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(*c*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*d*) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(*e*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75.

(*f*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(*g*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75. Wood, ubi supra.

(*h*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Oxford, 1717, 8vo, Vol. III. P. ii. p. 601. Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 228. Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

[*A*] *Some time after left the university.*] It is a little strange, and in my judgment much to be regretted, that no better account is to be had of Mr Blake's family; and I think it so much the more so, considering it as a proof of the little care taken by our ancestors to preserve the memory of worthy men, when they had it so much in their power, as it must have been in this case, though now, by the particular accidents which have befallen this family, it is become a thing not easy to be rectified. Mr Wood, in his account of our author (1), says, that he was descended from the Blakes of Blanchfield in Somersetshire; and I confess that I have not been able to find any such place in that county, whence I am inclined to think another author more in the right, who calls it Plansfield, and says it is in the parish of Spaxton (2); for such a place there is, and at no great distance from Bridgwater (3). The author of his life says expresly, that his father sent him to the university (4); but I am inclined to think that he was dead before that time, and this from the following passage in Lord Clarendon's character of our Admiral. *He was*, says his Lordship, *a man of a private extraction, yet had enough* left *him by his father to give him a good education, which his* own inclination *disposed him to receive in the university of Oxford* (5). The reader will determine how far this passage will support what is advanced in the text. With respect to his scholarship, Mr Wood delivers himself pretty oddly; he was put aside, he says, from his scholarship, whether for want of merit or friends, he could not tell. And when he speaks of his disappointment as to a fellowship, he adds, whether it was want of scholarship, or that his person was not handsome, he could not say (6). The noble Historian, with greater freedom and dignity, tells us, *that* Blake *was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was* (7). His own verses on the death of Mr Camden may possibly clear up this dispute.

(1) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(2) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75.

(3) Speed's Map and Table of Somersetshire.

(4) Ubi supra.

(5) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(6) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(7) Clarendon's History, Vol. III. p. 601.

(i) Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 602.

(k) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204. Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 76.

(l) Wood, ubi supra.

(m) Clarendon's History, Vol. III. p. 602.

(n) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. V. p. 685.

conversation, which was very agreeable and entertaining (i). He was tinctured pretty early with Republican principles, and disliking that severity with which Dr Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, pressed Uniformity in his diocese, he began to fall into those opinions which were stiled Puritannical. His innate roughness and sincerity led him to speak freely upon all occasions, insomuch that his sentiments were generally known, which inclined the Puritan party to procure his being elected Member for Bridgwater, in that Parliament which sat in April 1640 (k). It was dissolved too early for him to make any figure, and in the next, which was the Long Parliament, he lost his election. When the war broke out between the King and Parliament, he declared, according to his principles, for the latter, and entered very early into their service, though it does not appear exactly when, or in what quality, but he was soon made Captain of dragoons (l). In 1643, however, we find him at Bristol, under the command of Col. Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, in which he first gave the world a proof of his military virtues, for on the twenty-sixth of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the Governor had agreed to surrender it upon articles, Mr Blake still held out his fort, and killed several of the King's forces, which exasperated Prince Rupert to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war, at whose request, though not without much difficulty, he was at last prevailed upon to give up the fort (m). After this he served in Somersetshire, under the command of Popham, who was Governor of Lyme, to whose regiment Blake was Lieutenant-Colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greatest part of the regiment were Somersetshire men, he had so good an intelligence in those parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, surprized Taunton for the Parliament (n), where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was constituted Governor of that place, which was of the utmost importance, being the only garrison the Parliament had in the West. The works about it were far from being strong, he had no very numerous garrison, yet by keeping a strict discipline, and treating the townsmen well, he made a shift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furnish him with supplies, and notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the King's forces. At length, Goring came before the place with near ten thousand men, and pressed Blake so close, that in spight of a vigorous resistance he made a breach, and actually took from him a part of the town; however, he held out the rest of it, and the castle, with wonderful obstinacy till relief came. For which extraordinary service, the Parliament gave the garrison a bounty of two thousand pounds, and Col. Blake a present of five hundred. All who have wrote of that unhappy war, allow this to have been a very gallant and soldier-like action [B]. In April 1646, Col. Blake, with part of his garrison, reduced Dunster

[B] *A very gallant and soldier-like action.*] We have a very distinct account of this matter in the life of Blake, out of which we will take some particulars which are personal. The Parliament having notice of the ill condition Blake was in, ordered relief to be immediately sent him, who, though he was in great want of ammunition and provisions, yet held out both town and castle to admiration. Colonel Windham, Governor of Bridgwater for the King, was then in the Royal army, and knowing Colonel Blake, he undertook to manage the business with him; he first sent a threatening summons to surrender on pain of fire and sword; and by a second trumpeter he mildly endeavoured to perswade him to it, for that the works were inconsiderable, the place indefensible, and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood. Blake returned this answer: 'These are to let you know, that as we neither 'fear your menaces, nor accept your proffers, so we wish 'you for time to come to desist from all overtures of the 'like nature to us, who are resolved to the last drop of 'our blood to maintain the quarrel we have undertaken, 'and doubt not but the same God, who has hitherto 'protected us, will, e'er long, bless us with an issue 'answerable to the justice of our cause: However, to 'him alone we shall stand or fall.' Soon after the receipt of this letter the besiegers were charged by a body of the Parliament's forces, who broke through the King's, and supplied the town with provisions, and what other necessaries they wanted. However, the Parliament's main army could not advance so fast as Colonel Blake's necessities required; the self-denying ordinance had newly past, Essex was out, and Sir Thomas Fairfax made General, all Colonels and other officers, who were Members of Parliament, were obliged to lay down their commissions, and attend the service of the House. The army was modelled, and all this took up so much time, that Blake was hard put to it to defend the castle of Taunton. The besiegers had destroyed the suburbs and half the town; Sir Richard Greenvill had taken Colonel Popham's house at Wellington, which was some small help to Blake while it was in the Parliament's hands. These things being represented to the House, they ordered Major-General Skippon to join Sir Thomas Fairfax, and hasten to the relief of Taunton with 8000 men, horse and foot; money, provisions, and a train of artillery, were sent after them. In the mean while Colonel Blake was in great streights, and the besiegers knowing his distress, summoned him again to surrender; but he answered, *he would eat his boots first*; and though the Royalists had posted themselves in part of the town, he hindered their penetrating farther. He barricaded that part of it, which he still held, with all sorts of lumber, and made the Cavaliers pay dearly for every inch of ground they got of them. Prince Rupert and Goring having left the siege with a considerable body of troops, General Fairfax thought that Colonel Weldon and Colonel Greaves, with three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, might be able to relieve Taunton. They accordingly performed it on the 11th of May, 1645, so much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, that they appointed a kind of anniversary thanksgiving for this deliverance, which is still kept up (8). The Royalists lost a thousand men before the place, besides which they carried off twelve waggons full of the wounded. This however did not hinder a second siege of that place, wherein not only Blake, but Weldon was now besieged. The latter being at the head of five thousand men, scorned to be cooped up, and therefore attempted to break through the Royalists, which however he could not effect. Blake being informed of his distress, and that he was retiring precipitately towards Taunton, sallied from thence at the head of two troops of horse; vigorously charged the pursuers, and thereby gave Colonel Weldon's men time to retire into the town; after which he made good his own retreat, but was pressed closely by the besiegers. The Common-Council, and many eminent citizens of London, on news of the second distress of Taunton, voluntarily raised 4000 *l.* to mount a thousand horse to join Major-General

(8) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 81, 82.

Dunster castle, an antient seat belonging to the family of Lutterel, after which he returned in triumph to Taunton. This was one of the last actions in the war (o). Some time after this, when the Parliament had voted, No farther addresses should be made to the King, Col. Blake joined in an address from the borough of Taunton, expressing their gratefulness for this step taken by the House of Commons (p). Yet the writer of his Life tells us, that when the King came to be tried, Blake disapproved that measure as illegal, and was frequently heard to say, that he would as freely venture his life to save the King's, as ever he did to serve the Parliament (q). But this must be entirely imputed to the generosity of his temper, for after the King was murdered, he fell in roundly with the Republican party, and indeed, next to Cromwell, he was the ablest and most successful officer the Parliament had. He satisfied himself in all the changes of those times, with adhering, as far as he was able, to his country's interest, and doing all he could to exalt her glory, of which he was passionately fond, a circumstance which gave men of less honour and more cunning, an opportunity of using his great abilities and undaunted courage to serve their own purposes [C]. Feb. 12, 1648-9, he was appointed, in conjunction with Col. Deane and Col. Popham, to command the fleet (r). Soon after, he was ordered to sail, with a squadron of men of war, in pursuit of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who were in the Irish seas to assist the Marquis of Ormond, then in arms for King Charles II in Ireland (s). Blake arrived, in June 1649, before Kingsale, where

(o) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 85.

(p) Ibid. p. 87.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204. Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 87.

(s) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 256.

neral Massey, whom the House ordered to attempt the relief of the place. The Committee of Kent raised two troops of horse and dragoons for the same service; and all was not enough, considering the danger Blake and Weldon were in. The Governor wrote to the Parliament, that he should be put to great streights if succour came not speedily; he assured them he would never hear of a parley with the enemy: That the garrison had some ammunition, and resolved to feed upon their horses. He desired the House to take their state into consideration, and left all to God and them. The Parliament answered, that he should be speedily relieved; that they would pay what money he took up. They desired him and his men to go on in their vigilance and valour, and they should never want encouragement. Accordingly a regiment of dragoons was ordered to be raised, and to march with Massey towards Taunton. In the mean while their affairs went ill in the West; Colonel Blake could get no intelligence of the progress made by the two Houses for his relief, at least Colonel Ciely, Governor of Lyme, found a way to inform him of Massey's advancing westward, and at the same time conveyed a small supply of powder into the town On this, Blake commanded a party of the garrison to sally out on the besiegers; these, with the loss of one hundred men, killed four hundred of Goring's, drove the enemy back, and enlarged their quarters five or six miles in compass. In another skirmish he had yet greater success, and soon after he was entirely relieved, the King's affairs being totally ruined (9). It may not be amiss to observe for the sake of truth, that Blake's obstinate defence of this town was one great cause, if not the principle cause, of the Parliament's success in this war. It was upon a report of the great distress of the place, and the moral certainty there was that it could not hold out above a few days, that his Majesty detached a considerable body of troops into Somersetshire, which proved the loss of the decisive battle of Naisby, which in all probability Sir Thomas Fairfax would never have hazarded, if the King's army had been entire (10). The Parliament therefore had reason to stile this gentleman, as Wood says they did, their *inestimable Commander* (11); and this circumstance considered, few readers will think this note tedious, though it is a long one.

[C] *His undaunted courage, to serve their own purposes.*] We shall take occasion in this note to examine a little into Mr Blake's political principles, as far as facts and good authority can lead us. Wood tells us roundly, that before the civil war he was observed to be puritannically inclined, that afterwards he sided with the Presbyterians, and took arms for the Parliament (12). The Earl of Clarendon tells us, that they who knew him inwardly discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the Government in any danger (13). As to his being puritannically inclined, we need the less wonder at it, since there was always a strong party of that sort of people in his native town of Bridgwater. It is possible he might receive some tincture from his countrymen in the university, for I find many of his standing among the Nonconformists, who were ejected after the Restoration (14). It is not impossible that he might be soured by the treatment he met with, when he sought academical preferment. It appears from many of his own declarations, that he loved his country and hated arbitrary power, which seemed to have been the governing maxims in all his conduct. There were many of his sentiments at this time in the nation, and one of the wisest things Cromwell ever did, was his providing proper employments for such spirits. Thus he early disposed of Monk into Scotland, and of Blake to Sea: I say he disposed of them, for though he had not as yet assumed the supreme power, yet by his arts he chiefly directed all the publick Councils, and pointed out such as he thought proper for all publick employments. Had it been otherwise, Blake in all probability had not been sent to sea, since it is certain the Parliament had some diffidence of him at the time of the King's murder, when they sent him five hundred pounds, with directions to disband part of his forces (15). Yet after the thing was done, and a Common-Wealth established, there is no great wonder that Blake fell in with this new Government, since it was agreeable to his own way of thinking, influenced probably by observing to what high reputation republicks antiently rose. This is Mr Hobb's sentiment, who thinks it was one great source of our publick troubles, that men were bred in such high opinions of the heroes of Greece and Rome, at the same time that the constitution of their country differed so much from the Governments under which those great men flourished (16). If this remark could be applied to any man, it might certainly to Blake, of whom Dr Bates says justly, as well as elegently, that *there was nothing blameable in his conduct, but that he joined with the parricides* (17). His anxiety for the glory of his country determined him to serve her under what Government soever prevailed; and this maxim he always stuck to, behaving bravely wherever he was trusted, never canvassing for any employment, much less disturbing the State by his intrigues. This made him beloved by all parties, and even by the Royalists, to whom he was also recommended by the tenderness he shewed for them upon all occasions, granting them better articles than any other officer either would or durst (18), except Sir George Ayscue, who suffered for his generosity towards the Lord Willoughby, the King's Governor of Barbadoes (19). As these were Blake's own notions, so he endeavoured to inculcate them into his officers, advising them to wish their country always well, and to serve the publick assiduously without disturbing it; which doctrine very probably disposed them to act as occasion required, when after Blake's death his colleagues, Monk and Montague, brought about the King's restoration (20). In short, our Admiral was a man, who with all the courage and conduct of a great Commander, never affected the character of a Politician, but contented himself with doing his utmost to execute whatever orders were sent him, whence he was suspected by none of the parties among his contemporaries, and at the same time was revered by all.

(9) Ibid. p. 84, 85. Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. VI. p. 28.

(10) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 85.

(11) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(12) Wood, ubi supra.

(13) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(14) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 137, 151, 263.

(15) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 87.

(16) Behemoth, or Account of the late Civil War. Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 2, 3.

(17) Bates Elenc. Motuum, Lond. 1672, p. 223.

(18) See the original articles to Sir John Greenville in the Library of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and propagating the Gospel.

(19) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 466.

(20) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 3[illegible]0.

[D] Same

where the two Princes lay in harbour; Deane cruised off Plymouth, Popham between the Downs and Portsmouth, and Sir George Ayscue lay in Dublin-Road: thus were the Parliament masters of the sea, and their enemies ships either blocked up, or flying every where before them. Prince Rupert's men deserted daily, and came over to Admiral Blake. The Prince, to hinder their desertion, hung up ten of his men for offering to run away. Blake kept him in the harbour till the beginning of October, when despairing of relief by sea, and Cromwell being ready to take the town by land, provisions of all sorts falling short, he resolved to force his way through Blake's squadron; Blake sunk three of his ships as he bore out of the harbour, but the Prince's little fleet, making all the sail they could, got clear of the Parliament's, and steered their course to Lisbon, where his Highness was protected and caressed by the King of Portugal (*t*). The Parliament declared war with that King for receiving their enemies, and Blake followed the two Princes to Portugal. From before the river of Lisbon, he sent to the King for leave to enter, and coming near with his ships, the castle shot at him. Blake dropped anchor, and sent a boat to know the reason of this hostility; the Captain of the castle answered, he had no orders from the King to let his ships pass. However, the King commanded one of the Lords of the Court to compliment Blake: the Portuguese Lord desired him not to come in except the weather proved bad; for he said, his master feared, lest some quarrel might happen between him and Prince Rupert in his harbour; the King sent him, at the same time, a large present of fresh provisions. The weather proving bad, Blake went up the river into the Bay of Wyers, but two miles from the place where Prince Rupert's ships lay, and thence he sent Capt. Moulton, to inform the King of the falsities in the Prince's declaration. The King refusing still to admit the Admiral to fall on Prince Rupert's ships, Blake took five of the Brazil fleet richly laden, and gave the King to understand, that unless he would command the Prince's ships out from his river, he would endeavour to seize the rest of the Portuguese fleet from America (*u*). In September 1650, the Prince endeavoured to get out of the harbour, but was soon driven in again by Blake, who sent home nine ships outward bound to Brazil, which he had taken; and in October following, Blake and Popham met with a fleet of twenty-three sail from Brazil, bound for Lisbon, of whom they sunk the Admiral, took the Vice-Admiral, and eleven other ships, having ten thousand chests of sugar aboard, and burnt three more, the rest were small ships, and during the action got into the river (*w*). In his return home, he met with two ships laden with provisions for his fleet, which determined him to sail back in search of the Prince, whom he followed up the Streights. In this cruize, he, in his own ship the Phœnix, took a French man of war, the Captain of which had committed hostilities, and this prize was reputed of immense value (*x*). He proceeded next to Carthagena, where the Prince lay, and as soon as he came to an anchor before the fort, he acquainted the Spanish Governor by a message, That an enemy to the State of England was in his port, that the Parliament commanded him to pursue him, and the King of Spain being in amity with the Parliament, he desired leave to take all advantages against their enemy. The Governor replied, he could not take any notice of the difference of any nations or persons amongst themselves, only such as were declared enemies to the King his master, that they came in thither for safety, and therefore he could not refuse them protection, and that he would do the like for the Admiral. Blake still pressed the Governor to permit him to attack the Prince, and the Spaniard put him off till he could have orders from Madrid (*y*). While the Admiral was cruizing in the Mediterranean, Prince Rupert got out of Carthagena and sailed to Malaga. General Blake having notice of his destroying many English ships there, followed him with all the expedition possible, and finding him in the port, attacked him, without the ceremony of asking leave of the Spanish Governor, and burnt and destroyed his whole fleet, two ships only excepted, the Reformation, in which Prince Rupert himself was, and the Swallow, commanded by his brother Prince Maurice (*z*). This was in January, 1651. In February, General Blake took a French man of war of forty guns, and and sent it, with four other prizes, before him into England. Not long after, he came with his squadron to Plymouth, where he received the thanks of the Parliament, and was by them made Warden of the Cinque Ports (*a*). On the fourth of March following, an Act passed, whereby Col. Blake, Col. Popham, and Col. Deane, or any two of them, were appointed Admirals and Generals of the fleet for the year ensuing (*b*). The first service he was put upon was the reducing the isles of Scilly, which were still held for King Charles II. The matter was of great importance, for besides that some privateers from thence did a great deal of mischief, by disturbing trade and taking ships, it was also known, that the Dutch had a view upon those islands, and had actually sent Van Trump, with a squadron of twelve men of war, whose instructions were, either to purchase or reduce them (*c*). General Blake sailed in May, with a body of eight hundred land troops on board. Sir John Greenville commanded there for the King, who after some small resistance submitted, knowing well, that a longer dispute would have been to no purpose (*d*). The General then sailed for Guernsey, which was held for the King by Sir George Carteret. He arrived there in the month of October, and though the sea was very rough, landed what forces he had on board the very next day, and did all that could be expected of him, in order to make a speedy conquest of the island, which, however, could not be compleated that year. In the beginning of the next, however, the brave Governor, finding all hopes of relief vain,

(*t*) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 72.

(*u*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 89.

(*w*) Bates, ubi supra.

(*x*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 91.

(*y*) Bates, ubi supra.

(*z*) Life of Prince Rupert. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 275.

(*a*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 92. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 204.

(*b*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 93.

(*c*) Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 77. Heath's Chron. of the Civil War, p. 288.

(*d*) Original Articles, agreed on this xxiiid day of May, 1651, between Admiral Blake and Col. Clerke, Commanders in Chief of all the forces by sea or land, in or about the Islands of Friscoe and Briar, on the one part; and Sir John Greenville, Knt. Governor of the Islands of St Maries and Agnes in Scilley, on the behalf of his Majesty on the other part; touching the Rendition of those Islands, together with all the Castles, &c. to the Parliament of England; MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Gospel, &c.

vain, thought proper to make the best terms he could, and to the honour of Blake we may affirm, that though no man proceeded more briskly while the sword was drawn, yet in all treaties he was remarkably condescending, detesting to be made an instrument of oppression, though ready to hazard his life at any time to do his country justice (e). For this signal and important service he had, as he well deserved, thanks from the Parliament, he was also elected one of the Council of State, and much courted by Cromwell, who began now to think of setting up for himself (f). March 25, 1652, Blake was constituted sole Admiral for nine months, on a prospect of a Dutch war. It is generally conceived, that this was sought by the States rather than by the Parliament, for they were very confident of their force at sea, and vexed at the firmness of the new Commonwealth of England, which inclined them to attempt, by some sudden blow, to support their own, and lessen the reputation of their rival (g). With this view, they sent Van Trump with forty five sail of men of war into the Downs, to insult the English Admiral, and, in the mean time, laboured hard to equip another fleet of 150 sail, which they thought would be more than sufficient to crush the whole naval power of England. It is certain they could not have chose a more improper man to have practised upon in this manner than Blake, who though he had but twenty-three ships, and could expect no succour but from Major Bourne, who commanded eight more, yet being attacked by Van Trump, he fought him bravely, notwithstanding this great inequality, and forced him to retreat (h). This was on the nineteenth of May 1652, and as it was a very remarkable action, the reader will find some authentick particulars in the notes [D]. After

(e) Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 465. See note [C]. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 306.

(f) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 98.

(g) Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 458. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 314.

(h) The Answer of the Parliament of England to the Embassadors of the States General; as also, A Narrative of the late Engagement between Gen. Blake and Admiral Trump, &c. London, printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1652, 4to.

[D] *Some authentick particulars in the notes.*] We cannot better discharge this promise than by giving the reader an extract from the narrative of this engagement, printed by order of the Parliament of England. Upon Tuesday the 18th of May, 1652, in the morning, General Blake being gone to the westward as far as Rye Bay eight days before with twelve or thirteen ships, leaving Major Bourne in the Downs with eight ships only, there appeared upon the back side of the Godwin a Holland fleet of men of war, consisting of two and forty ships, one whereof had a flag on the main-top-mast-head, the rest jacks and ancients; and being come to the South Sand's head, two of them bore up towards the English ships in the Downs; whereupon Major Bourne sent out the Greyhound to examine them, and to know the reason of their so near approach; who answering that they had a message to the Commander in chief in the Downs, were permitted to come in; and having saluted the flag, the two Captains, named Tyson and Aldred, came aboard Major Bourne, and acquainted him that they were sent by Van Trump, to let him know that he had been riding about Dunkirk with his fleet, where, by reason of foul weather, they had lost many of their cables and anchors, and the wind being northerly, were driven farther to the southward than they intended, which Van Trump thought fit to signify, to prevent any misapprehensions or jealousies. And having said this, and received for answer, that the reality of what they said would best appear by their speedy drawing off from this coast, they departed to their fleet, and immediately, upon their arrival with them, the whole fleet stood up to Dover, and came to an anchor, within little more than gun-shot of the castle, the same day in the afternoon. Upon their coming before Dover-Castle, and riding there with a flag in the main-top, without saluting the castle, the castle made three shot at them; notwithstanding which the Dutch Admiral kept up his flag, and rode there at anchor until the next day at noon, and exercised his musqueteers by discharging volleys of small shot many hours together. Upon Wednesday, about twelve o'clock, the Dutch fleet weighed anchor, and stood off towards Calais some few leagues unto the south-east. About the same time the English fleet under General Blake, coming from the west towards the Downs, discovered them, and supposed by their course that they had been going back. Major Bourne likewise was in sight, coming from the Downs to join with General Blake. About an hour or two after the Holland fleet altered their course, came back again, made all the sail they could, and bore directly with General Blake. Van Trump, the headmost with his flag in the main-top, and being come within shot, the General shot a gun at his main-top, and then two single shot more; whereupon Trump shot a single shot through the General's flag, and then immediately gave the first broadside, and took in his pendants, and hung out his red flag under the Holland colours, which was the signal on their part for the whole fleet to engage: And so the fight began, which happened between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until nine o'clock. In the fight the English took two of the Holland fleet, one whereof, having six foot water in the hold, they left, taking the Captain and officers aboard; the other being a ship of thirty guns. General Blake lay all night where the fight began, or near thereabouts; and the Holland fleet was espied about four leagues distant towards the coast of France next morning (21). To this let us subjoin the letter written by the Admiral himself, on account not only of several curious circumstances contained therein, but also because it may serve as a specimen of the plain blunt temper of this illustrious Hero. It was addressed to the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, and conceived in the following terms (22).

' Right Honourable,

' I Have dispatched away this express to your Honours, to give you an account of what passed yesterday between us and the Dutch fleet. Being in Rye Bay, I received intelligence from Major Bourn, that Van Trump, with forty sail, was off the South Sand Head; whereupon I made all possible speed to ply up towards them, and yesterday in the morning we saw them at anchor in and near Dover road. Being come within three leagues of them, they weighed, and stood away by a wind to the eastward; we supposing their intention was to leave us, to avoid the dispute of the flag. About two hours after they altered their course, and bore directly with us, Van Trump the headmost; whereupon we lay by, and put ourselves into a fighting posture, judging they had a resolution to engage. Being come within musquet-shot, I gave order to fire at his flag, which was done thrice; after the third shot he let fly a broadside at us. Major Bourn, with those ships that came from the Downs, being eight, was then making towards us. We continued fighting 'till night; then our ship being unable to sail, by reason that all our rigging and sails were extremely shattered, our mizen-mast shot off, we came, with advice of the Captains, to an anchor, about three or four leagues off the Ness, to refit our ship, at which we laboured all the night. This morning we espied the Dutch fleet about four leagues distance from ours, towards the coast of France; and, by advice of a Council of war, it was resolved to ply to windward to keep the weather-gage, and we are now ready to let fall our anchors this tide. What course the Dutch fleet steers we do not well know, nor can we tell what harm we have done them; but we suppose one of them to be sunk, and another of thirty guns we have taken, with the Captains of both; the main-mast of the first being shot by the board, and much water in the hold, made Captain Lawson's men to forsake her. We have six men of ours slain, and nine or ten desperately wounded, and twenty five more not without danger; amongst them our Master and one of

(21) The Answer of the Parliament of England, &c.

(22) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 316. Appendix to the Answer of the Parliament, &c.

After this dispute at sea, the States grew more tractable, and seemed very well inclined to peace, but the new Common-Wealth of England stood upon such high terms as were not to be complied with, and therefore both sides prepared to carry on the war, which had been thus hastily begun, without much reason on either, and perhaps out of meer emulation on both sides (*i*). Blake, while he continued in the Downs, re-inforced his fleet, and prepared for another engagement, holding, in the month of June, a solemn fast, or day of humiliation (*k*). After which, finding that a general engagement was not likely to ensue, he resolved to prosecute the war by taking the enemy's merchant ships, in which he had surprizing success, for on the tenth of that month, a detachment from his fleet fell upon six and twenty sail of Dutch merchant-men, and took them every one, so that by the end of June, the Admiral sent up forty good prizes, and had so effectually cleared the seas, that, on the second of July, he was at liberty to sail with a strong squadron northwards (*l*). In his course he took a Dutch man of war, and by the latter end of the month, he took the whole Dutch fishing convoy, consisting of twelve men of war, one hundred of their herring busses, and dispersed the rest (*m*). By the twelfth of August he returned into the Downs, with six of the Dutch men of war he had taken, and nine hundred prisoners. Thence he stood over to their own coast, having for some time upwards of a hundred men of war under his command. Towards the latter end of the same month of August, part of his fleet fell upon a squadron of French men of war, going to the relief of Dunkirk, took them, and carried them into Dover (*n*). At last, on the twenty-eighth of September, the fleet being under a fresh gale, Admiral Blake discovered the Dutch about noon, and though he had only three of his own squadron with him, Vice-Admiral Pen with his squadron at some distance, and the rest a league or two a-stern, he bore in among them, and was bravely seconded by Pen and Bourne; the fight began warmly on both sides: Blake sailing to the windward of their Admiral, was aground; the Sovereign struck several times, so did the Resolution, the St Andrew, and Pen's ship, but they got off again without any harm; three of the enemy's ships were wholly disabled at the first brunt, and another as she was towing off. The Rear-Admiral was taken by Capt. Mildmay; the victory was entirely on the English side, and had not night prevented them, it was thought scarce a ship of the Dutch fleet would have got off. On the twenty-ninth, as day broke, the English spyed the Dutch N. E. two leagues off, the General bore up to them, but the Dutch having the wind of him, he could not reach them; he commanded his light frigats to ply as near as they could, and keep firing while the rest bore up after them; some shot was spent between the English and Dutch, who soon hoisted

(*i*) Le Vie de Cromwel, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 249. Heath's Chron. p. 314. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 406.

(*k*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 100.

(*l*) Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 461.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 322.

(*n*) Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 463. Heath's Chron. p. 375. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 421.

' of his mates, and other officers. We have received ' about seventy great shot in our hull and masts, in our ' sails and rigging without number, being engaged ' with the whole body of the fleet for the space of ' four hours; being the mark at which they aimed. ' We must needs acknowledge it a great mercy that ' we had no more harm, and our hope is, the righteous ' God will continue the same unto us, if there do ' arise a war between us, they being first in the breach, ' and seeking an occasion to quarrel, and watching as it ' seems an advantage to brave us upon our own coast, &c.

From aboard the James, *three leagues off the* Hydes, *the 20th of* May, 1652.

' Your humble Servant,

' ROBERT BLAKE.

It would be to no great purpose to take notice of the different accounts given of this matter by later authors, because it cannot be supposed that they have any better authorities than those which have been already produced. As to what is asserted by the Dutch writers, it differs so little from the account already given, except in one circumstance, that it need not be taken notice of. This circumstance is, the firing of the first broadside, which they assert was done by Blake, and so I find it in Admiral Trump's letter to the States. In this letter, which is dated the 30th of May, 1652, N. S. he asserts that Bourne's squadron consisted of twelve ships, though Bourne himself says he had but nine, and names them. He also says that Admiral Blake, being within cannon-shot, fired once over them, and they not answering, fired a second time; being answered by another shot, he fired a broadside upon Trump. He owns the loss of two ships, and does not seem to dispute that the English had the better (23). There is indeed a more particular account, with respect to the personal conduct of Blake, which deserves notice. When Blake came into the Downs, says this author, Van Trump bore up to his fleet, which consisted of no more than twenty-three sail, nearer than he had any occasion to do. Upon this, Blake saluted him with two guns without ball, to require him to strike sail; Trump, in contempt, shot on the contrary side; Blake fired a second and a third gun, which Van Trump answered with a broadside. The English Admiral perceiving it was his intention to fight, singled out himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with Van Trump about that point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood and a national quarrel. When Blake approached nearer to Van Trump, he and the rest of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, the English Admiral coming with a design to treat, fired on Blake with whole broadsides. The Admiral was in his cabbin drinking with some of his officers, little expecting to be so saluted, when the shot broke the windows of his ship, and shattered the stern, which put him into a vehement passion, and curling his whiskers, as he used to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to answer the Dutch in their kind, saying, when his heat was somewhat over, *he took it very ill of* Van Trump *that he should take his ship for a bawdy-house, and break his windows.* Blake singly sustained the shock of the Dutch fleet for some time, 'till his own ships and Major Bourne's could join him, and then the engagement grew hot and bloody on the enemies side, 'till night put an end to it (24). General Ludlow, in his memoirs, gives us a very clear and distinct account of this action; and when he has so done, he tells us, that on a report from the Council of State, the Parliament justified Blake's conduct, resolved to demand satisfaction of the States, put their Embassadors who lodged at Chelsea under a guard, and sent Cromwell and Dennis Bond to Dover, to encourage the sailors, and to promise them that nothing should be wanting on the side of the Parliament to reward their vigilance and valour, in case they continued to do their duty as bravely as they had done (25). The Earl of Clarendon has preserved a very extraordinary circumstance not to be met with elsewhere, viz. that Trump received an express ketch with instructions from the States immediately before he fired his broadside (26).

(23) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 319.

(24) L lish an Vol. II

(25) L Memoir I. p. 4c

(27) Hi Rebellio III. p. 4

[*E*] Made

hoisted their sails and ran for it. On the thirtieth, the enemy were almost out of sight, the English still pursuing them, till they saw them run into the Goree; the General then called a Council of War, and seeing the ships were so near the shallows, and that some of them wanted provisions, it was resolved to return to the Downs. The English lost few men, not one ship; the enemy had their Rear-Admiral taken, two sunk, and one blown up, two thousand wounded men were landed out of the Dutch fleet, and Admiral Witte Wittens laid the fault on the cowardice of some of his Captains, and on the numbers of the English. General Blake, after the fight, ordered several ships to the coast of Holland, and sent others on a cruize, which not only secured the English merchants in their trade, but wonderfully annoyed the subjects of the States-General, and made them heartily weary of the war (o) [E]. Some pressing occasions having obliged General Blake to make large detachments from his fleet, Van Trump, who had once again the command of the Dutch navy, then consisting of fourscore men of war, resolved to take this opportunity of attacking Blake in the Downs, who, he knew, had not above half his number of ships (p). Accordingly, he sailed away to the back of the Godwin, near the place where he had fought before, of which Blake having notice, he called a Council of War, wherein it was resolved to fight, though at so great a disadvantage. The battle began on the twenty-ninth of November about two in the morning, and lasted till near six in the evening. The General was in the Triumph, and always in the hottest of the action; his ship, the Victory, and the van-guard, did, and suffered, most, engaging at one time with twenty of the enemy's best ships. Blake finding the Dutch had two ships to his one, that the English were very much disabled, and that the Dutch had also the advantage of the wind, drew off his fleet in the night into the River of Thames, having lost the Garland, and the Bonaventure taken by the Dutch, a small frigat burnt, and three sunk; his remaining ships were shattered and disabled: Trump bought this victory dear, one of his flag-ships was blown up, all the men drowned, his own ship and De Ruyter's were both incapable of service till they were repaired (q) [F]. This advantage, for such it really was, puffed

(o) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 104.

(p) Heath's Chronicle, p. 329, 330.

(q) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 104.

[E] *Made them heartily weary of the war.*] We have several accounts of this engagement, out of which we have selected the substance of the clearest, and inserted it in the text. There is particularly a pretty long one in Whitlock's Memorials (27); as also another in Ludlow's Memoirs, attended with some circumstances that are not to be found elsewhere; he says, that when the Dutch fleet arrived at Goree, the Captains were not permitted to go ashore 'till an enquiry was made into their conduct. In the mean time the Dutch were so much provoked against the English, that in order to encourage their own countrymen to serve against them, they exhibited the death of the late King in the most tragical manner upon the stage, and the faction of the Prince of Orange entertained hopes, that the people would rather sacrifice their liberties, than not be revenged of the English Common-Wealth (28). This however seems to be his own conjecture; for another writer tells us, that the States, out of meer apprehension of the Prince's becoming Stadtholder, sent soon after the engagement to the Parliament of England to desire a peace, but with very indifferent success, for the Parliament still stood upon their old demands of satisfaction and of reparation. The same author tells us, that De Wit, when he sailed on this expedition, was obstructed by a mutiny, the seamen refusing to go on board 'till they received their wages; for which two of them were executed at Amsterdam, and some of the Burghers of that city shot, on a sudden surmise of a rescue. On his return there was another tumult at Flushing, occasioned partly through his want of success, and partly out of hatred to him as an enemy to the House of Orange; which cross accidents made De Ruyter desirous of resigning his commission, and so vexed De Wit that he fell sick. The States however appointed Commissioners to enquire into the conduct of the Captains who were charged with misbehaviour, and took a great deal of pains to repair and to recruit their fleet (29). On the other hand, the Parliament of England passed an Act, whereby they required all seamen, who were on board any foreign ships in Europe, to return home in forty days, and such as were in the Indies in twelve months, directing that all such Carpenters, Shipwrights, &c. that were found on board the enemy's ships, should be thrown overboard without mercy (30). It was the latter end of the year Admiral Blake had orders to send Captain Ball with a squadron of eighteen men of war into the Sound, in order to serve as a convoy for two and twenty merchantmen, whom the King of Denmark had stopped in his port of Copenhagen, under pretence that he was apprehensive of their being taken by the Dutch, in case they attempted to return. The Captain, on his arrival at Elsinore, easily discovered that double-dealing of the Danish King, who now absolutely refused to deliver up the ships, pretending that he kept them for certain sums of money due to him from the late King Charles I; whereupon Ball returned with his squadron into England, but by the way took fourteen Dutch ships, and brought them with a man of war, which he likewise took, to Yarmouth (31). This was the largest of those detachments spoken of in the text, whereby Blake weakened himself so much as to encourage the Dutch to run the hazard of another battle, notwithstanding their late defeat. This however must not be understood as any oversight in Blake, who acted only in obedience to the orders he received, and cannot therefore be made answerable for their consequences.

(27) Memorials of the English Affairs, p. 526.

(28) Vol. I. p. 428.

(29) Heath's Chron. p. 326.

(30) Ibid. p. 327.

(31) Ibid. p. 328.

[F] *Incapable of service 'till they were repaired.*] There is a large and curious account of this obstinate battle in Heath, which will give the reader full satisfaction as to all the material circumstances relating to it. Intelligence was now, says he, given to Van Trump, as there had been before to the States, that the English fleet was no way recruited, that most of the ships with which De Ruyter engaged were gone into Port, and that now Blake might be easily beaten in the Downs, and so the mouth of the river stopped, the war come to a period, and the Dutch have satisfaction for the damage done them, and sea-towns in England put into their hands for future security; for nothing less would content *Hans* in this top-gallant humour. On the 29th of November Trump presented himself with eighty men of war and ten fire-ships on the back side of the Godwin again, and according to expectation found General Blake, attended with no more than forty odd sail, as if he had been ignorant how to use his late victory, which came now to the dispute, and to be an undecided controversy again; yet Blake generously disdaining to be affronted again in the Downs, having called a Council of War, it was concluded he should fight, though at so unequal disadvantage; but the wind rising, the engagement was hindered 'till the next day, and anchoring the night before a little above Dover road, fair by the enemy, near morning both fleets plyed westward, we having the weather-gage, and about eleven or twelve o'clock engaged near the same place, where the first encounter was, but not with the same success, for half the fleet did not engage; the Victory, Vanguard, and the Triumph, the Admiral's ship, bore most of the stress of the fight, being at one time engaged with twenty Dutchmen, and were sorely torn in their rigging, sails, yards, and hulls; yet they fought 'till after it

puffed up the Dutch exceedingly, inſomuch that Van Trump ſailed through the Channel with a broom at his main-top-maſt, to ſignify that he had ſwept thoſe ſeas of Engliſh ſhips *(r)*; they likewiſe made ballads, wherein they ſpoke with great triumph of their having taken the Engliſh Garland, and began to threaten taking from us, all our plantations in the Weſt-Indies *(s)*. But in the mean time Blake repaired and recruited his fleet, Monk and Deane being now joined in commiſſion with him, and ſo diligent they were, that on the eighth of February, 1653, they ſailed from Queenſborough with ſixty men of war, and were preſently joined by twenty more from Portſmouth. On the eighteenth of the ſame month, they diſcovered Van Trump with a fleet of ſeventy ſail, and no leſs than three hundred merchant ſhips under his convoy. Blake, with twelve ſhips, came up with, and engaged, the Dutch fleet; and were very ſeverely handled. Himſelf, in the Triumph, had like to have been loſt, had he not been timely relieved by Lawſon in the Fairfax. In this warm ſervice, Blake loſt the Captain of his own ſhip whoſe name was Ball, a brave active officer, and Mr Sparrow his Secretary; himſelf was grievouſly wounded in the thigh, yet he continued the fight till night, by the advantage of which, the Dutch, who had ſix men of war ſunk and taken, retired. Having ſet his wounded men on ſhore at Portſmouth, Blake followed the enemy, and came up with them the next day, about three in the afternoon, when the fight was renewed with very great loſs to the Dutch, who continued retreating towards Bulloign. All the night following Blake continued the purſuit, and in the morning of the twentieth of February, the two fleets fought again with incredible fury till four in the afternoon, when the wind blowing favourably for the Dutch, they reached the Sands of Calais, anchored there, and thence tided it home. In theſe three engagements the Dutch loſt eleven men of war, thirty merchant ſhips, and had, according to their own accounts, fifteen hundred men ſlain. The Engliſh loſt only one ſhip, the Samſon, but not fewer men than the enemy *(t)* [*G*]. In the month of April, Cromwell turned out the Parliament, and ſhortly after aſſumed the Supreme Power. The States hoped great advantages from this, which, however, they did not immediately receive, Blake and his colleagues wiſely declaring, that whatever happened at home, they would not ſuffer their country to endure either injuries or inſults from abroad, and in this they were as good as their words *(u)* [*H*].

(r) Heath's Chronicle, p. 381.

(s) Ibid. p. 334.

(t) Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 174. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 438.

(u) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 169. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

Towards

it was dark, a little before which the Garland (whoſe venturous Captain, out of a noble reſolution, boarding Van Trump himſelf, was ſlain in the fight, and overpowered with his reſerves) a Navy ſhip of the third rate with forty guns, was boarded by two Dutch flags, and taken; as likewiſe the Bonadventure, attempting to relieve them, it's Captain, Hookſton being ſlain before the Triumph could ſuccour them; and this was not done without great hazard; for Blake was boarded twice, and had his topmaſt ſhot by the board, and had not the Vanguard and Sapphire ſtood reſolutely by him, might have gone near to be loſt; the Hercules was likewiſe run on ſhore, and all the whole fleet that engaged was miſerably rent and torn, and had it not been for the night would hardly have come off, whereas now they retreated to Dover, and ſo into the river againſt Leigh to ſave themſelves. The Dutch triumphantly continued where they were, reſolving to fall upon Blake with their whole fleet and fireſhips the next day at two o'clock; but miſſing of them, ſent their ſcouts to Harwich and Yarmouth to ſee if they were there, purpoſing to purſue the ſame reſolution. In the mean time ſome of their ſeamen went aſhore into Rumney March to ſteal ſheep, but the troopers were in a readineſs, and killed ſix of them, and took eight more. Trump ſtill continued with his fleet plying between the Iſle of Wight and the Northforeland, ſomewhat betwixt Calais and Dungeneſs, having put aſhore the Lieutenant of the Garland and other ſeamen, who informed that one Dutch ſhip was blown up, and but two men ſaved; and that Trump, and another flag ſhip, and De Ruyter, had received damage. Amidſt all this fray, a rich Streights Engliſh ſhip, called the Employment, valued at 200,000 *l.* got ſafe into Harbour at Portſmouth, being purſued by ſeven Dutch ſail of frigates (32). Whitlock gives pretty near the ſame account (33); but writing from his memory, places this action in the beginning of December. Rapin, who throughout the whole account of this war is extremely tender of the Dutch, ſays (34), that Admiral Blake having received a wound, it threw his fleet into ſuch diſorder, as rendered it impoſſible for him to hinder Van Trump from purſuing his courſe; yet our own writers ſay nothing of Blake's being wounded, and therefore I ſuppoſe that he confounds this with the next engagement, wherein Blake was actually wounded in the thigh. The ſecret of this defeat is ſaid to lie in the little care taken by the Parliament's Committee for repairing ſuch ſhips as were damaged, and for ſending timely ſupplies to the fleet, neither have there been wanting writers honeſt enough to tell us why they did this. They were it ſeems grown extremely jealous of military men, and men of action, *fearing that they ſhould grow too high, and overtop them* (35). Theſe are the words of my author, and therefore I uſe them. Perhaps this conduct might pave the way to the treatment the Parliament ſoon after met with, viz. April 20, 1653, when they were turned out of their Houſe by Cromwell and his officers, to whom alſo the fleet unanimouſly adhered.

(32) Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, &c. p. 329, 330.

(33) Memorial of Engliſh Affairs, p. 526.

(34) Hiſt. D'Angleterre, Vol. V. liv. xxii. p. 175.

(35) Life of Cromwell, by Carrington, p. 109.

[*G*] *But not fewer men than the enemy.*] It is needleſs to trouble the reader with ſeveral accounts of the battle mentioned in the text; I ſhall therefore only take notice of ſome little particulars which are not there inſerted. General Blake, the better to man his fleet, had put on board ſome regiments of ſoldiers, who behaved extremely well, and to whom, according to ſome accounts, the honour of the day was chiefly due (36). We muſt not from hence imagine, that land forces are always equally proper at ſea, but conſider the circumſtances which diſtinguiſh this from other caſes. The troops had been but a few days on board, the fleet was only employed on a cruize, and therefore, there was no danger of their being weakened by ſickneſs, or other accidents at ſea. Rapin extenuates as much as poſſible the defeat of the Dutch, and indeed their own writers have not been ſparing in their pains to cover it, but with very little ſucceſs.

(36) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 335.

[*H*] *They were as good as their words.*] The author of Blake's life hath given a very candid and ſuccinct account of this affair. He tells us, that when Cromwell turned the Rump out of the government, and took it upon himſelf and his council of officers; Blake, Deane, and Monk, and the reſt of the admirals and ſea officers, publiſhed a declaration of their reſolution, notwithſtanding the late change, to proceed in the performance of their duties and the truſt repoſed in them, againſt the enemies of this Commonwealth. And the General was of Opinion, on the revolution which happened afterwards, that 'twas his and his men's duty, to act faithfully abroad in their ſtations, ſo as might conduce moſt to the publick peace and welfare, whatever irregularity there was in the councils at home; ſaying to his officers, *It is not for us to mind ſtate affairs, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us* (37). This conduct induced even Anthony Wood to ſay, that

(37) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 109.

Towards the end of the month, Blake and his colleagues, with a grand fleet of a hundred sail, stood over to the Dutch coast, and forced their fleet to fly for shelter into the Texel, where, for some time, they were kept by Monk and Deane, while Blake sailed northward; at last Trump got out, and drew together a fleet of a hundred and twenty men of war. On the third of June, the Generals, Deane and Monk, engaged the enemy off the North-foreland with indifferent success. On the fourth, General Blake came in to their assistance with eighteen fresh ships, and thereby gained a compleat victory, insomuch, that if the Dutch had not once again saved themselves on Calais Sands, their whole fleet had been sunk or taken (*w*) [*I*]. In the mean time, Cromwell had called, or rather appointed, a sort of Parliament, called the *Little Parliament*, in which Mr Blake had a seat, as one of the Commissioners from Somersetshire (*x*), and was by the same Parliament continued one of the Generals of the fleet; however, his health was so impaired, that he could not possibly go to sea, and therefore had no share, but by his advice, in the last great victory gained over the Dutch, on the twenty-ninth of July, for which, however, the Parliament ordered him a gold chain, as well as the rest of the Admirals who actually served there (*y*). On the tenth of October he came to London, and took his seat in the House, where he received their solemn thanks for his many and faithful services (*z*). The Protector, Oliver, having called a new Parliament, consisting of four hundred, Mr Blake sat therein as Member for his native town of Bridgwater (*a*). On the sixth of December, he was constituted one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty for six months, and as he was treated with great respect by Cromwell, so he behaved towards him with much fidelity, though perhaps no great affection, since he was naturally inclined to a Commonwealth (*b*). In the month of November, 1634, Cromwell thought fit to send him, with a strong fleet, into the Mediterranean, with instructions which he knew would please him, *viz.* to support the honour of the English Flag, and to procure satisfaction for any injuries that might have been done to our merchants (*c*). In the beginning of December, Blake came into the road of Cadiz, where he was treated with all imaginable respect; a Dutch Admiral would not hoist his flag while he was there. A French squadron having stopped one of his tenders, which had been separated from Blake in a storm, the Admiral, as soon as he knew to whom he belonged, sent for the Captain on board, drank the General's health before him with great ceremony, under a discharge of five guns, and then dismissed him (*d*). The Algerines were so much afraid of him, that they stopped the Sallee Rovers, obliged them to deliver up what English prisoners they had on board, and then sent them freely to Blake in order to merit his favour. All this, however, did not hinder his coming on the tenth of March before Algiers, sending an officer on shore to the Dey, with a message, importing, that he had orders to demand satisfaction for the piracies committed on the English, as also the release of all such English captives as were then in the place. To this the Dey answered, that the ships and captives taken belonged to particular men, and therefore he could not restore them without discontenting all his subjects; yet he might if he pleased redeem what English captives were there, at a reasonable price set on their heads, and, if he thought good, they would conclude a peace with him, and, for the future, offer no acts of hostility to those of his nation. He accompanied this answer with a very large present of fresh provisions, and it seems at that time to have satisfied Blake, who, leaving Algiers, sailed to Tunis on the same errand (*e*). The Dey of Tunis, who was a very brave man, but a little obstinate, refused to give him any answer, or even to

(*w*) A true Relation of the late great Sea Fight, in a Letter to his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, from General Blake and General Monk, dated from on board the Resolution off Ostend, July 4, 1653, Lond. printed for H. Hills, 4*to*.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

(*y*) Winstanley's England's Worthies, p. 555. Heath's Chron. p. 349.

(*z*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 112.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 463. Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 113.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 487.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Mot. P. ii. p. 205.

(*d*) Lives English and Foreign Vol. II. p. 114.

(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

that ever after Blake continued a fortunate vindicator of his country's privileges from the encroachments of insulting neighbours, a victorious enemy of the Spaniards, and was highly valued by all, even the Royalists (38). To say the truth, it is hard to conceive how Admiral Blake could have acted any other part than he did, consistent with his regard to his country, since it is certain that the Parliament began to be suspected of intending to perpetuate themselves, which would have been little better than enslaving the rest of the nation. Besides, the officers on board the fleet were very little satisfied with the conduct of the Committee, who, by virtue of the powers given them by Parliament, were a sort of Lords of the Admiralty; and as we have spoke twice of these, it may not be amiss to name them; they were Sir Henry Vane, junior, Mr Saloway, Colonel Thompson, and Mr John Carew (39).

[*I*] *Their whole fleet had been sunk or taken.*] We are told by Rapin, that the two fleets met the second of June and came to an engagement, which was renewed the next day, in which second battle, Trump fighting with great disadvantage, was obliged to retire in disorder having lost many ships, which were sunk or taken by the English (40). This is a very blind account of so remarkable an action, especially, when he might so easily have had a better; besides the date is false, for it was not the second but the third of June. As to the loss on both sides, the most particular account I have met with follows (41). On the side of the Dutch, there were without doubt a great number slain, but how many is uncertain, perhaps it may be guessed at by the subsequent articles. Prisoners, there were one thousand three hundred and fifty, and of these, six were Captains. Ships sunk, six. Men of war taken, eleven. Of the English there were slain General Deane, and one Captain. Of private men, one hundred and twenty. Wounded, two hundred thirty six; but not so much as one ship was either sunk or disabled. But the importance of this victory will be best declared by the consequences of it, which are thus represented by Heath, who wrote at the very time (42). The English, says he, after their victory still lay upon the coasts of Holland, into whose ports and harbours upon the pursuit, as far as the Texel, they had driven and scattered the Dutch fleet, which had so brought down the stomachs of the Hollander, that that Province having as before sent away a boat with a white flag, with a messenger for a passport, and a safe conduct for two Embassadors; and having obtained it, sent away the Lords Youngstall and Vande Peere, to follow two others newly gone before. These arrived the twentieth of June, and had audience the twenty second: Their message being of such importance, for every day their merchant ships were taken coming home, and there was no stirring out for any, so that there was an absolute cessation there of trade, no less than thirty ships richly laden, having been taken by our fleet riding in the mouths of their havens.

(38) Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(39) Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

(40) Histoire D'Angleterre, liv. xxii.

(41) The Perfect Politician, or the Life of Cromwell, p. 178.

(42) Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, p. 346.

to ſuffer him to take in freſh water, ſuppoſing that the extraordinary pains he had taken to fortify the place were ſufficient to defend it; but he was extreamly miſtaken, for Blake forced him to an humble ſubmiſſion, and to a peace extreamly advantageous for his country, after he had demoliſhed his caſtles, and burnt all the ſhipping in the haven of Tunis (*f*) [*K*]. He in like manner terrified the pyratical ſtate of Tripoli into making peace with England, and alſo brought the Knights of Malta to a compoſition for the injuries they had done to this nation (*g*). Theſe laſt exploits were performed in the ſpring of the year 1655, and raiſed the glory of the Engliſh name ſo high, that moſt of the Princes and States in Italy, thought fit to pay their compliments to the Protector, particularly the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the free State of Venice, who ſent magnificent embaſſies for that purpoſe (*h*). The war in the mean time was grown pretty hot with Spain, and Blake, in purſuance of the Protector's orders, did all that in his power lay to ruin their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had done in the Weſt Indies (*i*). But theſe extraordinary and continual cares, falling on a conſtitution already not a little impaired, brought General Blake into ſo bad a ſtate of health, that fearing the ill conſequences that might happen, in caſe he ſhould die without having any colleague, who in ſuch a caſe might take charge of the fleet, he wrote letters into England, ſuggeſting the expediency of joining ſome proper perſon in commiſſion with him, upon which General Montague was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to aſſiſt him, and was made Joint-Admiral with him according to his deſire (*k*). Soon after his arrival in the Mediterranean, Blake and he ſailed with their whole fleet, to block up a Spaniſh ſquadron in the bay of Cadiz, which they accordingly did for ſeveral months. At laſt, in September, finding they were in want of water, Blake and Montague ſtood away for the coaſt of Portugal, leaving Capt. Stayner, with ſeven ſhips under his command to look after the enemy. While they were gone the Spaniſh plate fleet appeared, ſteering for Cadiz, but were intercepted by Stayner, who took the Vice-Admiral, and another galleon, which were afterwards burnt by accident, the Rear-Admiral with two millions of plate on board, and another ſhip richly laden. Theſe prizes, together with all the priſoners, were, on the return of the fleet, ſent into England under General Montague, and Blake alone remained in the Mediterranean (*l*). Notwithſtanding his diſtempers, which now appeared to be the dropſy and ſcurvy, grew upon him daily, yet he kept up his ſpirits to the laſt, and being informed that another plate fleet had put into Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriff, he, in the month of April 1657, ſailed thither with a fleet of twenty-five men of war. On the twentieth of that month, he came into the road of Santa Cruz, and notwithſtanding the Spaniſh Governor had timely notice, was a man of great courage and conduct, and had diſpoſed all things in the propereſt manner poſſible, for the preſervation both of the ſhips and the place, and from a view of the proviſion he had made, looked upon an attack, as a thing no wiſe Admiral would think practicable; yet Blake, having once ſummoned him and received a ſhort anſwer, determined to force the place, and to do his utmoſt to burn the fleet that was therein, which he performed in ſuch a manner, as aſtoniſhed the ableſt ſeamen of thoſe times, and appears next to incredible in theſe (*m*). It is allowed to be one of the moſt remarkable actions that ever happened at ſea, and therefore we have given a particular account of it in the notes [*L*]. In this bloody

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 580.

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(*h*) Le Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 347.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 580.

(*k*) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 586.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 383. Waller's Poems, Lond. 1730, 12*mo*, p. 121.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 600. Bates, Elenchus Mot. P. ii. p. 227. Heath's Chron. p. 391. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 383. Life of Cromwell, by Carrington, p. 199. La Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 446.

[*K*] *Burnt all the ſhipping in the bay of Tunis.*] The anſwer ſent by the Dey to General Blake was haughty and full of contempt. *Here*, ſaid he, *are our caſtles of* Goletta, *and* Porto Ferino, *do your worſt, do you think we fear your fleet?* On the hearing this, Blake, as his cuſtom was, when in a paſſion, began to curl his whiſkers, and after a ſhort conſultation with his officers, bore into the bay of Porto Ferino, with his great ſhips and their ſeconds, and coming within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle and the line, he fired on both ſo warmly, that in two hours the caſtle was rendered defenceleſs, and the guns on the works along the ſhore were diſmounted, though ſixty of them played at a time on the Engliſh. The General found nine ſhips in the road, and ordered every Captain, even of his own ſhip, to man his long boat with choice men, and theſe to enter the harbour, and fire the Tuniſeens, while he and his fleet covered them from the caſtle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The ſeamen in their boats boldly aſſaulted the pirates, and burnt all their ſhips with the loſs of twenty-five men killed, and forty eight wounded. This daring action ſpread the terror of his name thro' Africa and Aſia, which had for a long time before been formidable in Europe (43).

(44) Lives, Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 115.

[*L*] *A particular account of it in the notes.*] On the twentieth of April 1657, the Engliſh fleet under the command of Admiral Blake, were fair in the offing of Sancta Cruz, where they diſcovered how bravely the Spaniſh ſhips, ſixteen in number, were barricadoed in this bay, where they lay in a manner ſemi-circular. Near in the mouth of this haven ſtands a caſtle, ſufficiently furniſhed with great ordnance, which threatened deſtruction to any that durſt enter without it's leave into the harbour; beſides this, there ſtood ſeven forts more round about the bay, with ſix, four, and three great guns a piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with muſqueteers. To make all ſafe, Don Diego Diagues, General of the Spaniſh fleet, was not idle, in making proviſion for the beſt defence of his armado; he cauſed all the ſmaller ſhips to be moored cloſe along the ſhore, and the ſix great galleons ſtood further out at anchor, with their broadſides towards the ſea. It happened at this time, there was a Dutch merchant ſhip in the bay, the maſter thereof ſeeing the Engliſh ready to enter, and that a combat would preſently be commenced, it made him fear, that among all the blows that would be given, he could not avoid ſome knocks; therefore to ſave himſelf, he went to Don Diego, and deſired his leave to depart the harbour, for, ſaid he, I am very ſure Blake will preſently be amongſt you. To this, the reſolute Don made no other reply, but get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares. They that knew Blake's courage, could not but know it needleſs to dare him to an engagement. All things being ordered for fight, a ſquadron of ſhips was drawn out of the whole fleet to make the firſt onſet; theſe were commanded by Captain Stayner in the Speaker frigate, who no ſooner had received orders, but immediately he flew into the bay with his canvaſs wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spaniſh fleet, without the leaſt regard to the forts,

bloody engagement it so fell out, that Capt. Benjamin Blake, the Admiral's brother, was guilty of some mistake in his conduct, for which the Admiral caused him instantly to be removed, his regard for his country obliging him to prefer strict justice to any ties of natural affection (n). As soon as the news arrived in England of this extraordinary action, the Protector sent his Secretary to acquaint his second Parliament, then sitting, therewith, whereupon they ordered a publick thanksgiving, and directed a diamond ring, worth five hundred pounds, to be sent to Blake. One hundred pounds were given to the Captain who brought the news, and the thanks of the House was ordered to all the officers and seamen, and to be given them by their General (o). These, as they were the last honours, so the receipt of them was the last news this brave officer received from his dearly-belov'd country. For, returning into the Mediterranean, and cruizing some time before Cadiz, he found his end draw on so fast, that it determined him, if possible, to return home. Accordingly he sailed for England, and in his last sickness often enquired for land, which, however, he never lived to see, dying, as the fleet was entering Plymouth-Sound, on board his ship the St George, the seventeenth of August, 1657, being about fifty-nine years of age (p). His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped up in lead, his bowels were buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corps conveyed by sea to Greenwich-House, where it lay in state for some time; from thence, on the fourth of September, it was carried by water in a barge of state, covered with velvet, adorned with escutcheons and pencils, accompanied by his brother, relations, and servants, in mourning; by Oliver's Privy-Council, the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, the Field Officers of the army, and many other persons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries covered with mourning, marshalled and ordered by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the solemnity. Thus they passed to Westminster-bridge, and at their landing, proceeded in the same manner through a guard of several regiments of foot to the Abbey, his dear friend General Lambert (q), though then in disgrace with the Protector, attending on his horse. The procession over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpose, in the chapel of King Henry VII (r), whence it was removed on the twelfth of September, 1661, and re-interred in St Margaret's church yard (s). He was a man but of a low stature, however, of a quick, lively eye, and of a good soldier-like countenance. He was, in his person, brave beyond example, yet cool in action, and shewed a great deal of military conduct in the disposition of those desperate attacks, which men of a cooler composition have judged rather fortunate than expedient. He certainly loved his country with extraordinary ardour, and as he never meddled with intrigues of State, so whatever Government he served, he was sollicitous to do his duty. He was upright to a supreme degree, for notwithstanding the vast sums which passed through his hands, he scarce left five hundred pounds behind him of his own acquiring. In fine, he was altogether disinterested and unambitious, exposing himself on all occasions for the benefit of the publick and the glory of the nation, and not with any view to his own private profit or fame. In respect to his personal character, he was pious without affectation, strictly just, and liberal to the utmost extent of his fortune. His officers he treated with the familiarity of friends, and to his sailors he was truly a parent. The State buried him as it was fit, at the publick expence they gave him a grave, but no tomb, and though he still wants an

(n) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 121.

(o) Heath's Chronicle, p. 392.

(p) Mercurius Politicus, No. 375. Whitlock's Memorial, p. 664. Heath's Chron. p. 402.

(q) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 205. Winstanley's England's Worthies, p. 578. Heath's Chron. p. 402.

(r) Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 536. Perfect Politician, or Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 247.

(s) Kennet's Register, ubi supra. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 205. Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 123, 124.

forts, that spent their shot prodigally upon him. No sooner were these entered into the bay, but Blake following after, placed certain ships to pour broadsides into the castle and forts. These played their parts so well, that after some time the Spaniards found their forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, Blake strikes in with Stayner, and bravely fought the Spanish ships, which were not much inferior in number to the English, but in men they were far the superior. Here we see a resolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make numbers lie by the lee; this was manifest, for by two of the clock in the afternoon, the English had beaten the enemies out of their ships. Now Blake, seeing an impossibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; which was done so effectually, that all the Spanish fleet were reduced to ashes, except two ships that sunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but some part of their masts. The English having now got a compleat victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew so strong into the bay, that many despaired of getting out of it again. But God's providence was miraculously seen, in causing the wind on a sudden to veer about to the South-West (a thing not known in many years before) which brought Blake and his fleet safe to sea again, notwithstanding the Spaniards from the castle played their great guns perpetually upon him as they passed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the English forth, so it continued to carry them back again to their former station near Cadiz (44). —— The Earl of Clarendon's reflexions on this extraordinary exploit are extremely worthy of notice. The whole action, says he, was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils and not men, who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and couragious men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how small loss the English sustained in this unparallelled action, no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the Spanish ships and on the shore was incredible (45). —— Sir Philip Warwick seems to have looked upon this action in another light, for thus he speaks of it: Blake's rash and daring attempt proved very fortunate and glorious upon the Spanish ships in Sancta Cruz; where, if the wind had not almost to a miracle veered about to bring him off, the conqueror must have necessarily been conquered. For as he was not able to bring off his prize, and therefore burnt it, so he had not been able to bring off himself, unless the wind had been thus favourable to him (46).

(44) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 391.

(45) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(46) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's Murder, p. 383.

an epitaph, writers of all parties have ſhewn an eagerneſs to do his memory juſtice (t) [M]. We find it very poſitively aſſerted, that Captain Benjamin Blake, brother to the General, ſuffered ſo many hardſhips for being a Diſſenter, in the latter end of the reign of King Charles II, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſelling his patrimony, and tranſporting himſelf and his family to Carolina (u). Another author (though ſome indeed think it is the ſame) relates this ſtory of Mr Humphry Blake, the General's brother, and tells us, the family eſtate was worth two hundred pounds a year, which he was obliged to diſpoſe of, to pay the fines laid upon him for his Nonconformity (w). It is, however, ſtrange, that every one of the General's nephews and nieces, by his ſiſter Suſannah, who married a gentleman at Minehead in Somerſetſhire, ſhould be totally unacquainted with this tranſaction, and that none of the family ſtill living, ſhould be able to give any account of that matter, which, however, is ſaid to be the caſe (x), and therefore it ſeems to be juſtly doubted, whether there be any truth in the ſtory, or whether it is only grounded on there being a conſiderable family of his name ſettled in that province, one of whom, when it was in private hands, was a Lord Proprietor.

(t) See the note [M].

(u) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 125.

(w) Hiſt. of England during the Reign of the Royal Houſe of Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 421.

(x) General Dict. Vol. III. p. 371.

[M] *To do his memory juſtice.*] We will begin with the writer neareſt his own time, the author of the State Paper, or Gazette of thoſe days, who gave the publick the news of his death in theſe words. 'Auguſt 20, 1657. This morning came the unwelcome news of the death of that gallant General, Blake, a man of great honour, that had wholly devoted himſelf to the ſervice of his country, and who gave many proofs of an extraordinary courage and conduct in actions both by ſea and land. He had been a long time a decaying, and in his return, being come to the Lizard Point, finding himſelf to fail, he called ſeveral of the Commanders of the other ſhips aboard his own to confer with them; afterwards, drawing on towards his laſt, he willed them to bear up with all ſpeed to Plymouth, hoping to have reached land before his death, but in the very entrance into the Sound of Plymouth he expired. His body being embowelled, and cloſed in a ſheet of lead, the bowels were interred there in the cathedral church, and his corpſe was ſent along with the ſhips towards the Downs (47).' —— Dr Bates, who was Phyſician to King Charles I, the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II, ſpeaks thus of Blake. He became famous by many actions abroad, for he humbled the pride of France, reduced the Portugueſe to ſubmiſſion, broke the ſtrength of the Dutch, and drove their fleets out of the ſea, ſubdued the Pirates in the Mediterranean, and twice triumphed over the Spaniards, blameable only in this, that he joined himſelf with the Parricides. At the beginning of this character, he tells us Blake was a man *ab Hoſte laudandus*, deſerving praiſe though an enemy, which makes it the more remarkable (48). — Clarendon having run through the ſeries of Blake's employments, to the time of his firſt going on board the fleet, concludes thus. He then betook himſelf wholly to the ſea, and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt that the ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined, and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhip and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection, as if the principal art requiſite in the Captain of a ſhip had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought the ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience what mighty things they could do if they were reſolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute atchievements (49). —— Biſhop Burnet hath preſerved a paſſage very honourable to his memory, which I inſert here, becauſe I do not exactly know where it ought to have been placed in order of time. While Blake lay in the road of Malaga, before the war broke out with Spain, ſome of his ſeamen going aſhore, met the Hoſt carrying about, and not only paid no reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe who did. One of the Spaniſh prieſts put the people upon reſenting this indignity, and they fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their ſhips, they complained of this uſage; upon which Blake ſent a trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the prieſt, who was the chief inſtrument in that ill uſage. The Viceroy anſwered, that he had no authority over the prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of them. General Blake upon that ſent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to ſend the prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours, he would burn their town. The Spaniards hearing this, obliged the Viceroy to ſend the prieſt to Blake, and he juſtified himſelf upon the petulant behaviour of the ſeamen. Blake anſwered, that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place, at which he touched; but he took it ill that he had ſet on the Spaniards to do it, for he would have all the world to know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman; ſo he treated the prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him in his power. Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great ſatisfaction, ſaying that he hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been (50). —— An author, who was contemporary with Blake, wrote the following verſes upon his death.

Here lies a man made Spain and Holland ſhake,
Made France to tremble, and the Turks to quake:
Thus he tam'd men, but if a lady ſtood
In's ſight, it rais'd a palſy in his blood;
Cupid's antagoniſt, who in his life
Had fortune as familiar as a wife.
A ſtiff, hard, iron ſoldier; for he
It ſeems had more of Mars than Mercury;
At ſea he thundered, calm'd each raging wave,
And now he's dead, ſent thund'ring to his grave (51).

From theſe verſes it looks as if the Admiral had been little addicted to the fair ſex; and indeed the author of his life, who lived ſome time in his brother's family, informs us, that he died a bachelor, not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him, the eſtate of the family deſcending to his brother Benjamin Blake mentioned in the text (52). There has been a grievous complaint made, that after the Reſtoration the bones of this true patriot, and victorious Admiral, were taken out of his grave and ignominiouſly thrown into a ditch (53). But this, not to call it a falſity, is a violent exaggeration (54). After the Reſtoration there was an order to remove the dead bodies of the rebels that had been buried in the Abbey, amongſt the reſt Cromwell, Ireton, &c. whoſe remains were ignominiouſly treated; but as for thoſe of Blake, they were with great decency re-interred in St Margaret's Church-yard (55). E

(47) Mercurius Politicus, No. 375.

(48) Elenchus Motuum, Lond. 1676, p. 323. In the Engliſh edition, Part ii. p. 228.

(49) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 602.

(50) Hiſt. of his own Times, Lond. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 80, 81.

(51) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 571.

(52) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 125.

(53) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. I. p. 421. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 174.

(54) Grey's Impartial Examination of Neal's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 315.

(55) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 536.

BLOOD (THOMAS) generally called Colonel Blood, as extraordinary an adventurer, as ever lived in this or any other country. He was, according to some accounts, the son of a Blacksmith in Ireland (*a*), but from other impartial evidences, I rather conclude his father to have been concerned in iron-works, and to have acquired an easy fortune in that kingdom, to the prospect of which this man was born (*b*), and so might be said to come into the world a gentleman [*A*]. It is also not a little uncertain when he was born, but from a comparison of circumstances, it appears probable it was in 1628, or thereabouts (*c*). He came over into England while a very young man, and married in Lancashire, the daughter of one Mr Holcraft, a gentleman of good character in that county; this seems to have been in 1648, for he was in England when Col. Rainsford was surprized and killed at Pontefract (*d*). He returned afterwards into Ireland, and though his family owed the best part of what they had to the pure favour of the Crown, yet he struck in with the prevailing party, and served as a Lieutenant in the Parliament forces, and obtained a certain quantity of land assigned him for his pay; besides which, Henry Cromwell, when he governed that country, had so good an opinion of him, as to put him into the commission of the peace, though scarce two and twenty years of age (*e*). These favours, and the turn of his education, in all probability gave him such an inclination to these sort of people, as was not to be reformed, and after the King's Restoration there happened some accidents, which contributed to increase his disaffection to the Government. The Act of Settlement in Ireland, and the proceedings thereupon, certainly affected him deeply in his fortune, and he believed unjustly, which easily drew him to turn his thoughts any way that promised redress (*f*). He knew there were multitudes in the same condition that had been old soldiers, and were equally capable of contriving, concealing, and carrying into execution, a plot, for altering or subverting any form of government, of which he had seen some examples. Upon associating a little with the malecontents, he found his notions exactly justified, that there was a design on foot for a general insurrection, which was to be begun by surprizing the castle of Dublin, and seizing the person of the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant (*g*). Into this he entered without any hesitation, and though many of the persons involved in this dangerous undertaking, were much his superiors in rank, yet he very soon was at the head of the affair, presided in all their councils, was the oracle in laying their projects, and depended on for conducting them in their execution. He shewed his dexterity in things of this nature, by laying such a plan for surprizing Dublin Castle, and the Duke's person at the same time, as nothing but it's being divulged could have prevented, and at the same time, he penned a Declaration so accommodated to the humour and understanding of the soldiers, as would infallibly have drawn over the best part of the army (*h*). But on the very eve of it's execution, the whole conspiracy, which had been long suspected, was absolutely discovered, and so Col. Blood had only the honour of the contrivance (*i*) [*B*]. His brother-in-law, one Lackie a Minister, who was

(*a*) Sir Gilbert Talbot, in his Narrative and Remarks on Col. Blood's attempt on the Regalia.

(*b*) Remarks on Mr Blood's Life, p. 1.

(*c*) He was made a Justice of the Peace in the time of the Troubles, when scarce of age.

(*d*) Remarks on Blood's Life, p. 1.

(*e*) Ibid. ubi supra.

(*f*) Kennet's Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 280.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(*h*) See the Resolution of the Irish House of Commons, in note [*B*].

(*i*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 2.

[*A*] *Might be said to come into the world a gentleman.*] It is in the account drawn up by Mr Edwards and his son (1) of the manner in which Blood took the crown out of the Tower, that he is said to be the son of a Blacksmith. But this seems to be questioned by a very intelligent author (2), who informs us, that whatever his parents were, he had by Letters patent, dated June the 12th, in the 16th of King Charles I, a Grant of the towns and lands of *Sarney*, *Beatowne* and *Foylestowne*, in the barony of *Dunboyne* in the county of *Meath*, as also five hundred acres of unprofitable mountain in the territory of *Glanmabur*, alias *le Glims*, in the county of *Wicklowe*. Another author, who seems to be very well acquainted with all the remarkable passages of his life (3), speaks thus of his parentage, which does not seem to agree with the report of his being the son of a Blacksmith, though it must be confessed that it is not very explicit. 'His birth was such as gave him those advantages that usually distinguish a man from the vulgar; for though wit and parts, courage and strength, are not hereditary to the gentility, yet it is a great felicity to be born of such parents as are above those wants that deprive them of bestowing the benefits of education upon their children, and so far from the reproaches of poverty, that they are never spoken of by the world but with a decent and becoming character. Such were Mr Blood's parentage, serious, honest, and of no inferior credit and possession in the country where they lived, which made them take that care that their offspring should not be degenerate from the virtues and repute of his ancestors, for forming and shaping his conditions according to the rules of strict and sober education, which had that influence upon him as to preserve him from those extravagancies that usually attend upon mettalled and active spirits'.

(1) Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. B. i. p. 92.

(2) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(3) Remarks on the Life of the famed Mr Blood, London, 1680, fol. p. 1.

[*B*] *So Col. Blood had only the honour of the contrivance.*] The reader is to observe, that there were two distinct designs on foot in 1663; the one a general insurrection, the other the surprizing the castle of Dublin. The latter was indeed only a branch of the former, but different persons were concerned in them, only Blood embarked in both, and was of the council both in the country and at Dublin; and it was intended to have executed the scheme of surprizing the Lord Lieutenant on the 9th or 10th of March, but one Mr Philip Alden, who was of the council, gave intelligence to the Duke of Ormond, who thereupon took such measures as might have discouraged men of less spirit and resolution; but in respect to them these steps only served to quicken them, so that they determined to put their scheme in execution on the 5th of March, 1663 (4). The design was not ill laid, several persons with petitions in their hands were to wait within the castle, as if they staid to present them to the Lord Lieutenant, and about fourscore of the old daring disbanded soldiers were to stay on the outside, dressed like Carpenters, Smiths, Shoemakers, and other ordinary mechanicks. As soon as the Lord Lieutenant went in, a Baker was to pass by the main guard with a large basket of white bread on his back, which, by making a false step, he was to throw down, which might create a scramble among the soldiers, and offer the fourscore men aforementioned an opportunity of disarming them, while the others with petitions in their hands secured all within, and being once master of the castle and the Duke of Ormond's person, they were to publish their declaration (5). But the principal conspirators were seized about twelve hours before the time appointed for the execution of the design, in which no less than seven Members of the House of Commons (for the Parliament of Ireland was then sitting) were concerned. This brought the matter to be examined before that Assembly, who, after giving their Members a day to be heard, which they declined, came, amongst other resolutions, to these that follow (6), viz.

(4) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(5) State Letters of the Earl of Orrery, p. 69, 70.

(6) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. In the Appendix, p. 30.

I. That

was embarked in the business, was, with many others, apprehended, tried, convicted, and executed, but Lieutenant Thomas Blood made his escape, and kept out of reach, notwithstanding the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Orrery, both laboured to have him secured, and a proclamation was published by the former, with the promise of an ample reward for apprehending him (*k*). Nor was he only so lucky as to prevent confinement and punishment, but by an audacity still more singular, had almost frighted away the guards that attended Lackie's execution, and even alarmed the friends of the Lord Lieutenant on the score of his safety (*l*). So high was Blood's fame for sagacity and intrepidity at this time, and so capable he was held of undertaking any thing his passion or interest dictated, and of conducting skillfully whatever was by him undertaken, how desperate or difficult soever [*C*]. He stayed as long amongst the Sectaries and remains of Oliver's forces as he found it practicable to conceal himself, and then had recourse to the mountains, and the protection of the old native Irish, and the better to attach those he conversed with to his interests, he became all things to all men, he was a Quaker to some, an Anabaptist to others, an Independant where that would best recommend him, and to bespeak the favour of the poor ignorant natives, he took the character of a Priest (*m*). By these arts he shifted about from one place to another, making himself acquainted with all parties in the island, and with all their interests and connections at home and abroad (*n*). At last, finding all his haunts known, and that it was impossible to raise, at that juncture, any insurrection, he found means to get over into Holland, where he was very well received, and admitted into great intimacy with some of the most considerable persons in the Republick, particularly Admiral de Ruyter (*o*). He went from thence to England, with such recommendations to the Fifth-monarchy-men, and other malecontents, that he was immediately admitted into all their councils, and had a large share in all those dark intrigues that were then carrying on, for throwing the nation again into confusion (*p*). In this situation he gave another strong instance of his bold enterprizing genius, which almost exceeds belief [*D*]. But finding the Government apprized of their designs, and foreseeing

(*k*) Orrery's Letters, p. 69, 70.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 423.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(*o*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 3.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

I. That all and every the said persons were engaged in the said desperate and traiterous plot.

II. That the said plot (had it not been prevented by the blessing of God upon the great wisdom and vigilancy of his Grace the Lord Lieutenant) would probably have engaged the three kingdoms under dreadful and sad consequences.

III. That the paper being an intended declaration, written with the hand of Thomas Blood, late of Sarney, one of the ringleaders in the said conspiracy, and sent by the Lord Lieutenant, with the other examinations, informations, and confessions this day to the House, and distinctly read, is scandalous, treasonable, and false in every particular, and that upon the knowledge of this House; and therefore that his Grace would be pleased, if he thinks fit, to command the said paper, or copy thereof, to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman at, the most publick place in this city.

[*C*] *Whatever was by him undertaken, how desperate or difficult soever.*] His brother Mr Lackie, the Minister, endeavoured to secure himself from punishment for the share he had in this treasonable design, by pretending madness, but that had no effect; he was tried and condemned, and, in pursuance of his sentence, was brought to the place of execution, when a rumour was spread amongst the populace, that Captain Blood was coming with a party to rescue the prisoner; upon which every one, even to the hangman, shifted for himself, and left the prisoner with a halter about his neck alone under the gallows; but nobody appearing, the Sheriffs officers recovered their spirits, returned to their posts, and saw the poor man hanged (7). It was not long after this, that the Lord Lieutenant took a journey into the country, either for business or pleasure, with no other attendance than a few of his own servants; he was advised by the Lord Mount-Alexander to be more careful of his person, as he had information that Blood had been lately in that neighbourhood, where he laboured to stir up the people to sedition, and frequently declared that the seizing the Duke of Ormond would have been to greater service to their cause, than surprizing the castle of Dublin (8). It appears from these two instances, that both the vulgar and the better sort of people were alike frightened and alarmed, from the apprehension of this man's cunning and boldness. Indeed, considering the number of the disaffected in that kingdom, and the temper of those people, it was no great wonder, since after the first plot on the castle of Dublin was detected, they went on with their general design, 'till that also was discovered, and the principal persons concerned in it either seized or dispersed (9).

(7) Remarks upon the Life of Mr Blood, p. 2.

(8) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 423.

(9) A Letter to the Author, &c. at the close of Sir Richard Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 6.

[*D*] *Another strong instance of his bold enterprizing genius, which almost exceeds belief.*] All the facts mentioned in the text are so well supported by authorities, that there is not the least reason to doubt of the truth of them, though it is very difficult at this distance of time to fix the dates of his several enterprizes. This, of which we are to speak, seems to have happened in the year 1665, a little after the discovery of an insurrection that was to have been raised by these people in the North and in the West, and which was a branch of the same general design, wherein Mr Blood was engaged in Ireland, and for which several had suffered in Yorkshire, in the beginning of the year 1664 (10). All these discoveries and disappointments could not deter these resolute and discontented people from prosecuting their original design, and notwithstanding it had been divulged in a Court of Justice, that they had a secret council constantly setting in London for the management of their intrigues, yet that council continued to sit, and Mr Blood was of it, and for their security they had about thirty stout fellows posted about the place where they met, in the nature of a *Corps de Garde* (11). It fell out that two of the members of the council, to secure themselves, and perhaps for the sake of a reward, betrayed all their transactions to the Ministry, which Mr Blood soon suspected, and in a short time got to the bottom of the whole affair. He appointed these people to meet him at a tavern in the city, where he had his guard ready, who secured them without any noise, and carried them to a private place provided for the purpose, where he called a kind of Court-Martial, before whom these two persons were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot two days after in the same place. When the time appointed came, they were brought out, and all the necessary preparations made for putting the sentence in execution, and the poor men seeing no hopes of escape, disposed themselves to suffer as well as they could. At this critical juncture Mr Blood was graciously pleased to grant them his pardon, and at the same time advised them to go to their new master, tell him all that had happened, and request him in the name of their old confederates to be as favourable to such of them as should at any time stand in need of his mercy (12). Whether these unfortunate people carried Mr Blood's message to the King or not, does not any where appear. It is however certain, that not long after the whole conspiracy was discovered, in consequence of which, on the 26th of April, 1666, Col. John Rathbone and some other officers in the late disbanded army were tried and convicted at the Old Baily for a plot to surprize the Tower, and to kill General Monk; and it appeared in evidence upon their trial, that

(10) Kennet's Complete Hist. Vol. III. p. 247.

(11) Hist. of Plots, p. 195.

(12) Remark upon the Life of Mr Blood, 4, 5.

foreseing the persons principally concerned could not escape being apprehended, he resolved to withdraw into Scotland, where he so wrought upon the discontents of the people, that he contributed not a little to the breaking out of the rebellion there, and was present in the action of Pentland-Hills, Nov. 27, 1666, in which the rebels were routed, and about five hundred killed (*q*). He fled, after this defeat, back to England, and from thence to Ireland, where he landed within three miles of Carrickfergus, but Lord Dungannon pursued him so closely, that he was obliged to retire very speedily into England (*r*). He had not been long in this kingdom before he performed a fresh exploit, which was as extraordinary, more successful, and made much greater noise in the world than any thing he had yet done. As the circumstances attending it are very little known, we have given the only distinct narrative that remains of it a place in the notes [*E*]. Before he engaged himself

(*q*) Historian's Guide, p. 62.

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

that to facilitate this design, the city of London was to have been set on fire, and that the 3d of September following was fixed upon from Lilly's Almanack as a lucky day for that purpose (13). Nor is it amiss to observe, that though these people suffered according to their sentence so long before, yet that dreadful fire, which consumed so great a part of this metropolis, actually began upon the same fatal day these men had fixed for it's destruction; which occasioned Lilly's being examined before the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire how that fire began; to whom he declared it was his sentiments, that it fell out meerly by accident (14).

(13) Kennet's Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 262, 263. But there is a mistake as to the date of the Gazette, which was of the 26th, not 30th of April, 1666.

(14) Lilly's Hist. of his own Life and Times, p. 98.

[*E*] *The only distinct narrative that remains of it a place in the notes*] This occurs in the life of Mr Blood, and runs thus. Among those that were apprehended was one Captain Mason, a person for whom Mr Blood had a particular affection and friendship (15). This person was to be removed from London to one of the northern counties, in order to his trial at the assizes, and to that intent was sent down with eight of the Duke's troop to guard him, being reckoned to be a person bold and courageous. Mr Blood having notice of this journey, resolves by the way to rescue his friend. The prisoner and his guard went away in the morning, and Mr Blood having made choice of three more of his acquaintance, set forward the same day at night without boots upon small horses, and their pistols in their trousers, to prevent suspicion. But opportunities are not so easily had, neither were all places convenient, so that the convoy and their prisoner were gone a good way beyond Newark before Mr Blood and his friends had any scent of their prisoner. At one place they set a centinel to watch his coming by, but whether it was out of fear, or that the person was tired with a tedious expectation, the centinel brought them no tidings either of the prisoner or his guard, insomuch that Mr Blood and his companions began to think their friend so far before them upon the road, that it would be in vain to follow him; and yet not willing to give over an enterprize so generously undertaken, upon Mr Blood's encouragement they rode on, though despairing of succes, 'till finding it grow towards evening, and meeting with a convenient inn upon the road in a small village not far from Doncaster, they resolved to lie there all night, and return for London the next morning. In that inn they had not sat long in a room next the street, condoling among themselves the ill succes of such a tedious journey, and the misfortune of their friend, before the convoy came thundering up to the door of the said inn with their prisoner, in regard that Captain Mason had made choice of that inn, as being best known to him, to give his guardians the refreshment of a dozen of drink. There Mr Blood, unseen, had a full view of his friend, and the persons he had to deal with. He had bespoke a small supper, which was at the fire, so that he had but very little time for consultation, finding that Captain Mason's party did not intend to alight, so that he only gave general directions to his associates to follow his example in whatever they saw him do. In haste therefore they called for their horses, and threw down their money for their reckoning, telling the woman of the house, that since they had met with such good company they were resolved to go forward. Captain Mason went off first upon a sorry beast, and with him the Commander of the party, and four more; the rest staid behind to make an end of their liquor. Then away marched one more single, and in a very small time after the last two. By this time Mr Blood and one of his friends, being horsed, followed the two that were hindmost, and soon overtook them. These four rode some little time together, Mr Blood on the right hand of the two soldiers, and his friend on the left. But upon a sudden Mr Blood laid hold of the reins of the horse next him, while his friend, in observation to his directions, did the same on the other hand, and having presently by surprize dismounted the soldiers, pulled off their bridles, and sent their horses to pick their grass where they pleased. These two being thus made off, Mr Blood pursues his game, intending to have reached the single trooper; but he being got to the rest of his fellows, now reduced to six, and a Barber of York that travelled in their company, Mr Blood made up, heads the whole party, and stops them; of which some of the foremost looking upon him to be either drunk or mad, thought the rebuke of a switch to be a sufficient chastisement of such a rash presumption, which they exercised with more contempt than fury, 'till by the rudeness of his compliments he gave them to understand he was not in jest, but in very good earnest. He was soon seconded by his friend that was with him in his first exploit, but there had been several rough blows dealt between the unequal number of six to two, before Mr Blood's two other friends came up to their assistance; nay, I may safely say six to two, for the Barber of York, whether out of his natural propensity to the sport, or that his pot valiantness had made him so generous to help his fellow-travellers, would needs shew his valour at the beginning of the fray, but better had he been at the latter end of a feast; for though he shewed his prudence to take the stronger side, as he guessed by the number, yet because he would take no warning, which was often given him, not to put himself to the hazard of losing a guitar finger by meddling in a business that nothing concerned him, he lost his life, in regard they were forced to dispatch him in the first place for giving them a needless trouble. The Barber being become an useless instrument, and the other of Mr Blood's friends being come up, the skirmish began to be very smart, the four assailants having singled out their champions as fairly and equally as they could. All this while, Captain Mason being rode before upon his thirty shilling steed, wondering his guard came not with him, looked back, and observing a combustion, and that they were altogether by the ears, knew not what to think. He conjectured it at first to have been some intrigue upon him, as if the troopers had a design to tempt him to an escape, which might afterwards prove more to his prejudice, just like cats, that with regardless scorn seem to give the distressed mouse all the liberty in the world to get away out of their paws, but soon recover their prey again at one jump. Thereupon, unwilling to undergo the hazard of such a trial, he comes back, at what time Mr Blood cried out to him, *Horse, horse, quickly!* an alarm so amazing at first, that he could not believe it to be his friend's voice when he heard it; but as the thoughts of military men are soon summoned together, and never hold Spanish councils, the Captain presently settled his resolution, mounts the next horse that wanted a rider, and puts in for a share of his own self-preservation. In this bloody conflict Mr Blood was three times unhorsed, occasioned by his forgetfulness, as having omitted to new girt his saddle, which the ostler had unloosed upon the wadding his horse at his first coming into the inn. Being then so often dismounted, and not knowing the reason, which the occasion would not give him leave to consider, he resolved to fight it out on foot; of which two of the soldiers taking the advantage, singled him out and drove him into a court-yard, where he made a stand with a full body, his sword in one hand, and his pistol in

(15) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 5.

himself in this affair, he had placed his wife and son in an Apothecary's shop under the name of Weston, and had lived himself at Rumford by the name of Ayliffe, and pretended to practise Physick (*s*). After he was cured of his wounds, and heard that all that were concerned with him were safe, which was in about six weeks, he returned to Rumford, and lived there under the same disguise for a considerable time, without being suspected or molested, notwithstanding a proclamation was published, with an offer of five hundred pounds reward, for apprehending the person concerned in this rescue (*t*). It was impossible for one of his busy, restless, and impatient temper, to continue long quiet, but whether his next enterprize was entirely his own contriving, or was intended purely to serve his own purposes, is a point, at present, not to be decided. However that might be, the undertaking was in every respect more singular, and more hazardous, than any he had hitherto attempted, and as it was altogether without example that he went upon it, so it is certain no such thing was ever thought of since; it was the seizing the person of his old antagonist the Duke of Ormond in the streets of London, but whether with a view to murder, or carry him off 'till he had answered their expectations, is not perfectly clear (*u*). He actually put his design in execution, Dec. 6, 1670, and was very near compleating his purpose on his Grace, whatever that purpose might be. However, the Duke was fortunately rescued out of his hands, but himself and his associates all escaped, though closely pursued (*w*) [*F*]. An account of this amazing transaction was immediately published by authority,

(*s*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 5.

(*t*) History of Plots, p. 295.

(*u*) Echard's History of England, p. 869.

(*w*) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 280.

in the other. One of the soldiers taking that advantage of his open body, shot him near the shoulder-blade of his pistol-arm, at which time he had four other bullets in his body, that he had received before; which the soldier observing, flung his discharged pistol at him with that good aim and violence, that he hit him a stunning blow just under the forehead upon the upper part of the nose between the eyes, which for the present so amazed him, that he gave himself over for a dead man; yet resolving to give one sparring blow before he expired, such is the strange provocation and success of despair, with one vigorous stroke of his sword, he brought his adversary with a vengeance from his horse, and laid him in a far worse condition than himself at his horse's feet. At that time full of anger and revenge he was just going to make an end of his conquest, by giving him the fatal stab, but that in the very nick of time Captain Mason having by the help of his friends done his business where they had fought, by the death of some, and the disabling of others that opposed them, came in, and bid him hold and spare the life of one that had been the civilest person to him upon the road; a fortunate piece of kindness in the one, and of gratitude in the other; which Mr Blood easily condescending to, by the joint assistance of the Captain, the other soldier was soon mastered, and the victory, after a sharp fight that lasted above two hours, was at length compleated. You may be sure the fight was well maintained on both sides, while two of the soldiers, besides the Barber, were slain upon the place, three unhorsed, and the rest wounded. And it was observable, that though the encounter happened in a village, where a great number of people were spectators of the combat, yet none would adventure the rescue of either party, as not knowing which was in the wrong or which in the right, and were therefore wary of being arbitrators in such a desperate contest, where they saw the reward of assistance to be nothing but present death. After the combat was over, Mr Blood and his friends divided themselves, and parted several ways.

[*F*] *Himself and his associates all escaped, though closely pursued.*] The clearest account that we have any where of this surprizing transaction, is given us by Mr Carte, to this effect (16). The Prince of Orange came this year into England, and being invited on December 6, to an entertainment in the city of London, his Grace attended him thither. As he was returning homewards, in a dark night, and going up St James's-street, at the end of which, facing the palace, stood Clarendon-house, where he then lived, he was attacked by Blood and five of his accomplices: The Duke always used too go attended with six footmen; but as they were to heavy a load to ride upon a coach, he always had iron spikes behind it, to keep them from getting up, and continued this practice to his dying day, even after this attempt of assassination. These six footmen used to walk on both sides of the street, over-against the coach; but by some contrivance or other, they were all stopped, and out of the way, when the Duke was taken out of his coach by Blood and his son, and mounted on horseback behind one of the horsemen in his company. The coachman drove on to Clarendon-house, and told the porter the Duke had been seized by two men, who had carried him down Piccadilly: The porter immediately ran that way; and Mr James Clark, chancing to be at that time in the court of the house, followed with all possible haste, having first alarmed the family, and ordered the servants to come after him as fast as they could; Blood, it seems, either to gratify the humour of his patron, who had set him upon this work, or to glut his own revenge, by putting his Grace to the same ignominious death which his accomplices in the treasonable design upon Dublin-castle had suffered, had taken a strong fancy into his head, to hang the Duke at Tyburn. Nothing could have saved his Grace's life, but that extravagant imagination and passion of the villain, who leaving the Duke mounted and buckled to one of his comrades, rode on before, and (as is said) actually tied a rope to the Gallows, and then rode back to see what was become of his accomplices, whom he met riding off in a great hurry. The horseman to whom the Duke was tied, was a person of great strength, but being embarrassed by his Grace's struggling, could not advance as fast as he desired. He was, however, got a good way beyond Berkley (now Devonshire) house, towards Knightsbridge; when the Duke having got his foot under the man's, unhorsed him, and they both fell down together in the mud, where they were struggling when the porter and Mr Clark came up. The villain then disengaged himself, and seeing the neighbourhood alarmed, numbers of people running towards them, got on horseback, and having, with one of his comrades, fired their pistols at the Duke, (but missed him, as taking their aim in the dark, and in a hurry) rode off as fast as they could to save themselves. The Duke (now sixty years of age) was quite spent with struggling; so that when Mr Clark and the porter came up, they knew him rather by feeling his star, than by any sound of voice he could utter; and they were forced to carry him home and lay him on a bed to recover his spirits. He received some wounds and bruises in the struggle, which confined him within doors for some days. We are told by Bishop Kennet, that certain persons whom he names, were, with great probability, suspected, viz. Richard Holloway, a Tobacco-cutter, in Frying-pan-alley in Petticoat-lane; Thomas Allen, alias Ally, alias Ayliffe, a pretended Surgeon or Doctor; Thomas Hunt; and one Hurst; but, continues the Prelate, they chief of them was Blood, a notorious traytor, out-lawed in Ireland, who with his own hand pulled his Grace out of the coach, and with the help of one Ralph Alexander, mounted him behind his eldest son (17). In this account there are several mistakes; for in the first place, Thomas Allen, the pretended Doctor, was really Mr Blood, under that fictitious name. In the next place, his son was not at all concerned in the affair, being then but a boy of thirteen years of age; but the mistake was occasioned by Blood's calling one of them his son, who was Thomas Hunt, his son-in-law (18). The same reverend writer says, that Blood's pretence was, that he intended to keep the Duke in private on the other

(16) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 421.

(17) Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 280, 281.

(18) Mr Oldmixon follows him in this, and mentions Brigadier General Blood by name, History of England, &c. Vol. I. p. 454.

authority, together with a royal Proclamation, offering a reward of one thousand pounds for apprehending any of the persons concerned therein, but to no purpose, though some of their names were discovered; however, Blood was not so much as thought of or suspected (x). The miscarriage of this daring design, instead of daunting him, or creating the least intention of flying out of the kingdom, put him on another more strange and hazardous design, to repair his broken fortunes. He proposed to those desperate persons who assisted him in his former attempt, to seize and divide amongst them the royal ensigns of Majesty kept in the Tower of London, and as they were blindly devoted to his service, they very readily accepted the proposal, and left it to him to contrive the means of putting it in execution. He devised accordingly a scheme for that purpose, suitable to so bold and base an undertaking, which was so cunningly laid, and executed with such an audacious spirit, May 9, 1671, that he so far carried his point, as to get the Regalia into his possession, and was near carrying off his booty, when he was pursued and taken, by which means the crown, and all the jewels belonging to it, were happily recovered (y) [G]. Upon this disappointment his spirits failed him, and while he remained

(x) See the Gazette, December 8, 1670.

(y) See Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative, in Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. p. 92.

other side of the water, till his Grace had signed some writings for restoring to him an estate which he had forfeited by rebellion in Ireland (19); Mr Echard, on the other hand, assures us, that Blood intended to have hanged the Duke at Tyburn, and to have pinned a paper upon his breast, containing the reasons which induced him and his associates to perpetrate this fact. The reader will determine for himself which of these accounts appear to him the most probable; but if Mr Richard Baxter's (20) authority be of weight, he agrees with Bishop Kennet.

(19) Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 211.

(20) Hist. of his own Life and Times, p. 88.

[G] *All the jewels belonging to it were happily recovered.*] The best account of this affair is that of the Edwards's, given to Sir Gilbert Talbot to this effect (21). About three weeks before Blood made his attempt upon the crown, he came to the Tower in the habit of a cergyman, with a long cloak, cassock, and canonical girdle, and brought a woman with him, which he called his wife, though his wife was then sick in Lancashire. This pretended wife desired to see the crown, and having seen it, pretended to have a qualm come upon her stomach, and desired the keeper of the crown, old Mr Edwards, to send for some spirits, who immediately caused his wife to fetch some; when she had drank, Mrs Edwards invited her to repose herself upon a bed, which she accepted of, and soon recovered. At their departure, they declared themselves very thankful for this respect. About three days after Blood came again to Mr Edwards's, with a present of four pair of fine new gloves from his wife; and having thus begun the acquaintance, made frequent visits to improve it, professing that he should never sufficiently acknowledge their kindness. Having made some small respite of his compliments, he returned again, and told Mrs Edwards that his wife could discourse of nothing but of the kindness of the good people in the Tower; that she had long studied, and at length bethought herself of a handsome way of requital. *You have,* said he, *a pretty gentlewoman to your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred pounds a year in land, and is at my disposal; if your daughter be free, and you approve of it, I will bring him hither to see her, and we will endeavour to make it a match.* This was easily assented to by old Mr Edwards, who invited the pretended parson to dine with him that day, and he as readily accepted the invitation, who taking upon him to say grace, performed it with singular devotion, and lifting up of eyes; and also concluded his long-winded blessing with a hearty prayer for the King, Queen, and Royal Family. After dinner he went up to see the rooms, and discovering a handsome case of pistols there, he expressed a great desire to buy them, to present to a young Lord who was his neighbour, probably to disarm the house against the time he intended to put his design in execution. At his departure, which was with a canonical benediction of the good company, he appointed a day and hour to bring his young nephew to his mistress, which was that very day that he made his bold attempt, the ninth of May, about seven in the morning.

(21) Stowe's Survey of London, published by Strype, Vol. I. B. i. p. 92. Kennet's Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 283. Echard's History of England, p. 876. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 560. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 222.

At that time the old man was got up ready to receive his guests; and the daughter had put herself into her best dress to receive her gallant; when, according to appointment, Parson Blood, with three more, came to the jewel-house, all armed, with rapier-blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a pair of pocket-pistols; two of his companions entered in with him, and the third staid at the door, for a careful watch. The daughter thought it not modest for her to come down till she was called, but sent her maid to take a view of the company, and to bring her a description of the person of her gallant: The maid imagined that he who staid at the door was the intended bridegroom, because he was the youngest of the company; and returned to her young mistress with the character she had formed of his person. In the interim, Blood told Mr Edwards that they would not go up stairs till his wife came, and desired him to shew his friends the crown, to pass away the time till then: As soon as they were entered the room were the crown was kept, and the door as usually was shut behind them, they threw a cloak over the old man's head, and clapped a gag into his mouth, which was a great plug of wood, with a small hole to take breath at, that was tied on with a waxed leather, which went round his neck. At the same time they fastened an iron hook to his nose, that no sound might pass from him that way. Having thus secured him from crying out, they plainly told him, *That they were resolved to have the crown, globe, and sceptre, and if he would quietly submit to it, they would spare his life, otherwise he was to expect no mercy.* He thereupon forced himself to make all the noise he possibly could to be heard above, upon which they knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him that if he would be quiet, they would spare his life, but if not, upon the next attempt to discover them, they would kill him, and pointed three daggers at his breast; still he strained himself to make the greater noise, at which they gave him nine or ten strokes more upon the head with the mallet, and stabbed him into the belly. The poor man, almost fourscore years old, fell, and lay some time intranced, when one of them kneeling on the ground to try if he breathed, and not perceiving any breath from him, said, *He's dead I'll warrant him.* Mr Edwards recovering a little, heard his words, and conceiving it best for himself to be so thought, lay very quietly. Concluding him dead, they omitted to tie his hands behind him; and Parret, one of the companions, put the globe into his breeches; Blood kept the crown under his cloak; the third was designed to file the scepter in two, because too long to carry conveniently, and then to put it into a bag, brought for that purpose. But before this could be done, young Mr Edwards, son of the old gentleman, just come from Flanders, chanced to arrive at that very instant that this was acting, and coming to the door, the person who stood centinel for the rest, asked him with whom would he speak; he made answer, he belonged to the house; but perceiving by his question, that he himself was a stranger, told him that if he had any business with his father, he would go and acquaint him with it, and went up stairs where he was welcomed by his mother, wife, and sister. In the mean time, the centinel gave notice of the son's arrival, and they immediately hasted away with the crown and the globe, but left the scepter, not having time to file it. The old man returning to himself, got suddenly up, pulled off the gag, and cried out *treason! murder!* the daughter hearing him, ran down, and seeing her father thus wounded, rushed out upon the Tower hill, and cried, *Treason! the crown is stolen!* This gave the first alarm; and Blood and Parret making great haste, were observed to jog each other with their elbows as they went, which caused

mained a prisoner in the jail of the Tower, he appeared not only silent and reserved, but dogged and sullen. He soon changed his temper however, when, contrary to all reason, probability, and his own expectation, he was informed, the KING intended to see and examine him himself. This was brought about by the Duke of Buckingham, then the great favourite and First Minister, who infused into his Majesty, over whom he had for some time a great ascendency, the curiosity of seeing so extraordinary a person, whose crime, great as it was, argued a prodigious force of mind, and made it probable, that if so disposed, he might be capable of making large discoveries (z). These insinuations had such an effect upon the King, that he consented to what the Duke desired, which in the end proved disadvantageous to them all (a), for it brought discredit on the royal character, an indelible load of infamy upon the Duke, and this afterwards produced Blood's ruin. Such are the consequences of inconsiderate actions in persons in high stations, who ought always to be jealous of their dignity, and of doing what may hazard the wounding publick opinion, upon which that dignity is chiefly founded. Col. Blood was no sooner acquainted that he was to be introduced to the royal presence, than he conceived immediately he stood indebted for this honour to the notion the King, or some about him, had of his intrepidity, and therefore was not at all at a loss about the part he was to act, and on the acting of which well his life entirely depended. He is allowed on all hands to have performed admirably upon this occasion; he answered whatever his Majesty demanded of him, clearly, and without reserve; he did not pretend to capitulate or make terms, but seemed rather pleased to throw his life into the King's hands, by an open and boundless confession (b). He took care, however, to prepossess his Majesty in his favour, by various, and those very different, methods. At the same time he laid himself open to the law, he absolutely refused to impeach others, while he magnified the spirit and resolution of the party to which he adhered, and had always acted against Monarchy, he insinuated his own and their veneration for the person of the King; and though he omitted nothing that might create a belief of his contemning death, yet he expressed infinite awe and respect for a Monarch, who had condescended to treat him with such unusual indulgence (c). In short, the particulars of this examination were curious, and highly worthy of the reader's notice [H]. It was foreseen by the Duke of Ormond,

(z) Baxter's Hist. of his Life and Times, p. 88.

(a) See this remark explained and justified in the subsequent notes [H] and [L].

(b) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(c) Baxter's Hist. of his own Life, p. 88, 89.

caused them to be suspected and pursued. By this time young Edwards, and one Captain Beckman, upon the cry of their sister, were come down, and left their father likewise, to run after the villains, but they were advanced beyond the main-guard; and the alarm being given to the warder at the draw-bridge, he put himself in a posture to stop them. Blood came up first, and discharged a pistol at him; the bullet missed him, but the powder or fear made him fall to the ground, whereby they got safe to the Little-ward-house gate, where one Sill, one of Cromwell's soldiers, stood centinel, who, though he saw the other warder shot, made no resistance, by which means the villains got over that draw-bridge, and through the outward gate upon the wharf, and made all possible haste towards their horses, which attended at St Katharine's-gate, called the Iron-gate, crying themselves, as they ran, *Stop the rogues!* and the grave canonical habit made them thought innocent. Immediately after Captain Beckman got up to them, at which Blood discharged his second pistol at the Captain's head, but he stooping down, avoided the shot, and seized upon him with the crown under his cloak! yet, Blood had the impudence, though he saw himself a prisoner, to struggle a long while for the crown; and when it was wrested from him, he said, *It was a gallant attempt, though unsuccessful, for it was for a crown.* A servant belonging to Captain Sherborne, seized upon Parret before Blood was taken; and there was so much consternation amongst all men, and so much confusion in the pursuit, that it was a miracle that several innocent persons had not suffered, for young Edwards, overtaking one that was bloody in the scuffle, and supposing him to be one of his father's murderers, was going to run him through, had not Captain Beckman hindered him; and as this Captain himself made vast haste in the pursuit, the guards were going to fire at him, thinking him to be one of the rogues; but one of them, who fortunately knew him, cried out, *He is a friend!* Blood and Parret being both seized; Hunt, another of them, and son-in-law to Blood, leaped to horse, with two more of the conspirators, and rid far away; but a cart in the street chanced to turn short, Hunt run his head against a pole that stuck out, which made him fall astonished from his horse, but recovering his legs, and putting his feet into the stirrup, a cobler running in, cried, *This is* Tom Hunt, *who was in the bloody business against the Duke of* Ormond, *let us secure him!* A constable being accidentally there, seized him upon this affirmation; and he was, with Blood and Parret, committed to safe custody in the Tower. Parret was a silk-dyer in the Borough of Southwark; and in the Rebellion had been Lieutenant to Major-General Harrison: In the struggle for the crown, the great pearl and fair diamond fell off, and were lost for a while, with some other smaller stones; but the pearl was brought by a poor sweeping woman to one of the warders, and the diamond by a barber's apprentice, and both faithfully restored. Other small stones were picked up by several persons, and brought in. The fair ballas ruby belonging to the scepter, was found in Parret's pocket, so that nothing considerable was wanting; the crown only was bruised, and sent to be repaired.

[H] *The particulars of this examination were curious, and worthy the reader's notice.*] The first question the King asked (22), was in relation to the attempt upon the Duke of Ormond; for Hunt being known to have had a large share in that affair, and being taken with Colonel Blunt in this, rendered it highly probable that the same set of people were concerned in both villanies. Blood immediately, and without hesitation, confessed the fact; being asked who were his associates, he answered, *that he would never betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own.* He was asked next, what provocation he had to make so bold an assault upon the Duke of Ormond; he said, *the Duke had taken away his estate, and executed some of his friends; and that he and many others had engaged themselves, by solemn oaths, to revenge it.* It was now more apparent from his forward confession of his conspiracy against the castle of Dublin, that he aimed at great esteem by the extravagancy and audacity of his atchievements; and least the concealment of any of his villanies should lessen the romance of his life, in his examination about the crown, he voluntary, though perhaps falsely, confessed to the King, 'That he had 'been engaged in a design to kill his Majesty with a 'carbine, from out of the reeds, by the Thames side, 'above Battersey, where he often went to swim. That 'the cause of this resolution, in himself and others, 'were his Majesty's severity over the consciences of 'the GODLY, in suppressing the freedom of their 'religious assemblies; that when he had taken his 'stand in the reeds to that purpose, his heart was 'checked with an awe of majesty; and he did not 'only relent himself, but diverted the rest of his asso'ciates from the design. He further told his Majesty, 'that he had, by these his confessions, sufficiently laid 'himself

(22) Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative, in Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. B. i. p. 94. Kennet's Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 284.

Ormond, as soon as he knew the King designed to examine him, that Blood had no cause to fear, and indeed such an impression his story and behaviour made on the mind of his Sovereign, that he was not only pardoned, but set at liberty, and had a pension given him to subsist on (*d*). This conduct of his Majesty, towards so high and so notorious an offender, occasioned much speculation and many conjectures, of these some are still preserved, amongst which, the sentiments of Sir Gilbert Talbot are very sensible (*e*) [*I*]. He

(*d*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 421.

(*e*) Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. p. 94.

'himself open to the law; and he might reasonably 'expect the utmost rigour of it, for which he was, 'without much concern of his own, prepared. But 'withal, he declared that the matter would not be of 'that indifferency to his Majesty, inasmuch as there 'were hundreds of his friends yet undiscovered, who 'were all bound together by the indispensible oath of 'conspirators, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity, upon those who should bring them to justice, 'which would expose his Majesty, and all his Ministers, to the daily fear and expectation of a massacre. 'But, on the other side, if his Majesty would spare the 'lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many, 'who, as they had been seen to act daring mischiefs, 'would be as bold, if received into pardon and favour, 'in performing eminent services to the crown (23).' We have some other particulars recorded by several writers, who perhaps were not so well informed. The famous Richard Baxter (24) magnifies his boldness, who says he spoke so to the King, that he was admired by all; to justify which, he gives us a very religious speech of his, and adds farther, that he had been in the service of King Charles I, which is likewise hinted by the author of his life. Mr Oldmixon would have us believe he bullied the King (25). *The whole court*, says he, *was frighted, and thought it safer to bribe him than to hang him.* But there is a circumstance relating to this examination, which better deserves to be known, than any of the conjectures made about it (26). After the King had, with great coolness and moderation, gone through the whole examination, he turned to Colonel Blood, and said, *What if I should give you your life?* To which the Colonel answered, *I shall endeavour to deserve it.* There passed, at that time, nothing farther, but soon after the King directed Colonel Blood to write a letter of submission to the Duke of Ormond, to obtain his forgiveness, which he accordingly did, in terms of the deepest humility, and with the most fervent expressions of his sorrow and concern for the injury and insult which he had offered to his Grace (27). One may reasonably conclude from hence, that the King believed what Blood told him with respect to his design upon the Duke, and did not apprehend that his intention was to murder him; for otherwise, one can hardly think that he would have pardoned him, much less have suffered him about the Court, or admitted him, as he frequently did, into his presence, because such a conduct would have been as little consistent with his known good sense, as with regard to justice and his royal dignity.

(23) Baxter's History of his Life and Times, p. 88. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 877.

(24) Baxter's History of his own Life and Times, p. 89.

(25) Hist. of the Stuarts. Vol. I. p. 500.

(26) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(27) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 225.

[*I*] *Sir Gilbert Talbot's reflections on this subject are sensible.*] Since, says he (28), this villain's crimes are visible to all mankind, and his merits altogether incomprehensible, every man will take the liberty to conjecture what consideration could possibly beget his pardon, his crimes were without controversy the highest breaches of human laws: Murder acted upon a poor old gentleman for defending his trust, and murder intended to be acted upon a great Peer, with all the circumstances of contempt; a design laid to surprize the King's castle, a violent seizure made of his crown and sceptre, and a confessed lying in wait to destroy his person.

(28) See Stowe's Survey, Kennet and Echard's Histories, as bef. re.

It requires a great measure of mercy in a Prince (for it is not decent to attribute it to any thing else) to forgive such injuries done to himself; but it is above his mercy to pardon the offence committed against another, because Heaven, which is all merciful, forgives not the trespasses which we commit against our neighbours without restitution. Yet the Lord Arlington came in his Majesty's name to the Duke of Ormond, to tell him that he would not have Blood prosecuted, for reasons which he was commanded to give him. The Duke replied, that his Majesty's command was the only reason that could be given, and that therefore he might spare the rest. It was a gallant answer of his Grace, and such as well became the loyalty of his family; but it is great pity in the mean time that the world should want the knowledge of his Lordship's reasons, which had weight enough with them to smother a matter of that high concernment, to the dishonour of justice and the dignity of peerage.

How great a mystery however it is to the world, Blood and his associates were not only pardoned and set free, but the arch-villain himself had a considerable estate in land conferred upon him in Ireland, and that meritorious person admitted into all the privacy and intimacy of the Court, no man more assiduous than himself in both Secretaries offices. If any one had a business in Court that stuck, he made his application to Blood as the most industrious and successful sollicitor; nay, many gentlemen courted his acquaintance as the Indians pray to the devils, that they may not hurt them.

Blood had nobody but his own black deeds to advocate for him, yet thus was he rewarded; and though many sollicited for old Mr Edwards, and had raised their arguments from his fidelity, courage, and wounds received, yet all that could be obtained for him was, a grant of two hundred pounds out of the Exchequer, and one hundred to his son who assisted, the payment whereof was so long delayed, and surgeons calling upon him daily for satisfaction for their drugs and pains, he was forced to sell his order for one hundred pounds ready money, and the son his for fifty pounds, and lived not long to enjoy the remainder, for he died within a year and a month after the wounds received. But now to reflect a little, as I promised, not only upon the mysterious redemption of this rogue from the gallows, but upon the (never to be enough wondered) recompence for his villanies of five hundred pounds *per annum*, a reward which the most meritorious virtue had seldom met with. Let us therefore consider him first as taken in so flagrant a crime, that no plea could possibly lie in favour of his life, nor no hopes could be so impudent as to expect it. Observe then what he doth; he maketh a voluntary confession of three other rapping crimes. One, his attempt upon the Duke of Ormond, and his alledged provocation to that was by consequence a confession of his conspiracy upon the castle of Dublin. Thus much he thought necessary to acknowledge, to shew his power and audacity, that in case he was brought to execution, he should stand recorded in story to have died like a daring sinner, and not as a petty malefactor. Then he declareth freely, and of his own accord, his intention to assassinate his Majesty in the river. I ask any man of reason, what other consideration could move him to that confession, but to bring in this other part of his story; he was to tell his Majesty, that his heart relented, being surprized with awe and reverence of his person (he had none of his crown), and that he not only forbore the execution himself, but dissuaded his associates likewise from it.

There is so great a probability that this professed tender forbearance of his tended only to dispose his Majesty (who of all mankind is captivated with good nature) to return the like mercy towards him, that with the good favour of Mr Blood's check of conscience, which delivered him from the execution, it is easy to be conjectured that there was never any such design really laid, but that the story was feigned to work upon his Majesty's tenderness towards him.

But least that should not prevail, Blood seemed not to be at all troubled with the apprehension of his own death, for which he stood prepared; but it grieved him forsooth to consider the sad consequence of it, which would be an attempt of revenge upon the person of the King and his Ministers, by the surviving conspirators being bound by oath, &c. so that (if mercy were defective) he could try what fear could operate, and lest both these should fail, he hath another fetch in store, which is to persuade them to pardon him upon the score of good politicks, by shewing how useful an instrument he can be to quiet the minds of all the disaffected party, and secure the Government from popular insurrections, if his life may be spared.

I cannot

He seems to think the King's apprehensions determined him. Another writer (*f*) suggests, that the Duke of Buckingham having put him on the first design, to prevent it's becoming publick, was obliged to procure his pardon for the second. But it is more probable, that he insinuated his interest with some desperate malecontents then in Holland, whom he could induce to come home and live peaceably. At least this is certain, that on the breaking out of the war soon after, a Proclamation was published, requiring such persons to come over, upon which Desborough, Relsey, and many more came, surrendered, and had pardons, very probably at Blood's request, for with him they met almost every day, in a room kept on purpose for them, at White's coffee-house near the Royal Exchange (*g*). His interest was, for some time, very great at Court, where he sollicited the suits of many of the unfortunate people of his party with success; but as this gave great offence to some very worthy persons while it lasted, so after the disgrace and falling to pieces of the Ministry stiled the CABAL, it began quickly to decline, and perhaps his pension also was ill paid, for we find him again amongst the malecontents, and acting in favour of popular measures, that were displeasing to the Court. In the busy time of plotting too, so active a person as Col. Blood could not but have some share, he behaved, however, in a new manner, suitable to the great change of times, and instead of attempting on the persons of great men, took up the character of a great man himself, and expressed an apprehension that attempts might be made upon his person (*h*) [*K*]. In this manner he spun out between nine and ten years, sometimes about the Court, sometimes excluded from it, always uneasy, and in some scheme or other of an untoward kind, till at last he was met with in his own way, and either circumvented by some of his own instruments, or drawn within the vortex of a sham plot, by some who were too cunning, even for this master in his profession. It seems there were certain people, who had formed a design of fixing an imputation of a most scandalous nature upon the Duke of Buckingham, who was then at the head of a vigorous opposition against the Court, and who, notwithstanding he always courted and protected the Fanaticks, had not, in respect to his moral character, so fair a reputation as to render any charge of that kind incredible. But whether this was conducted by Col. Blood, whether a counter-plot was set on foot to defeat it and entrap Blood, or whether, some whisper thrown out to alarm the Duke, which he suspected came from Blood, led his Grace to secure himself by a contrivance of the same stamp, better concerted, and more effectually executed; so it was, that his Grace, who was formerly supposed so much a patron to the Colonel, thought it requisite, for his own safety, to contribute to his ruin (*i*). What notion Mr Blood inclined the world should entertain of this affair, may be discovered from the Case which he caused to be printed of it, and which, to prevent it's being entirely lost, is preserved in the notes [*L*]. But it fell out, that

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 424.

(*g*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(*h*) Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete History, &c. by Roger North, Esq; Lond. 1740, 4to, p. 311.

(*i*) History of Plots, p. 131.

I cannot easily be persuaded that this proffer of service in Blood could much prevail upon his Majesty's judgment; because it is natural to conclude, that he who is able to quiet a party, is likewise able to irritate it; and that he who is bribed by five hundred pounds *per annum* to do the one, may be gained with a thousand pounds *per annum* to do the contrary; and what security can there be that he will not, but the bare word of a villain.

In the mean time nothing can more betray the weakness of a Government, than that it shall have recourse to such instruments to support it. Nor can any thing make it's authority more despisable, than that it should be terrified from the execution of justice upon the greatest malefactor that history from the creation hitherto recordeth, for fear that Blood's ghost should rise, or his surviving confederates meditate revenge.

Besides, it is as far from reason that a man of Blood's principles should be trusted with the power and interest that must go to the managing of a party, as that those who trust him should expect any good services from the confessed author of so many black deeds, or Heaven give a blessing to the endeavours of such an impious creature.

[*K*] *Apprehension that attempts might be made upon his person.*] If we consider attentively the history of the times, from the breaking out of the popish plot to the death of King Charles II, and reflect on the numerous company of conspiracies and counter conspiracies, of true plots, sham plots, and plots to charge innocent people, with having a share in both sorts of plots, we must conclude there never was a season, when plain, well meaning people were in greater danger, or when busy, bold enterprising men had so fair a chance of making their fortunes at the expence of other men's, and the small trivial addition of their own consciences into the bargain. But however I must confess, that very little is to be met with in relation to Mr Blood in those days, except the following short passage in a valuable work lately published, which I give the reader in the author's own words, that he may see his judgment also of those perilous times (29), when swearing was a trade, and perjury a sort of venial transgression.

'Nay, there was another *sham plot* of one *Netter-*' *vile*, which allied itself to *Dangerfield*, by the pre-' tence of steering the *popish plot* upon the Presbyte-' rians. And here the good Colonel *Blood*, (that stole ' the Duke of Ormond, and, if a timely rescue had ' not come in, had hanged him at Tyburn, and after-' wards stole the crown, though he was not so happy ' to carry it off) no player at small games; he, even ' he, the virtuous Colonel, as this *sham plot* says, was ' to have been destroyed by the Papists. It seems ' these Papists would let no eminent Protestant be ' safe; but some amends were made the Colonel, by ' sale of the narrative licensed *Thomas Blood*. It ' had been strange if so much mischief had been stir-' ring, and he not come in for a snack.'

It may not be amiss to take notice here of a mistake in the Index to the work above-mentioned, but there is no mistake in the work itself, where the author, speaking of the impeachment of Fitz-Harris, takes notice of a motion made by one Colonel B. (30), that the thanks of the House should be given to Sir William Waller, for the service he had done in that respect, with this addition, that it was great service done the nation, and not the first that Sir William had done. In the Index this motion is said to have been made by our Colonel Blood, which is a very great mistake; for, in the first place, he never was a member, and in the next, he was dead before this affair happened. The Colonel B. mentioned in the book from the journal of the House of Commons, was Colonel Birch, a very active member in that Parliament at Oxford, and especially in Fitz-Harris's affair.

[*L*] *Which, to prevent it's being entirely lost, is preserved in the notes.*] There are scarce any traces to be met with in our histories of this dark transaction about the Duke of Buckingham, and yet it must have made a great

(29) North's Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete History, Lond. 1740, 4to, p. 311.

(30) Id. Ibid. p. 284.

that the Court of King's-Bench took the thing in so different a light, that he was convicted upon a criminal information for the conspiracy, and committed to the King's-Bench prison, and while in custody there, he was charged with an action of *scandalum magnatum*, at the suit of the Duke of Buckingham (*k*), in which the damages were laid so high as ten thousand pounds, but notwithstanding this, Col. Blood found bail, and was discharged from his imprisonment. He then retired to his house in the Bowling-alley in Westminster, in order to take such measures as were requisite, to deliver him out of these difficulties, but finding fewer friends than he expected, and meeting with other, and more grievous disappointments, he was so much affected thereby, as to fall into a distemper that speedily threatened his life. He was attended in his sickness by a clergyman, who found him sensible but reserved, declaring he was not at all afraid of death. In a few days he fell into a lethargy, and Wednesday Aug. 24, 1680, he departed this life (*l*). On the friday following he was privately but decently interred, in the new chapel in Tothill-Fields. Yet such was the notion entertained by the generality of the world of this man's subtilty and restless spirit, that they could neither be persuaded he would be quiet in his grave, nor would they permit him to remain so. For a story being spread that this dying, and being buried, was only a new trick of Col. Blood's, preparative to some more extraordinary exploit than any he had been concerned in; it became in a few days so current, and so many circumstances were added to render it credible, that the Coroner thought fit to interpose, ordered the body to be taken up again upon the Thursday following, and appointed a jury to sit upon it. But so strongly were they prepossessed with the idle fancy of it's being all an amusement, that though they were his neighbours, knew him personally, and he had been so few days dead, they could not for a long time agree, whether it was or was not his body (*m*). An intimate acquaintance of his, at last, put them on viewing the thumb of his left hand, which, by an accident that happened to it, grew to twice it's natural size, which was commonly known to such as conversed with him. By this, and the various depositions of persons attending him in his last illness, they were at length convinced, and the Coroner caused him to be once more

(*k*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 12.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Postscript to the Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood.

a great noise in those days, and seems to have been drawn into a great length; for I find (31), that on the 5th of April, 1680, the Attorney-General had orders to prosecute several persons upon this account, and a few days afterwards I find that Sir William Waller was struck out of the commission of the peace for Middlesex, who had been also very busy in this affair; but it was not till the 25th of June, in the same year, that the great affair was brought on, when (32) Mr Thomas Blood, Mr Edward Christian, Arthur Obrian, with others, were brought to their trial at the King's-Bench-Bar at Westminster, for a conspiracy against the said Duke of Bucks; and were found guilty. The following paper was printed by itself in one sheet, under the title of *The true state of the Case of Lieutenant-Colonel* THOMAS BLOOD; and it is also taken into that account of his life, which has been so often cited. The true design of the case, as I apprehend, was to give such a colour to the cause of Mr Blood, as, with the assistance of the interest he still had, might procure some alleviation in his sentence, which however, from a comparison of circumstances, I am inclined to think he never received, but that the very apprehensions of it broke his heart. Thus the reader sees, that if the Duke of Bucks had any concerns with Colonel Blood in the affair of the Duke of Ormond, or if his pardon for stealing the crown was obtained by his Grace, he was but indifferently requited.

(31) History of Plots, p. 135.

(32) The Historian's Guide, p. 124.

'That he was desired by the woman that keeps the 'Saint John's Head, or Heaven tavern, to come and 'speak with her at such a time: That upon his 'coming to her, she told him that two shabby fellows 'had been with her some time before, to tell her that 'they had something of great consequence in reference 'to the welfare of the publick to reveal, but that they 'wanted a discreet person to manage it: That thereupon Mr Blood made answer, that if there were any 'thing fit to be taken notice of, he would bring them 'to those that had sufficient authority to take notice 'of it, and thereupon promised to meet the persons.

'That upon his second coming to meet the discoverers, they refused to speak with him; for that understanding he was the person with whom they were 'to discourse, they averred they would have nothing 'to do with him, for that he was the Duke of 'Buckingham's friend: That thereupon the woman of 'the house, that Mr Blood might see she had not told 'him a lye, persuaded one of the persons to shew 'himself to Mr Blood, who to that purpose, as he 'passed by, stepped into the room where Mr Blood 'was, and going in, told, that he and his fellows had 'business of great concernment to discover, but could 'not then by reason of another appointment, and so 'concluded upon another day: That Mrs Bradley 'upon this came to him to his house, and told him she 'believed the fellows were rogues and trepans, and 'advised him to seize them and carry them before a 'magistrate: That Mr Blood, weighing the consequence of the woman's advice, and being informed 'by her of their lodgings, according to the directions 'of one Mr Curtis, went to Dr Chamberlain, one of 'Justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, 'and told him the story, who thereupon not only gave 'Mr Blood his warrant, but accompanied him till the 'execution of this warrant.

'That two persons were by him apprehended, by 'name Philemon Codan, and Samuel Ryther: That 'upon their apprehension and first examination severally before Dr Chamberlain, they seemed to wonder what he meant, when he told them he heard 'they knew of a plot, and wanted a magistrate to reveal it to: That thereupon the Justice of the peace 'told them all that Mr Blood had told him, concerning their discourse with Mrs Bradley, and their appointment of meeting Mr Blood.

'That to this one of them, viz. Codan, replied, 'that it was about the Duke of Buckingham, who, 'he said, owed them several hundreds of pounds upon 'account of wages, and that they wanted some body 'that was able to cope with him, to whom, one Curtis 'standing by, replied in these words:

'How, did I not hear you say at such a place, that 'you knew of a greater plot yet undiscovered, than 'either Mr Oats or Mr Bedloe had hitherto made out. 'To which the said Codan gave no satisfactory answer, and Ryther protested he knew nothing of a 'plot, or any think like it: That to all this the Doctor 'urged, that it was not to be thought that any discreet 'person should be so overseen, as to interpose between 'master and servant about wages, especially so great a 'person as the Duke, and therefore that could not be 'the reason of their meeting at heaven. Thereupon 'one of them starting up in a violent passion before 'the Justice of peace, swore that he would be revenged 'upon the Duke of Buckingham, and that he would 'swear any thing that might tend to the doing him a 'prejudice, and that he himself would swear Sodomy 'against him.

'That upon this the Justice of the peace having told 'them that he neither did believe, nor would hear 'any thing relating to the Duke, asked them jointly, 'why they ran away at the sight of Mr Blood at Mrs 'Bradley's

(n) History of Plots, p. 231.

more interred, and left in his vault in quiet (*n*). Such were the transactions of this man's life, whose real adventures exceed in strangeness what would appear fictitious even in romance, astonished his contemporaries, and were never before reduced into regular order for the information of posterity.

'Bradley's? To which they replied, that they were 'mistrustful of him, because they had heard he was 'the Duke's friend.

'That thereupon Dr Chamberlain, taking them for 'impertinent fellows, dismissed them, with directions 'to consider what they had said, and to attend him at 'such a time at his house, where he would be ready 'to hear whatever they had to discover concerning 'any plot: That accordingly they came with one 'Whitaker and Jenks, where Mr Blood likewise at'tended. At what time Dr Chamberlain asking them 'the meaning of their former shuffling stories, they re'plied they had a farther design to carry on for the 'good of the publick, but would come to no particu'lars, whereupon Dr Chamberlain dismissed them.

'That soon after Sir W. W. sent for Blood to a ta'vern in Westminster, whither when he came, he 'found Ryther, Codan, Whitaker and Jenks in Sir 'William's company, and what more surprized him, 'he found Ryther and Codan in a genteel equipage 'and alamode accoutrements, whom he looked upon 'before as very mean fellows.

'That presently then Sir William told him he was 'very much troubled for the premunire he had brought 'himself into, for that Ryther and Codan were come 'to depose upon oath, that he had attempted several 'times to corrupt them with money and other re'wards to swear Sodomy against the Duke of Buck'ingham: That upon Mr Blood's making strange of 'it, Codan started up and confirmed the same.

'Thereupon Mr Blood asked them, how they could 'be so impudent as to invent such a thing against him, 'whom they had never seen but once at heaven, and 'another time with Dr Chamberlain: That thereupon 'Mr Whitaker and Jenks stood up, and bid Mr Blood 'be honest and just, and confess. To whom Mr Blood 'replied, you have been these two years last em'ployed to asperse me, and could you find no better 'invention than this?

'That after this, Mr Blood directing his discourse 'to Sir William Waller, desired of him to know the 'meaning of the whole story, which was a thing un'known to himself; upon which Mr Whitaker and 'Mr Jenks jointly affirmed Codan and Ryther to be 'honest men, and pressed Sir William for justice: 'That thereupon Sir William desire Mr Blood very 'civilly to put in bail; to which Mr Blood replied, 'that he would consider of it, and so for that time 'went about his occasions: That the next morning 'he went to Sir William's house for a copy of his 'mittimus, which at length was granted him: 'That the next day he was met by a constable, who 'told him he had a warrant against him from Sir 'William Waller, mistaking a mittimus for a warrant, 'and thereupon he went away with the constable to a 'tavern, where he continued under restraint of the 'constable several hours: That while he was under 'custody, Sir William, apprehensive of some mistake, 'as is pretended, sent one of the witnesses to the 'constable to know how he had disposed of Mr Blood, 'and whether he had carried him to prison; who 'made answer, that he had not sufficient authority for 'so doing, and that Mr Blood might bring him into trou'ble for so doing, as not having been carried before a 'Justice of peace, as he ought to have been first of all. 'Thereupon the witness went back to Sir William, 'and not long after returned to the constable, and 'brought him a warrant to seize Mr Blood, and for 'want of bail to carry him to the Gatehouse: That 'upon that warrant, Mr Blood gave in bail before Sir 'William Poultney to answer the accusation; upon 'which accusation Mr Blood, with the rest, were 'found guilty.' E

(a) Stowe's Survey of London, fol. 1720, Vol. I. p. 107.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage of England, 1675, fol. Vol. I. p. 519.

(c) Idem, ibid.

BLOUNT, a very antient, once noble, and still truly honourable, family. Of this house there have been three distinct races of Peers, of whom we shall give some account [*A*]. Thence also have sprung persons, rendered illustrious by almost all the titles of honour which this nation can boast, allied more than once by marriage to the Royal Family, and employed in the first offices, almost in every reign since the conquest, of which it may not be amiss to give some instances. John Blount was Custos of the city of London, from the year 1301 to the year 1307, that is, from the twenty-ninth of Edward I to the first of Edward II (*a*). Thomas le Blount was Steward of the King's houshold the twentieth of Edward II (*b*). Sir Thomas le Blount was Treasurer of Normandy the first of Henry V (*c*). Walter Blount was Lord High-Treasurer of England in the fourth of Edward

(1) Camd. Britan. in Suffolk.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 519. Camden. Britan. ubi supra.

(3) Communicated to me by the Reverend Mr Knipe, in a curious MS. of several antient families.

[*A*] *Of whom we shall give some account.*] They were originally Normans, and derived their name of le Blound, from their having yellow hair (1). Two young Lords of this name, coming over with William sirnamed the Conqueror, he made the elder, Robert, Baron of Ixworth in Suffolk (2). Of his son and heir Gilbert, Mr Camden having occasion to speak, he stiles him *Vir magnæ Nobilitatis*, a man of high nobility. This line ended in William le Blound, who was killed at the battle of Lewes in the reign of King Henry III, leaving behind him two sisters. Besides these there were other Barons, summoned to Parliament in the reigns of Edward II and Edward III; but the first Baron of Mountjoy was Sir Walter Blount of Elwaston in Derbyshire, so created by Edward IV. Of this noble Lord and his family I have a curious pedigree, whence I shall give their descents (3). Sir Walter Blount, the first Baron of Mountjoy, married Helena, daughter of John Biron, Esq; by her he had three sons, Sir William Blount, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Itchingham, who died in the life-time of his father; Sir John Blount, and Sir James Blount. William Blount left issue John Blount Lord Mountjoy, who died childless; Edward Blount Lord Mountjoy, who also died without children; Elizabeth, wife of Andrew Lord Windsor; Alice, first married to Sir Thomas Uxenbridge, Knight, afterwards to Sir David Owen of Midhurst in the county of Sussex. Sir John Blount, second son of Walter Lord Mountjoy, married Lora, daughter of Sir Edward Barkley of Beverston, by whom he had Sir William Blount, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, who married first Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of Sir William Say, by whom he had two daughters; Gertrude, who married Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter; and Catherine, first married to Mr Chamburn, then to Sir Maurice Barkley. The second wife of this William Lord Mountjoy was Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Keeble of London, Knight, by whom he had Charles Blount. His third wife was another Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Gray Marquis of Dorchester, Widow of Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke, by whom he had John Blount, and two daughters, Dorothy and Mary. His son and heir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, married Anne, daughter of Robert Lord Willoughby of Brooke, by whom he had two sons James and Francis. James Lord Mountjoy married Catherine, daughter of Thomas Leigh of St Oswald in the county of Devon, Esq; by whom he had issue William Blount Lord Mountjoy, who died childless in 1594, and Charles Blount Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonshire. In him, of whom we shall speak in a distinct article, this line failed, he leaving no lawful issue, but his natural son, Mountjoy Blount, was created Baron Mountjoy in Ireland by King James I, and Baron Mountjoy of Thurveston in Derbyshire, and Earl of Newport in the Isle of Wight by King Charles I, as the reader will be told elsewhere.

[*B*] *Four*

(d) Idem, ibid.

(e) Peacham's Compleat Gentleman.

Edward IV (d). Sir Thomas Blount a Knight Banneret the fifth of Henry VIII (e). Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the forty-second of Elizabeth; and continued, and made a Privy-Counsellor, by King James (f). There have been likewise, of this family, four Knights of the Garter [B]. And at this day, Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, the first Duchess in this kingdom, is the daughter of Edward Blount, of Blagdon, near Torbay in the county of Devon, Esq; and was married to Edward Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1727 (g). There are still several flourishing families, two of Baronets, and others, persons of ample fortune, of this illustrious line, of whom the reader will find some particulars in the notes [C].

(f) Camden's Annals, Vol. III. p. 805. Chauncy's Hertfordshire.

(g) Collins's Peerage of England, edit. 1741. 8vo, Vol. I. p. 21.

[B] *Four Knights of the Garter*] The first of these was Sir John Blount, who flourished in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V, becoming a Knight of the Order some time between the years 1416 and 1420 (4). Walter Blount Lord Mountjoy, who was a great favourite of Edward IV, was the second Knight of the Garter of this family, and received that honour 1472 (5). The third was William Blount Lord Mountjoy, who became a Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry VIII, in the year 1526 (6). The fourth was Charles Blount Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, on whom Queen Elizabeth conferred the Order 1597 (7).

(4) Ashmole's History of the Garter, p. 610.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 712.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 493.

[C] *Of whom the reader will find some particulars in the notes.*] The chief of this family is Sir Edward Blount of Sodington in Worcestershire, and Mawly in Shropshire. He is lineally descended from the original Norman founder of this family, Sir Robert Blound or Blount before-mentioned, and Sir Edward Blount, who succeeded his uncle Sir George Blount, Baronet, in 1732, was the nineteenth in succession from the conquest (8). The second family of Baronets of this name is Sir Harry Pope Blount of Tittinghanger (9) in Hertfordshire, son of Sir Thomas Pope Blount, and grandson of Sir Thomas Pope Blount, of whom we shall speak in a subsequent article. We may add to these the Blounts of Maple-Durham in Oxfordshire, &c.

E

(8) English Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 671—676.

(9) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 665—677.

BLOUNT (JOHN) called in Latin *Blondus* or *Blundus*, a very eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. He received the first tincture of learning in the university of Oxford, and went afterwards for his improvement to Paris, where he quickly distinguished himself, among many of his learned contemporaries, by the vivacity of his wit (a). On his return into England, he again settled himself at Oxford, and read Divinity Lectures there with universal applause. The reputation of his learning obtained him also several other preferments, particularly those of Prebend and Chancellor in the church of York (b). In 1232, the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Richard Wethershed, and the rejection of two of his successors, Ralph Nevil, Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor of England, and John, Sub-Prior of Canterbury, by the Pope, our Dr Blount was, by the Chapter of Canterbury, elected Archbishop (c). He did not, however, enjoy that dignity, for the Pope immediately objected to him, and after a summary enquiry into the validity of his election, declared it void for several reasons, of which our Historians take notice (d), though very probably Bale has hit upon the true cause, which, however, was never alledged (e) [A]. Many of our modern writers, and particularly Bishop Godwin, fall into frequent inaccuracies concerning this Prelate, sometimes mistaking his sirname, and sometimes confounding him with Richard Blount Bishop of Lincoln (f). After his return from Rome, and being deprived of his high dignity, he retired once again to Oxford, and, as Leland tells us, consoled himself under his misfortunes, by an ardent application to his studies (g). In this manner he spent sixteen years, during which time he composed several learned works, and amongst them various

(a) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. Vol. II. p. 276. Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 354, 377.

(b) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 755.

(c) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 127.

(d) M. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(e) Script. Britan. edit. 1559, fol. p. 280.

(f) De Præsul. Angl. p. 127.

(g) Comment. de Script. Vol. II. p. 276.

[A] *Which however was never alledged.*] The whole of this transaction has hitherto been very darkly treated. We will endeavour to clear it up in this note, as far as the authorities which remain at this distance of time will permit. The reader must observe, that during the reign of Henry III the Popes assumed greater authority than at any other time, except in the days of his father, in the realm of England, and were especially busy in the confirmations of the Archbishops of Canterbury (1). Richard Wethershed, who had succeeded Stephen Langton in the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, deceased, in 1231 (2), whereupon Ralph Nevil, Bishop of Chichester, was elected his successor; but the Pope knowing the great parts of this Prelate, and his affection to the Crown, absolutely refused to confirm him, for fear he should withdraw the King from that slavish submission he had hitherto paid to the See of Rome; however, his Holiness gave leave to the Monks of Canterbury to proceed to a new election, with an admonition however to be careful in their choice, that the new Archbishop should be sincerely attached to the See of Rome (3). Upon this they elected John their Sub-Prior, who went in person to Rome in order to his Confirmation. The Pope thereupon directed that he should be examined by the Cardinals as to his abilities; but notwithstanding they reported in his favour, his Holiness declared him infirm, and therefore incapable, directing the Chapter of Canterbury to make a new choice (4). They did so, and then fixed on our Dr Blount, to whom the Pope objecting a simoniacal contract with Peter Bishop of Winchester, and also alledging, that Blount having held two benefices with cure of souls, without a dispensation, he was to be considered as a reprobate, and consequently incapable of so high preferment; and this judgment he pronounced, notwithstanding Blount pleaded that he held such benefices before the decree of that General Council, whereon this sentence was founded. Thus, says Matth. Paris, the Church of Canterbury was in the same state with Sarah the daughter of Raguel and wife of Tobias, as being thrice a widow in so short a space, for this fell out in the spring of the year 1233 (5). Perhaps, says Bale, Blount was more learned than the Court of Rome, desired an Archbishop should be (6). In truth, whoever considers the character of Gregory IX, one of the warmest and boldest men that ever sat in the papal chair, and reflects upon his rejecting the Bishop of Chichester on account of his loyalty, and the Sub-Prior of Canterbury for insufficiency, after he had stood an examination of three days on nineteen several articles, and came off with applause; whoever I say attentively reflects on this, and on our Blount's being supported by the Emperor's interest (7), will not think that Bale's heat did in this case carry him too far, but rather that there is just reason to suppose his abilities rendered him obnoxious to the Court of Rome, more than his having had two livings, which whatever crime it might have been in those days, would have been thought a small fault in succeeding times.

[B] As

(1) Hist. des Papes, Vol. III. p. 155—236.

(2) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 370. Nich. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 184.

(3) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 370.

(4) Hist. Prior. Cant. apud Wharton, Angl. Sac. Vol. I. p. 140. M. Paris, Vol. I. p. 370.

(5) Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(6) Script. Britan. p. 280.

(7) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 370—385.

various Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures (*h*). He was celebrated by his contemporaries, for the elegance of his stile, and for the extensiveness of his learning (*i*). John Ross of Warwick, no contemptible Historian, and who did not live above a century after his time, speaks of him as a prodigy of science (*k*). Yet Pits very confidently tells us, that his writings did by no means speak him worthy of such commendations (*l*). A censure in itself of little authority, and all circumstances considered, of none at all, as will be shewn in the notes [*B*]. This very learned, though unfortunate person, having attained unto a good old age, and unto a high reputation for his knowledge, prudence, and piety, deceased in 1248 (*m*), having always shewn an equality of mind, which demonstrated him worthy of the highest station, by enabling him to bear with fortitude his fall from thence.

(*h*) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 280.

(*i*) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(*k*) De Academ. Britan.

(*l*) De Illust. Angl. Script. p. 319.

(*m*) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 755.

[*B*] *As will be shewn in the notes.*] Leland, in his life of this learned person, owns ingenuously, that he was so unlucky as never to have met with any of those elegant writings which rendered our author's memory famous, adding a doubt whether any of them were extant (8). Bale in the first edition of his work omitted this life, and when he added it afterwards he only copied Leland, adding that Blount had written *Summarium Sacræ Facultatis*, lib. I. *Disceptationes aliquot*, lib. I. and several Commentaries on the Scriptures (9). Then comes Pits and transcribes Bale, adding the censure mentioned in the text (10); yet takes no notice of any other works than those which Bale had before noted, and, which is very remarkable, does not give us the beginning of any of them, as his custom always is, wherever he had seen such books, or could meet with any accounts from other people who had seen them. It is therefore more than probable that he boldly published this calumny, in order to support the credit of the See of Rome, by lessening the reputation of a person whom it had so vehemently persecuted. E

(8) Comment. de Script. Britan. Vol. II. p. 277.

(9) Script. Britan. p. 280.

(10) De Illust. Angl. Script. p. 319.

BLOUNT (RICHARD) called also in Latin *Blundus* or *Blondus*, an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. He became first Chancellor, and then Bishop of Exeter in 1245, being the twenty-ninth of Henry III (*a*), and is said to have been a person of a very sweet and gentle disposition, which inclined him to trust others too much in the management of his own affairs, and in those of the Church (*b*). In consequence of this, his dependants entered into a conspiracy, for defrauding the church of Exeter of a great part of it's revenues, by forging certain grants, to be by them produced after his decease. The names of these persons were, Lodeswel, his Chancellor; Sutton, his Register; Fitzherbert, his Official; and Ermeston, the Keeper of his Seal (*c*). The good Bishop died in 1257 (*d*) [*A*]. Not long after which, they put in practice their base design, which succeeded as such designs generally do, that is to say, it created some stir and dispute at first, but at last appeared in it's true colours, a base and black forgery, for which all the conspirators were compelled to do publick penance in the cathedral church, on the nineteenth of March, 1267 (*e*).

(*a*) Trivet. Ann. Vol. I. p. 198. M. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 686.

(*b*) Wharton, Angl. Sacr.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. p. 460, 461.

(*d*) Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 208. M. Paris, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 944.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. p. 460, 461.

[*A*] *The good Bishop died*, &c.] According to the character given us of this Prelate by Bishop Godwin, one could scarce have said so much for him as is said in the text; to justify this therefore we must observe, that we have the authority of Matth. Paris, who was his contemporary, to support us. For he, speaking of his accession to the episcopal dignity, says, that he was a man superior to censure, and in his life and learning equally commendable. *Vir sine querelas moribus et literis omnibus commendabilis* (1). E

(1) Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 686.

BLOUNT (CHARLES) the eighth Lord Montjoy, created afterwards Earl of Devonshire, was born in the year 1563 [*A*], being the second son of James, Lord Montjoy (*a*). He had his education at Oxford, and the Inner Temple (*b*). When he was at this last place, 'being about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a sweet face 'a most neat composure, and tall in his person (*c*);' he made his first appearance at Court, where he was distinguished by Queen Elizabeth [*B*]. His fortune at that time was very small (*d*); however, so good was his interest, that he was chosen one of the Burgesses

(*a*) See Baronage of England, by Sir Will. Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 521.

(*b*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 138, Lond. 1731. Fragmenta Regalia, by Sir Rob. Naunton, Lond. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 73.

(*c*) Naunton, ibid.

(*d*) Idem. p. 75.

[*A*] *Was born in the year* 1563.] He was in the forty-third year of his age in 1606 when he died (1), and consequently must have been born in the year 1563.

[*B*] *He made his first appearance at Court, where he was distinguished by Queen Elizabeth.*] Sir Robert Naunton gives the following account of it (2). 'As 'he came from Oxford he took the Inner-Temple in 'his way to Court, whither he no sooner came, but '(without asking) he had a pretty strange kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of 'his own, and much more of the secrets of those 'times. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at 'dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the 'Court; the Queen had soon found him out [he being a very handsome man, as is related above in the text], 'and with a kind of an affected frown, asked 'the Lady-Carver what he was? She answered, she 'knew him not; insomuch as enquiry was made from 'one to another who he might be, 'till at length it 'was told the Queen he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquisition, with the eye of 'Majesty fixed upon him, (as she was wont to do, and 'to daunt men she knew not) stirred the bloud of this 'young gentleman, insomuch as his colour came and 'went; which the Queen observing, called him unto 'her, and gave him her hand to kiss, encouraging 'him with gracious words and new looks; and so diverting her speech to the Lords and Ladies, she said, 'that she no sooner observed him, but that she knew 'there was in him some noble bloud, with some other 'expressions of pity towards his house: And then again 'demanding his name, she said, Fail you not to come 'to the Court, and I will bethink myself how to do 'you good. And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace. Where it falls into consideration, 'that though he wanted not wit and courage, (for he 'had very fine attractions, and being a good piece of 'a scholar) yet were they accompanied with bashfulness and a natural modesty, which (as the tone of 'his house, and the ebbe of his fortune then stood) 'might have hindered his progression, had they not 'been reinforced by the infusion of Sovereign favour, 'and the Queen's gracious invitation.

(1) W. Imhoff, Reg. Pariumq; Mag. Britan. Hist. Genealog. Norimb. 1690.

(2) Fragmenta Regalia, edit. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 73.

2

[*C*] *Inheritance*

Burgesses for the Burgh of St Ives in Cornwall, in the parliament which met at Westminster in 1585, being then not above two and twenty years of age (*e*). The next year he was returned one of the Burgesses for Berealston in Devonshire (*f*), and the same year was knighted (*g*). In 1588 he was one of those young noblemen and gentlemen who hired ships at their own charge, to go and join the English fleet, when it was in pursuit of the Spanish armada (*h*). On the 16th of June 1589 he was created Master of Arts at Oxford (*i*): And, a second time, was chosen one of the Burgesses for Berealston, in the parliament which met at Westminster in February 1592-3 (*k*). Upon the death of Henry, Earl of Sussex in 1594, he was made Governor of Portsmouth (*l*). And the same year succeeded to his elder brother's title of Lord Montjoy (*m*), and inheritance of one thousand marks [*C*]. With this he lived, as Sir Robert Naunton expresses it (*n*), 'in a fine way and garb, and without any great support, during all Queen Elizabeth's 'times. And, as there was in his nature a kind of backwardness, which did not befriend 'him, nor suit with the motion of the court, so there was in him an inclination to arms, 'with a humour of travelling; which, had not some wise men about him laboured to 'remove, and the Queen herself laid in her commands, he would, out of his natural 'inclination, have spoiled his own fortune. For, as he was grown by reading (whereunto 'he was much addicted) to the theory of a soldier, so he was strongly invited by his 'genius to the acquaintance of the practical part of the war, which were the causes of 'his excursions. For he had a company in the Low-Countries, from whence he came 'over with a noble acceptance of the Queen; but, somewhat restless in honourable 'thoughts, he exposed himself again and again, and would press the Queen with the 'pretences of visiting his company so often, that at length he had a flat denial. And yet 'he stole over with Sir John Norris into Bretagne, where was then a hot and active 'war; 'till at last the Queen took his decessions for contempts, and confined his residence 'to the Court, and her own presence.' In 1597 he was made Knight of the Garter (*o*); and employed in the expedition to the Azores islands, being Lieutenant-General of the land forces under the Earl of Essex (*p*), and Commander of the ship Defiance (*q*). The same year, there being an universal Irish rebellion intended, with the assistance of Spain, in order to shake off the English government (*r*); the Lord Montjoy was constituted Lieutenant under the Earl of Essex, of the forces appointed for the defence of that kingdom (*s*). In 1598, he was designed for the Lieutenancy of Ireland, but durst not stand in competition with the great favourite of his time, the Earl of Essex; who coveting this great authority and station [*D*], and once gratified his own ambition, and his enemies malicious designs, which desired nothing more than his absence from Court (*t*). However, upon this Earl's disgrace, he was invested with that honour towards the end of the year 1599 (*u*). So great was the opinion the Queen had of his worth and conduct, that she would have him, and none other, to finish and bring the Irish war to a propitious end, as Sir Robert Naunton observes (*w*). For it was a prophetical speech of her own, That it would be his fortune and his honour, to cut the thread of the fatal Irish rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave; wherein she was not mistaken. He embarked at Beaumaris, February the 23d, 1599-1600, and landed the next day in Ireland (*x*); where he showed himself the best soldier that kingdom had seen in many years, because he found out the true way of making war with the Irish; for being well supplied with necessaries from England, he plainly saw, that if he could attack them at a time when they wanted all conveniencies to keep the field, he should meet with very little or no resistance; and therefore he supplied his frontier-garrisons with men and provisions; and they by their frequent excursions did such executions on the persons and estates of the Irish, that by one winter's war he reduced them to the necessity of eating one another (*y*). On the 24th of December 1601, he gained a compleat victory near Kinsale, over the Irish and six thousand five hundred Spaniards, newly come over to their assistance; wherein twelve hundred of the enemy were slain, and about eight hundred wounded, whereas less than twenty of the English were killed, or wounded (*z*). This was a decisive blow, for soon after, a total end was put to the Irish wars, by the voluntary submission of the arch-rebel Hugh O Neal, Earl of Tiroen, to the Lord Montjoy, who brought him over along with him

(*e*) Notitia Parmentaria, by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 129. Lond. 1716, 8vo.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 276. His brother was Lord of the Manors of St Ives and Berealston. Ibid. p. 125, 374.

(*g*) Morgan, Sphere of Gentry, p. 88.

(*h*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ad ann. 1588, in Compleat History of England, edit. Lond. 1706, Vol. II. p. 547.

(*i*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 138.

(*k*) Willis, ubi supra, p. 376.

(*l*) Camden, ubi supra, p. 594. Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 521. and Vol. II. p. 287.

(*m*) Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 251.

(*n*) Ubi supra, p. 75.

(*o*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour. Stow (Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 783.) calls him Knight of the Order, when he was appointed Lieutenant-General; so that he was most likely so before this expedition.

(*p*) Stow, Annales, ubi supra. Camden, p. 597.

(*q*) Naval Hist. by T. Lediard, p. 353.

(*r*) R. Cox's History of Ireland, Lond. 1689, Part i. p. 414.

(*s*) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 521.

(*t*) Dugdale, ibid. Camden, ubi supra, p. 613. R. Cox, ubi supra, p. 416.

(*u*) Camden, Annals, p. 619. Pacata Hibernia, p. 2.

(*w*) Ubi supra, p. 77.

(*x*) Pacata Hibernia, by Tho. Stafford, Lond. 1633, fol. p. 2.

(*y*) R. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Part ii. Epistle to the Reader, p. 2.

(*z*) Pacata Hibernia, as above, p. 232, &c.

[*C*] *Inheritance of one thousand marks.*] As the Blounts were a very antient, honourable, and numerous family (3), their estate was originally very considerable (4). But the Lord Montjoy's patrimony was very much reduced, through his grandfather's exorbitant expences in the wars in France, his father's vanity in the search of the Philosopher's stone, and his brother's untimely prodigalities; all which seemed to conspire to ruin the house, and altogether to bring it to nothing (5).

[*D*] *But durst not stand in competition with —— the Earl of Essex, &c.*] The Earl of Essex might oppose his advancement to that high station, both out of jealousy and a private pique; for the Lord Montjoy (when he was but Sir Charles Blount) having one day had the good fortune to run very well a tilt, the Queen was so well pleased with it, that in token of her favour she sent him a Queen at chess of gold, richly enamelled, which his servants fastened the next day to his arm with a crimson ribband. My Lord Essex, as he passed through the privy-chamber, espying it, with Sir Charles's cloak cast under his arm, the better to commend it to view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed? Sir Fulk Grevil told him, it was the Queen's favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, she had sent him. Whereupon my Lord Essex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, 'Now I perceive every fool must have a favour.' This bitter and publick affront coming to Sir Charles Blount's ear, he sent him a challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near Marybone-Park, where my Lord was hurt in the thigh, and disarmed (6).

(3) Camden's Britannia, col. 649.

(4) See Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 519, 520.

(5) Naunton, Fragmenta, ubi supra, p. 73.

(6) Naunton, ubi supra, p. 66.

him to England, in the beginning of the year 1603 (*a*). But, before his coming to England, that brave Lord was, on the 25th of April, constituted Lieutenant of Ireland (*b*) by King James I; and, the next month appointed one of the King's Privy-Council (*c*). The 21st of July ensuing he was advanced to the title of Earl of Devonshire (*d*). Moreover, in reward of his great services, his Majesty made him Master of the Ordnance in England; gave him Kingston-hall in Dorsetshire (*e*), two hundred pounds a year, old rent of assize out of the Exchequer, and as much more out of the Duchy for him and his heirs for ever; besides the county of Lecal in Ireland; together with other lands in the Pale there, which were to fall to the Crown upon the death of the Countess of Kildare, for want of heirs male of her body (*f*). He was in 1603 one of the Lords present at the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh (*g*). In 1604 he was one of the Commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace between England and Spain (*h*). And in 1605 was also one of the Commissioners for the arraignment of the traitors concerned in the Gun-powder-plot (*i*). Besides the places and offices above-mentioned which he enjoyed, he had a company of horse in Ireland (*k*), and was Warden of the New Forest (*l*). He died at the Savoy in the Strand, the 3d of April 1606, after eight or ten days illness, of a burning fever and putrefaction of the lungs (*m*); and was buried with great pomp in St Paul's chapel in Westminster-abbey (*n*). Mr Camden stiles him a person famous for conduct; and so eminent for courage and learning, that in those respects he had no superior, and but few equals (*o*). And his Secretary Moryson informs us, that he was beautiful in his person as well as valiant, and learned as well as wise (*p*). His greatest blemish was, that he took another man's wife, namely Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex (*q*), which had been married several years to Robert, Lord Rich, and had brought him three sons and four daughters [*E*]. The Earl of Devonshire left this Lady fifteen hundred pounds a year, and most of his moveables; and of five children, that she fathered upon him at the parting from her former husband, he provided for no more than three; leaving the eldest son, Montjoy Blount, between three and four thousand pounds a year, and to a daughter six thousand pounds in money (*r*). This Montjoy Blount, was, by King James I, created Lord Montjoy, of Montjoy fort in Ireland; and by King Charles I (*s*), Lord Montjoy of Thurveston in Derbyshire; and finally (*t*), Earl of Newport in the Isle of Wight. He died at Oxford the 12th of February 1665, and was buried in Christ-Church cathedral (*u*); being succeeded in his honours by his son and heir George Blount; and he, by Henry his brother (*w*).

(*a*) R. Cox, Part ii. p. 8. Life of James I, by Ar. Wilson, in Complete Hist. Vol. II. p. 664. Stow's Annals, p. 835.

(*b*) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 14.

(*c*) Camden's Ann. of King James I, in Complete Hist. Vol. II. p. 641.

(*d*) Orig. 1 Jacob. p. 5. Rot. 24. Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 521. Stow, p. 826.

(*e*) Camden, Britannia, edit. 1722. col. 63.

(*f*) Fines, Moryson's Travels, Part ii. This Moryson was Secretary to Lord Montjoy in Ireland. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 141.

(*g*) Sir Walter Raleigh's Arraignment by Sir T. Overbury.

(*h*) Stow, Annales, p. 846.

(*i*) Idem, p. 881.

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. edit. Lond. 1725, fol. p. 173.

(*l*) Ibid p. 206.

(*m*) Ibid. and Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 521.

(*n*) Ibid. and Brooke's Catalogue, &c. edit. Lond. 1619, p. 64.

(*o*) Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, col. 49, 589.

(*p*) Travels, Part ii.

(*q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178 and 388.

(*r*) Winwood's Memor. Vol. II. p. 206.

(*s*) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 34.

(*t*) Pat. 4 Car. I. p. 11.

(*u*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 138.

(*w*) Camden, Britannia, col. 153.

[*E*] *He took another man's wife, namely Penelope, &c.*] It was, undoubtedly, upon account of this dishonourable action, that the author of a letter to Mr Winwood made use of these harsh expressions (7). 'The Earle of Devonshire left this life — soon and 'early for his years, but late enough for himself; and 'happy had he been if he had gone two or three 'years since, before the world was weary of him, or 'that he had left *that Scandall* behind him.' — The person it seems who married them was W. Laud, then Chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, for which he was severely reflected upon by Archbishop Abbot, in the following words. 'It was an observation what a sweet man this 'was like to be, that the first observable act that he did, 'was the marrying of the Earl of D* to the Lady 'R †, when it was notorious to the world that she 'had another husband, and the same a Nobleman, 'who had divers children then living by her. King 'James did for many years take this so ill, that he 'would never hear of any great preferment of him '(8).' — Mr Laud knew not, as he pretended, that she was then the wife of the Lord Rich, and therefore looked upon that action as one of the greatest misfortunes of his life, and set down the day into the catalogue of days of special observance to him, both in his diary and the manuscript book of his private devotions. The day in which they were married was December 26, 1605 (9). C

(7) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 206.

(*) Devonshire.

(†) Rich.

(8) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 440.

(9) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 55.

BLOUNT (Sir Henry) a great Wit, a remarkable Patriot, and a considerable Writer in the last century. He was descended from a very antient and honourable family [*A*], and born December 15, 1602, at his father's seat at Tittenhanger in Hertfordshire (*a*). He received the first tincture of letters in the free-school of St Alban's, where he manifested an unusual quickness of parts, and having qualified himself for the university, was removed to Trinity-college in Oxford, and entered a Gentleman-Commoner there in 1616, before he was full fourteen years of age (*b*). Some years he spent in that learned society, with great reputation and universal respect, not so much on account of his family, by which he was nearly related to the founder, Sir Thomas Pope, as by reason of his personal merit. For in his youth he was of so chearful a disposition, had so just a relish for the Antients, so sprightly a wit, so easy an address, and so frank and entertaining a conversation, that he charmed all who were of his acquaintance, and was justly esteemed as promising a genius as any in the university. In the year 1618 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and soon after left Oxford (*c*). Thence he went to Gray's-Inn, where for some time he applied himself to the study of the Law, and having perfected himself in all parts of a genteel education, he resolved to travel, which he did accordingly

(*a*) Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 24. See the Register at Ridge. Wood's Athen. Oxon edit. 1721. Vol. II. col 712.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *Of a very antient and honourable family.*] He was the third son of Sir Thomas Pope Blount of Tittenhanger in the county of Hertford, Knight, by Frances his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Pigott of Doddershall in the county of Bucks, Knight, and widow of Sir Thomas Nevil of Leicestershire, Knight (1). The father of Sir Thomas Pope Blount was William Blount of Blounts-hall in Staffordshire, Esq; who was descended of Sir Thomas Blount, a younger brother of the antient house of Blounts, of Sodington in Worcestershire (2).

(1) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712. The English Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 665, & seq.

[*P*] Printed

accordingly in the spring of the year 1634, being then lately become of age (*d*). He made first the tour of France, part of Spain and Italy, and then passing to Venice, he there contracted an acquaintance with a Jannizary, with whom he resolved to pass into the Turkish dominions (*e*). With this view he embarked, on the seventh of May 1634, on board a Venetian galley, in which he sailed to Spalatro, and thence continued his journey by land to Constantinople. There he was very kindly received by Sir Peter Wiche, then our Embassador at the Porte. His stay at Constantinople was short, because, having an earnest desire to see Grand Cairo, and meeting with a sudden opportunity, he readily embraced it (*f*), and after a peregrination of near two years, returned safely into England, where, in 1636 (*g*), he printed an account of his travels [*B*]. This book made him known to the world, and much taken notice of, so that shortly after King Charles I, who desired to fill his Court with men of parts, appointed him one of the band of Pensioners, then composed of gentlemen of the first families in the kingdom (*h*). In 1638, his father, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, died, and left him the antient seat of Blount's Hall in Staffordshire, and a very considerable fortune (*i*). On the twenty-first of March, in the succeeding year, the King conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*k*). At the first breaking out of the Civil War, he, following the glorious example of the elder branches of his illustrious family, who were eminently loyal, attended the King at York, at Oxford, and other places, was present at the battle of Edgehill, and had there (according to a tradition in the family) the honour of taking care of the young Princes (*l*). Afterwards he quitted his Majesty's service, and returned to London, where he was quickly questioned for his adhering to the King, but he being now grown a very wary and dexterous speaker, so well excused himself, by alledging his duty on account of his post, that he escaped all censure, and was thenceforward well received (*m*). Falling in with the times, he, in 1651, was named on a Committee of twenty persons, for inspecting the practice of the Law, and remedying it's abuses (*n*). He declared himself very warmly against tythes, and would willingly have reduced the income of parish ministers to one hundred pounds a year. He also sat with Dr Richard Zouch, Dr William Clarke, Dr William Turner, Civilians,

(*d*) Voyage to the Levant, page 2, 3.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 35.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II, col. 713.

(*h*) The English Baronetage, Vol. III, p. 668.

(*i*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount, great-grandson to our author.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*l*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*m*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*n*) The English Baronetage, Vol. III, p. 668.

[*B*] *Printed an account of his travels.*] In these travels there are a great many passages relating to the personal history of the author, of which it may not be amiss to give some instances, as agreeable to the design of this life, and which cannot prove unentertaining to the reader. When he came into Egypt, and found that those who had been hitherto the companions of his travels, intended to make no stay there, but to pass immediately to Jerusalem, he resolved to remain behind. 'I, not so impatient of the climate, says 'he, nor loving company of Christians in Turkey, 'and but reasonably affected to relicks, left them, 'and presumed to receive a longer entertainment; 'whereto I found an invital freely noble of itself, and 'with much regard to an honourable recommendation 'of me, sent by his Excellence the Lord Embassador 'of Holland at Constantinople, Sir Cornelius Haga, 'who having known my kinsman Sir James Blount, 'and some others of our name, was pleased in me to 'honour their memory. Here my abode in a family, 'which had there been resident twenty-five years, in'formed me of many things with much certainty. 'First, I must remember things upon record constant'ly renewed in office, as the multitude of the mes'chectoes, that is, churches and chapels five and thirty 'thousand; then the noted streets, four and twenty 'thousand, besides petty turnings and divisions; some 'of those streets I have found two miles in length, 'some not a quarter so long; every one of them is 'locked up in the night, with a door at each end, and 'guarded by a musqueteer, whereby fire, robberies, 'tumults, and other disorders are prevented (3).' As to the Turkish doctrine of Predestination, he gives us two notable instances of it, which in his own words run thus. 'One was at Rhodes, where, just as we 'entered the port, a French laquey of our company 'died with a great plague sore, which he had taken 'of the gunner's mate, who with one running upon 'him conversed and slept among us; the rest were so 'far from fear at his death, as they sat presently eat'ing and drinking with him, and within half an hour 'after his removal slept on his blanket, with his clothes 'instead of a pillow, which when I advised them not 'to do, they pointed upon their foreheads, telling me, 'it was written there at their birth when they should 'die; they escaped, yet divers of the passengers died 'thereof before we got to Egypt. The other was at 'my passage to Adrianople in Thrace; myself, the 'Jannizary, and one more, being in a coach, we passed 'by a man of good quality, and a soldier, who lying 'along with his horse by, could hardly speak so much 'as to intreat us to take him into our coach: The Jan'nizary made our companion ride his horse, taking 'the man in, whose breast being open and full of 'plague tokens, I would not have had him received; 'but he in like manner pointing to his own forehead 'and mine, told me, we could not take hurt, unless it 'were written there, and that then we could not avoid 'it. The fellow died in the night by our sides, and 'in our indemnity approved this confidence to be some'times fortunate, how wise soever (4).' His return from Egypt was by sea, first to Sicily, from whence he passed to Naples, the rarities of which entertained him some days; thence he went to Rome, afterwards to Florence and Bologna, and so to Venice, where he arrived in April 1635, having in that time, as he says, according to the most received divisions of Turkey, been in nine kingdoms, and passed six thousand miles and upwards, most part of it by land (5); a thing very unusual at that time, and which procured him, by way of distinction, the name of the Great Traveller. This book was published at London in 1636, in quarto, and soon after came to a second edition, and in 1638 to a third in the same size (6). It was then printed in 12mo, and reached many editions; the title of the eighth runs thus. *A Voyage into the Levant, being a brief Relation of a Journey lately performed from England by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt, unto Grand Cairo; with particular observations concerning the modern condition of the Turks, and other people under that Empire. By Sir* Henry Blount, *Knight.* Of this work there have been several characters, and very different ones given, of which we shall mention but two. *It is so well esteemed abroad,* says Mr Wood, *that, (as I have been informed) it has been translated into* French *and* Dutch (7). The author of an introductory discourse, containing a character of most books of Travels, prefixed to that great collection of Voyages, commonly called Churchill's collection, ascribed by some to Mr Locke, speaks thus of Sir Henry's book. 'Blount's Travels to the Le'vant, is a very short account of a journey through 'Dalmatia, &c. the whole very concise, and without 'any curious observations, or any notable descriptions. 'His account of the religions and customs of those 'people, only a brief collection of some other tra'vellers; the language mean, and not all of it to be 'relied on, if we credit others, who have writ better '(8).'

(3) Voyage to the Levant, 12mo, the 8th edit. 1671, p. 49, 50.

(4) Ibid. p. 112.

(5) Ibid. p. 79.

(6) Kennet's American Library, p. 83.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712.

(8) A Collection of Voyages and Travels, in six Volumes, folio, edit. 1732 Vol. I. p. xvii.

[*C*] *The*

Civilians, and with several other eminent persons in the Court of King's (then called the Upper) Bench, in Westminster-Hall, on the fifth of July 1654, by virtue of a commission from Oliver Cromwell, for trying Don Pantalion Saa, brother to the Portuguese Embassador, for murder, of which being found guilty, he was, much to the honour of the justice of this nation, by sentence of that court, adjudged to suffer death, and was executed accordingly (o). In the same year, by the death of his elder brother Thomas Pope Blount, Esq; the estate of Tittenhanger, descended to Sir Henry (p). His great reputation for general knowledge and uncommon sagacity, was the reason that his name was inserted in the list of twenty-one Commissioners, appointed, November 1, 1655, to consider of the trade and navigation of the Commonwealth, and how it might be best encouraged and promoted, in which station he did his country eminent service (q). It does indeed appear, that this was his sole view in complying with the forms of government set up between 1650 and 1660, and therefore we need not wonder that he was received into favour and confidence on the King's Restoration, as it appears he was, by his being appointed High-Sheriff of the county of Hertford, in 1661 (r). He lived thenceforward as an English gentleman, satisfied with the honours he had acquired, and the large estate he possessed, and having passed upwards of twenty years in this independent state, he died on the ninth of October, 1682, when he wanted but four months of fourscore, and was two days afterwards interred in the vault of his family, at Ridge in Hertfordshire, where a foreign writer, but erroneously, (unless he meant the parish) affirms he was born (s). As to the character of Sir Henry Blount, the reader will find it drawn by different hands in the notes [C]. As to what appears from his writings, he seems to have had strong parts, a lively imagination, and, in consequence of these, some very singular opinions. His stile was manly, flowing, and less affected than could be expected, considering the times in, and the subjects on, which he wrote [D]. A Latin fragment, published by his son, better explains his sentiments than all the rest of his works, and demonstrates that he was a man of a deep, though irregular way of thinking, and had a capacity of colouring the most paradoxical opinions, so as to give them a great likeness unto truth [E]. For the first forty years of his life he was a boon companion, and much given to raillery, but in the other forty, of a serious temper, and a water drinker (t). He married 1647, Dame Hester Manwaring, relict of Sir William Manwaring of Cheshire, Knight, daughter and coheiress of Christopher Wase, of Upper Holloway in the county of Middlesex, Esq; by whom he left three sons and one daughter (u). His arms were, Barry Nebule of 6, Or and Sable. Crest, a Wolf passant, Sable, between two Cornuts, Or, out of a ducal Coronet, proper (w).

(o) See an account of these proceedings in the first Volume of State Trials.

(p) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(q) Cook's Detection of the four last Reigns.

(r) Chauncey's Hertfordshire, p. 502.

(s) Niceron's Memoires des Hommes Illust. Vol. XXIII. p. 398.

(t) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(u) The English Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 669.

(w) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

[C] *The reader will find his character by different hands in the notes.*] Anthony Wood tells us, he was esteemed by those that knew him, a gentleman of a very clear judgment, great experience, much contemplation (though not of much reading), and of great foresight into Government. He was also a person of admirable conversation, and in his younger years was a great banterer, which in his elder he disused (9). In a loose leaf of his Travels I once met with these remarks written, which, as they are founded on several passages in the book, I thought deserved to be transcribed. 'The author of this book, Sir H. B. appears to have 'been one of the Wits of that age, wherein it was 'fashionable to make a display of profound thinking, 'and quick penetration. He seems to have wrote 'this book, as the celebrated Osborne did another, on 'the same subject, purely to insinuate some notions of 'his own, which could not otherwise have been so 'safely published. Thus comparing the Turkish seve'rity, which, in the beginning of wars, he says, 'makes use of colourable punishments, where just ones 'are wanting; with that tenderness shewn to light of'fenders in this part of the world, he adds, that it 'has more effect upon a bad age, than our Christian 'compassion, which is so easily abused, as we cannot 'raise two or three companies of soldiers, but they 'pilfer and rifle wheresoever they pass: Wherein, our 'want of cruelty upon delinquents, causes much more 'oppression of the innocent, which is the greatest cru'elty of all (10). In another place, speaking of the 'Island of Patmos, and the cave wherein St John 'wrote his Revelation, he observes, that the privacy 'and aspect of those retreats being gloomy, still, and 'solemn, settle and contract the mind into profound 'speculations; but especially the quality of the air, 'a thing of main importance to dispose the wit. The 'air of those rocky caverns is not so damp and earthy 'as that of dungeons; nor so immaterial or wasting, 'to unsettle and transport the phantasy, as that above 'ground; but of a middle temper, wherewith it af'fects the brain, in such a sort as is fittest to exercise 'it's intellectual faculty, to the height of what it's 'composition bears (11). Having told us how a 'Turk, to avoid being taken, tied his feet, and one 'of his hands together, and threw himself headlong 'into the sea; he adds, in this resolute end, he shewed 'by what a short passage many a years misery may 'be prevented, where other reasons, or fear masked 'in them, enthral not (12). These stroaks sufficient'ly shew the spirit of the man, and the scope of his 'book.'

(9) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712.

(10) Voyage to the Levant, pag. 18.

(11) Ibid. p. 39, 40.

(12) Ibid. p. 77.

[D] *Considering the times in, and the subjects on, which he wrote.*] The rest of the works he published were these (13). 1. Six comedies, written by John Lilly, under the title of Court Comedies, by the care of Mr Henry Blount, London 1632, 8vo (14). 2. A satire, intituled, The Exchange Walk, in 1647. This, Mr Wood says, some of his relations informed him, fell from the pen of Sir Henry Blount, though his sons knew nothing of it. 3. An epistle in praise of tobacco and coffee, prefixed to a little treatise, intituled, Organon Salutis, written by Walter Rumsey, Esq; and printed in 1657, 8vo (15).

[E] *So as to give them a great likeness unto truth.*] This Latin fragment is to be found in a Letter, addressed to the Right Honourable, and most ingenious Strephon, (supposed to be the Earl of Rochester) by Charles Blount, Esq; son to our author, dated Ludgate-Hill, February 8, 1679, and is printed in the Oracles of Reason, and in Mr Blount's works (16), and therefore thither we shall refer our readers. Wood observes, (17), that the Anima Mundi was supposed to have been, in a great measure, written by Sir Henry Blount, though published, as probably it was put into order, by his son, and this fragment makes the opinion so much the more probable, since it may be truly stiled the key to this performance, as containing in a narrow compass, the system that treatise seems to recommend, and a much better account of that sort of Philosophy than is to be found in all Spinosa's writings, who, with a darker head, had less depth of thought, than our ingenious author Sir Henry Blount. E

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 296.

(14) Ib. Vol. II. col. 713. Nicer. Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Vol. XXIII. p. 398.

(15) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 255.

(16) Vol. I. p. 154, 155, 156.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

BLOUNT (Sir THOMAS POPE) an eminent writer towards the close of the XVIIth century. He was the eldest son of Sir Henry Blount beforementioned, and was born at Upper Holloway in the county of Middlesex, Sept. 12, 1649 (*a*). He was carefully educated under the eye of his father, who took care to acquaint him with the several branches of polite literature, most worthy the notice of a person of his rank, and so great was the improvement he made under so able an instructor, that, even in his junior years, he was considered both as a judicious and learned man, and on this account, as well as for other marks of worth and genius, he was, by King Charles II, advanced to the degree of a Baronet (*b*), by a Patent dated Jan. 27, 1679, in the thirtieth year of his Majesty's reign, and in the life-time of Sir Henry Blount his father. He was elected Burgess for St Alban's in Hertfordshire, in the Parliaments in the thirtieth and thirty-first of King Charles II (*c*); and was Knight of the shire in three Parliaments after the Revolution (*d*), having also the honour to be elected Commissioner of Accounts for the three last years of his life by the House of Commons (*e*). He always distinguished himself as a lover of liberty, a sincere friend to his country, and a true patron of learning. His strong affection for literature, and his perfect acquaintance with the best writers in all ages and sciences, appeared fully in the great work he composed, first for his own use and satisfaction, and then published in the universal language for the benefit of others [*A*]. His capacity for writing in another manner, and on a great variety of important and entertaining subjects, appears

(*a*) From a MS. of Sir Henry Blount, now in the possession of Sir Harry Pope Blount, his grandson.

(*b*) The Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 672.

(*c*) Account of the Borough of St Alban's, MS. p. 195.

(*d*) Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 504.

(*e*) List of the Commissioners of Accounts, in the State Tracts.

[*A*] *For the benefit of others.*] The entire title of this most learned work, stands thus in the original edition, which was printed at London, in 1690, folio: '*Censura celebriorum authorum*, sive tractatus in quo varia virorum doctorum de clarissimis, cujusque seculi scriptoribus judicia traduntur. Unde facillimo negotio lector dignoscere queat, quid in singulis quibusque istorum authorum maximè memorabile sit, & quonam in pretio apud eruditos semper habiti fuerint. Omnia in studiosorum gratiam collegit, & in ordinem digessit secundum seriem temporis quo ipsi authores floruerunt Thomas Pope Blount, Anglo-Britannus Baronettus.' *i. e.* A critick on the most celebrated writers, *or a treatise in which the various opinions of the most learned men, as to the merit of the most famous authors in every age are delivered. Whereby the reader may, with great ease, discern what is most memorable with respect to each of those authors, and in what esteem they have always been among the learned. The whole for the use of the Studious, collected, and digested according to the order of time in which the authors flourished, by* THOMAS POPE BLOUNT, *an English Baronet.* In 1694, a second edition was printed in 4to, at Geneva, in which all the passages which Sir Thomas had preserved in the modern languages, wherein they were written, are translated into Latin, in order to render the whole more uniform. It was printed a third time at the same place, in 1710, in 4to. What the true design of Sir Thomas was, will best appear from his epistle to the reader, which as it is short, curious, and what never appeared before in the English Tongue, may not displease the intelligent reader. 'The province I have undertaken was not the effects of any ambition, for a life retired, and free from noise, was always my supreme delight. This then was my sole motive, that, as far as in me lay, I might promote letters. When I first began the work, it was scarce in my thoughts to communicate it to the learned world; for my own use I drew it together, and now, at the request of persons of distinguished learning, give it to the Publick. The rather because having observed with what eagerness the *Acta Eruditorum*, and others books of the same nature, are caught up, not only by men of slender reading, but even such as are in the first forms of learning, I could not but hope, that even this collection of mine, such as it is, would not displease them. Learning is not without much study and pains to be acquired. It is Fanaticism for a man to think of becoming learned by inspiration; even a Poet by nature, will do little, if his genius, however bright, be not assisted by industry. Hence it is, that so few are truly learned, (whatever smatterers may boast) because they will not bestow the necessary pains and labour. That therefore you may receive the utmost fruits of reading, I have set before you a choice of authors, with the various sentiments of the most learned men, as to their merits, which if you diligently compare, you may both heighten and strengthen your own judgment, and avoid the loss of time and trouble in turning over works of little value. As to the utility of this work, this is it's principal commendation, that it will assist you in compiling a library, by affording useful and necessary notices concerning authors; and for the want of these, it often happens, that men, in collecting books, are defrauded both of their time and money. To remedy this inconvenience, I have taken on me the labour of compiling this book. For therein you have, as it were, the picture of every author; thence you may learn when he flourished, and, generally speaking, when he died, what pieces were written by him, or at least, which were most esteemed, what his credit in the learned world, whether he was a Plagiary, and from what coffer he drew his stores, if put in the Index Expurgatorius, and, finally, of each author's works which is the best edition. All these you have at one view, if you deign to consult this book. It was not my intention to speak of all authors, that would have been too prolix a labour, but of those only which are in most esteem with the learned. I begin with Hermes Trismegistus, not the fictitious writer, whose works are common, but the true and genuine author of that name, who is thought to have been coæval with Moses, and from him I descend to our own times. The authors of whom I treat are near six hundred; each of which stands according to the time in which he wrote. This method pleased me best, because I thought it would be more grateful to the reader to observe the flux and reflux of learning, than to run over things in alphabetical order, which seems fitter for a Dictionary than a literary History. You will perhaps admire, that considering the many excellent writers our country hath produced, you find so few touched by me; yet if you weigh this matter impartially, you will hold me excused; for the greatest part of these writers wrote in their own language, whence it has fallen out, that amongst learned foreigners who are not acquainted with our tongue, they are but little known, though of their country they deserved well, and are in just and high reputation at home. This is the cause that of English writers, the censures and observations of the learned, especially foreigners, are not easily found. Thus I have explained to you the method of this work. If our diligence in searching and collecting testimonies shall merit your esteem, it will give me great satisfaction, if otherwise, pardon me for this time, I shall hardly again run the hazard of your censure. *Thomas Pope Blount.*' We are told by certain foreign criticks, that our author had in view the same design which was undertaken by Tobias Magirus in his *Eponymologium Criticum*, which was published in 1644, and by Christian Eybenius, who republished that work in a more exact and extensive manner in 1687 (1). Niceron compares Sir Thomas's book (2) with the *Jugemens des Savans* by Baillet, but there is this essential difference between them, that Baillet reports other men's opinions in his own words, whereas our author transcribes theirs; so that the former is a work wherein boldness and vanity have a large share, and of the latter it is hard to say, whether the author's pains or his modesty be most conspicuous. This we may be the rather allowed to say, having often consulted Sir Thomas's book in order to enrich to our own.

(1) Acta Erudi-tor. Mens. Jan. 1691, p. 24.

(2) Memoires pour servir a la Hist. des Hommes Illustres, Tom. XXIII. p. 399.

appears from his Essays, which, in point of learning, judgment, and freedom of thought, are certainly no way inferior to those of the famous Montaigne [*B*]. His extensive knowledge, and his great modesty, are equally conspicuous, in another learned piece of his, wherein he presents the publick with the fruits of his reading, as to Natural History; without depriving those from whom he drew his knowledge, of any part of their reputation, a conduct which few have imitated, and which we can scarce enough commend [*C*]. What he has written on Poetry is in the same manner, and with the same modesty, at first probably drawn together for his own information, and in that respect a mark of his industry and judgment, afterwards sent abroad for publick use, which demonstrates his beneficence and ingenuous temper, as ready to communicate, as incapable of assuming to himself the merits of others [*D*]. Having thus satisfied, in his riper years, the great expectations which his friends had of him in his youth, having been steady to one party, without violence towards others, after acquiring honour in his several publick characters, esteem in private conversation, and affection in domestick life, he quietly ended his days at his seat at Tittenhanger, June 30, 1697, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and was buried the eighth of July following, in the vault of his family, at Ridge in Hertfordshire (*f*). He married Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Cæsar, of Benington

(*f*) The Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 673.

[*B*] *No way inferior to those of the famous Montaigne.*] The Essays are in number seven (3), and their subjects follow. I. That Interest governs the world, and that Popery is nothing but Priestcraft, or an invention of the Priests to get Money. II. The great Mischief and Prejudice of Learning, and that a wise man ought to be preferred before a man of Learning. III. Of Education and Custom; the great Influence it hath upon most men; but that a good Education is not always effectual. IV. Of the Antients, and the respect that is due unto them; that we should not too much enslave ourselves to their Opinions. V. Whether the men of this present Age are any way inferior to those of former Ages, either in respect of Virtue, Learning, or long Life. VI. Of Passion, and whether the Passions are an Advantage or Disadvantage to men. VII. The Variety of Opinions, whence it proceeds; the Uncertainty of Human Knowledge. As to the author's design in this work, it is best learnt from his own words. 'It is, says he, as impossible for an author to please all mens fancies, as it is for a cook to gratify every man's palate; for the minds of men are of different frames and tempers, and therefore those notions that are pleasing to one man, do often prove nauseous to another. This then is the reason that authors are either doomed or approved, not according to their own merits or demerits, but even as the reader stands inclined; who generally frames his judgment from his own settled humour or opinion, and as the book agrees or disagrees with that, so is the author to receive his fate; and thus is verified that known saying, *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis*. What kind of reception this little treatise may find in the world, I neither know nor value: I wrote it in my idle hours for my own entertaiment; and therefore if it relishes not thy gusto, the only way to be even with me is for thee to turn author, and then (possibly) I may have occasion to return the compliment. The age we now live in is both critical and censorious; and therefore, if there be any part of a book which (either through the unhappy stile of the author, or the ill nature of the reader) seems to admit of a double construction, the author may assure himself it shall be taken in the worst; upon which consideration I think it proper to acquaint thee, that whatsoever opinion the Clergy may please to have of this book, or it's author, I unfeignedly declare myself to be a true honourer of them, I mean of such of them as live up to the honour of that holy profession; and for those that do not, I as little court their favour, as I value their censure.' If the learned and judicious Niceron had ever seen this work, he would not have called our author, as he does, on the authority of Anthony Wood, *a mere compiler*.

(3) Essays on several Subjects, by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Bart. London, 8vo.

[*C*] *Which we can scarce enough commend.*] The entire title of this book runs thus (4). 'A NATURAL HISTORY, containing many, not common, Observations, extracted out of the best modern writers. By Sir *Thomas Pope Blount*, Baronet.' It is dedicated to Henry Lord Capel, and in the last paragraph of the dedication there is a very just account of the book. 'My Lord, says our author, what I now (with all deference) present to your Lordship, is not any superficial slight notion of my own, but that which is here tendered is a Natural History, drawn from the writings of the Beaux Esprits, or the greatest wits of the present age upon these several subjects; so that I question not but your Lordship will meet with some remarks that may be entertaining, useful, and not common. And if upon any account it be acceptable to your Lordship, I have then fully attained my end; since the utmost I can pretend to is but a pepper-corn acknowledgment from, &c.' The whole of this piece is a judicious common-place book of what the best authors have written on the most curious subjects, and will be always admired by good judges, though it may possibly be undervalued by mean ones.

(4) London: Printed for R. Bentley in Covent Garden, 1693. 12mo.

[*D*] *Assuming to himself the merits of others.*] The title of this work of his on Poetry sufficiently explains his design. Thus it stands (5). '*De Re Poëtica*; or, Remarks upon Poetry. With Characters and Censures of the most considerable Poets, whether antient or modern. Extracted out of the best and choicest Criticks. By Sir Thomas Pope Blount.' It is dedicated to John Earl of Mulgrave, so well known to the world, and to posterity afterwards, by the title of Buckinghamshire. In this dedication he tells him; 'My Lord, had I nothing at all of inclination to this address, as I hope your Lordship will easily believe I have a great deal, yet I do not know whether I ought not to have made it out of meer policy. 'Tis certain, my Lord, you are a very dangerous reader; a writer therefore who has but too much reason to apprehend your judgment, is bound in prudence to take you off if possible. 'Tis not that I look upon a dedication as a bribe; but I find that sometimes, when we have an idle present made us, which 'tis impossible to conceal, we are apt to be very favourable, and counterfeit a value of the thing we perhaps secretly despise, rather than own to the world that any has been so hardy to make us an offering of what we should think little. But however this be, your Lordship has been beforehand with me, and so much to my advantage, as to render such a consideration wholly needless: Already you have indulged this piece, and allowing it for useful, have given it the great character desired to satisfy the author's ambition. For as it is entirely a collection, wherein I have nothing to answer for, or hope any thing from, but the choice and distribution of the matter, if I have but made a profitable one, and employed my pains beneficially for the world, 'tis all I had to pretend to. After this, my Lord, I shall make you no excuses for the honour I do myself in this dedication; and if in it I seem any thing vain or presuming, I am contented so to do, provided I may find the justice to have it thought at the same time, that 'tis the good opinion not of myself, but of your Lordship that has made me so.' We cannot have a clearer or better view of this treatise than that which the author has here given us, nor could he have assigned a better reason for it's being esteemed than that which he has told us, that it was commended by the Nobleman to whom he inscribed it, since it is certain that our nation never boasted of a better Critick. This treatise is divided into two parts, the first contains remarks on Poetry, *i. e.* the sense of the best authors on all it's parts; the second contains the characters or cen-

(5) London: Printed for R. Bentley in Covent Garden, 1694, 4to.

Benington Place in the county of Hertford, Knight, and by her left issue five sons, and nine daughters.

sures of Poets, sixty-seven in all, digested in an alphabetical order, beginning with Æschylus the Greek tragick Poet, and ending with the English Waller. One may justly say of this piece, that though it will hardly entertain an ignorant reader, it will greatly instruct a wise one, as containing in a narrow compass a vast variety of curious observations, and all perhaps that in the time it's author flourished had been written with strength or elegance, either of the subjects or poets therein treated. E

BLOUNT (Charles) younger son of Sir Henry Blount, and brother to Sir Thomas Pope Blount beforementioned, an eminent Writer also in the last century. He was born at his grandfather's seat at Upper Holloway in the county of Middlesex, April 27, 1654 (*a*). He was endowed by nature with a great capacity, and with a strong propensity to learning, which excellent qualities were properly cultivated by the assiduous care of his father, who took upon himself the direction of his studies. Under so able an instructor, he quickly acquired an extraordinary skill in the Arts and Sciences, without any thing of that pedantry, which is too frequently the consequence of young men's application to study in the common course (*b*). His pregnant parts and polite behaviour, brought him early into the world, so that his father, who was a true judge of men, thought fit to settle him when he was about eighteen. This he did by marrying him to Eleanora, daughter of Sir Timothy Tyrrel, of Shotover in the county of Oxford, and gave him a very handsome estate, having always esteemed his parts, and respected him as a friend, as well as loved him with the affection of a father (*c*). The year after his marriage, he wrote a little treatise which he published without his name [*A*]. In 1678, or, as is generally held, in 1679, he sent abroad his *Anima Mundi*, in which it is said, and with great probability, that he had the assistance of his father. The piece, it seems, had been long before handed about in manuscript by the acquaintance of it's author, with several passages in it much stronger than in that which was transmitted to the press, and licensed by Sir Roger L'Estrange. This did not hinder it's giving great offence, insomuch that complaint thereof was made to Dr Compton, then Lord Bishop of London, who, upon perusal, judged it not proper for all readers promiscuously, and therefore signified that he expected it should be suppressed, intimating, that he would thereupon rest satisfied. But afterwards, when the Bishop was out of town, an opportunity was taken by some zealous person to burn the book, which nevertheless hath been reprinted since (*d*) [*B*]. The same year he published a broad sheet under the title of Mr

(*a*) This circumstance is ascertained from a MS. of Sir Henry Blount's, in the hands of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*b*) The Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 670. See the Account of this gentleman's Life and Writings, said to be written by Mr Gildon, and prefixed to the Miscellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Esq;

(*c*) See the Tract above referred to, and many of our author's Letters in the *Oracles of Reason*.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

[*A*] *Which he published without his name*] This tract was intitled (1), 'Mr Dryden vindicated, in reply 'to the friendly vindication of Mr Dryden, with Re'flections on the Rota.' In order to have some idea of the nature and occasion of this piece, we must take notice of the controversy on which it was written. One Mr Richard Leigh, a Player, on the coming out of Mr Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, published a pamphlet, intitled (2), *A Censure of the Rota on Mr Dryden's Conquest of Granada*. Upon this appeared another smart pamphlet, under the title of (3) *The Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden from the censure of the Rota*. It was against this pamphlet that our author drew his pen in the piece before-mentioned, written with fire, and yet not deficient in judgment, though the author was then very young. That he was really the author of this piece (4) could scarce have been recovered at this distance of time, but by the favour of his family.

(1) London, 1673, 4to.

(2) Oxf. 1673, 4to.

(3) Cambridge, 1673, 4to.

(4) Grounded on the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount, Baronet, grand-nephew to our author.

[*B*] *Which nevertheless hath been reprinted since.*] Nobody could be more aware than the author of the opposition this book was likely to meet with, and therefore he took the pains of apologizing for it in his Preface. 'Methinks, says he, I already behold some 'haughty pedant, strutting and looking down from 'himself as from the devil's mountain upon the uni'verse, where, amongst several other inferior objects, 'he happens at last to cast his eye upon this treatise; 'when after a quibble or two upon the title, he falls 'foul upon the book itself, damning it by the name 'of an Atheistical, Heretical pamphlet; and to glo'rify his own zeal, under the pretence of being a 'champion for truth, summons ignorance and malice 'for his seconds: But such a person understands not 'wherein the nature of Atheism consists, how conver'sant soever he may otherwise be in the practice of 'it. It were Atheism to say *there is no God*, and so 'it were (though less directly) to deny his providence, 'or restrain it to some particulars, and exclude it in 'reference to others. Such are Atheists who maintain 'such opinions as these, and so are those Hereticks 'who err in fundamentals, and continue obstinately 'in such errors. But the ignorant vulgar people (whose 'superstition is grounded upon the assimulating God 'with themselves) are apt to think that every one they 'hate are God Almighty's enemies, and that whoso'ever differs from them in opinion (though in never 'so trivial a matter) are Atheists, or Hereticks at least, 'not rightly considering the words of St Peter, *That 'in every nation, he who feareth the Lord and worketh 'righteousness, is accepted with him.* And Minucius 'Felix says well to the same purpose, *He is the best 'Christian who makes the honestest man.* Heresy is an 'act of the will, rather than understanding; a lye, 'rather than a mistake; and thus St Austin expresses 'it, saying, *errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo.* Heresy 'and Schism, (says the ingenious Mr Hales) as com'monly now used, are two theological scarecrows, 'with which they who uphold a party in religion, 'used to fright away such, as making an enquiry into 'it, are ready to relinquish and oppose it, if it appear 'either erroneous or suspicious. For as Plutarch re'ports of a Painter, who having unskilfully painted a 'cock, drove away all the cocks and hens he could 'find, that so the imperfection of his own art might 'not appear by comparing it with nature; so men for 'some ends, not willing to admit of any fancy but 'their own, endeavour to hinder all enquiries by way 'of comparison, that so their own deformity may not 'appear. Therefore if any man blames me for com'paring Christianity with Paganism, it shews nothing 'but his unworthy distrust of the sufficiency of that 'religion he professes.' The enemies of this book have suggested, that all that is here said, and a great deal of the same sort in the book itself, was purely to save appearances, and that whatever the author might protest, the design of it was very pernicious. The book notwithstanding was much admired by men of very different persuasions, on account of the various learning contained therein, and particularly for the drawing together the thoughts of so many learned persons on so important a subject. The title of this work at large is, Anima Mundi; or, *An Historical Narration of the Opinions of the Antients concerning man's Soul after this Life, according to unenlightened Nature.* By Charles Blount, *Gentleman.* Several answers were written to it, but the most solid refutation of the principles

Mr Hobbs's last Words and dying Legacy. It was extracted from the *Leviathan*, and was intended to weaken and expose his doctrine, yet it seems he was no very warm antagonist, since there is still extant a letter of his to Mr Hobbs, wherein he professes himself a great admirer of his parts, and one who would readily receive his instructions (*e*) [*C*]. There could not well be a stronger testimony in favour of liberty, than Mr Blount shortly after gave in a pamphlet on the Popish Plot, and the fear of a Popish successor. This treatise is subscribed Junius Brutus (*f*), and is the strongest invective against Popery and Papists that was published even in that age, when almost all the wit of the nation was pointed that way. There are in it likewise such express recommendations of the Duke of Monmouth, as might well hinder the author from owning it, and give it, in the eyes of the Lawyers of those times, an air of sedition at least, if not of treason [*D*]. In 1680, he printed that work which hath made him most known to the world, *The Life of* APOLLONIUS TYANAEUS, which was soon after suppressed, and only a few copies sent abroad. It was held to be the most dangerous attempt, that had been ever made against Revealed Religion in this country, and was justly thought so, as bringing to the eye of every English reader, a multitude of facts and reasonings, plausible in themselves, and of the fallacy of which, none but men of parts and learning can be proper judges (*g*). For this reason it is still much in esteem with the Deists [*E*]. The fate of this book, and the few copies that

(*e*) Oracles of Reason, p. 97. where it appears this Letter was written in 1678, and accompanied with a present to Mr Hobbs of the *Anima Mundi*.

(*f*) This Piece is preserved in the second Volume of Blount's Miscellaneous Works.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

principles therein contained is to be met with in the works of a learned Divine (5), who considered it only occasionally, and in conjunction with abundance of pieces of the same kind. A learned Foreigner has given this piece a place in his catalogue of rare books (6), but at the same time has branded it with the odious title of an atheistical piece, deservedly prohibited, and from him another foreign writer (7) has copied; so that very probably this opinion will be effectually spread in Germany and the North, though few of the books themselves can be thought to have come thither, and so be presumed to have received sentence after a fair hearing.

(5) Nicholls's Conference with a Theist, Vol. II. Part v.

(6) Bibliothec. Uffenbach. Tom. I. p. 765.

(7) Johan Vogt. Catalog. Histor. Critic. Libror. Rarior. p. 125.

[*C*] *Who would readily receive his instructions*]. In this epistle to Mr Hobbs there occur some very singular passages, which having relation to our author's sentiments, and to various particulars in his private life, seemed to require some notice here. It is very evident from the words of this epistle, that Mr Blount wrote it by the direction of his father Sir Henry Blount, whose notions therefore rather than his own it contained (8). The design of this Epistle is to compliment Mr Hobbs upon his Treatise on Heresy, which by the favour of Mr Crooke the Bookseller, and no doubt by the permission of Mr Hobbs himself, they had seen in manuscript. But from the contents of this piece it is easy to discern, that it was calculated to shew Mr Hobbs, that the arguments he had made use of in the treatise before-mentioned might be carried much farther in support of that doctrine, which was of so great consequence to the cause of Free-thinkers in general. The method by which this is attempted differs not much from that of Mr Hobbs, since it is built upon Ecclesiastical History as well as his; but the end here aimed at, is to shew that as Heresies were not always so fully refuted by Scripture and argument as those who wrote against them concluded; so in point of authority also they were not so clearly and universally condemned as the Church historians imagined. In support of this position there is a succinct account given of the disputes between the Arians and the Orthodox, whom Mr Blount stiles Trinitarians, with a view to prove, that as the decrees of General Councils were urged on both sides, it must follow from hence that General Councils might err, and consequently there was no competent judge in such controversies, even upon the grounds laid down by those writers who challenge an implicit obedience to the laws of the Church.

(8) Oracles of Reason, p. 97.

[*D*] *An air of sedition at least, if not of treason.*] The title of this extraordinary pamphlet at large runs thus. *An Appeal from the Country to the City for the preservation of his Majesty's person, liberty, property, and the Protestant religion* (9). It opens with a very strong panegyrick upon the city of London; in order to shew, that upon their conduct the safety of the whole nation depended: That the eyes of the people of England were upon them, and therefore it became them to justify by their behaviour, the indulgence shewn them by Providence in raising them to so great a height, and the confidence reposed in them by their fellow-subjects, who unanimously considered them as the champions of their liberty, by whose courage and conduct they must be preserved, or by whose timidity and ill-timed caution they must fall. The subsequent part of the work is divided into nine considerations, all written with great force and spirit, and perfectly well calculated to raise a strong spirit against the Papists, as well as to maintain the credit of the plot. The whole is interspersed with many curious remarks upon our own and foreign histories, very happily introduced, and very sensibly applied. There is great decency observed towards the King, who is represented as the sole bar to the designs of the Papists, as the succession of his brother the Duke of York is proved to be the basis and foundation of all their hopes. Take it altogether in point of method and matter, considering the scheme, upon which the author writ, the circumstances under which he wrote, and the dexterity with which he introduced topicks that at this time one would have thought no man who had any regard to his own safety, and had so considerable property to lose, would have ventured to mention; I say, taking in all these considerations, one may safely affirm that very few, if any one pamphlet in our language, is better wrote in every respect than this, more especially as it is short, comprehensive, and equally calculated for the use of learned, and of common readers.

(9) This is preserved in the second Volume of his Miscellaneous Works.

[*E*] *For this reason it is very much in esteem with the Deists.*] The title of it ran thus, *The two first books of* Philostratus *concerning the Life of* Apollonius Tyanæus, *written originally in Greek, with Philological Notes upon each Chapter.* This book, which is a thin folio, was published in 1680, and it was chiefly the notes that gave offence, said to have been taken from the manuscript writings of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury (10). This book has made much more noise abroad than at home, and has been treated as a work truly dangerous to the Christian religion. It is very strange that such as are persuaded of the truth of our religion, should be apprehensive of it's being in danger, from any works of this kind. Apollonius Tyanæus died *A. D.* 96, his disciple Philostratus it is confessed, wrote his life with a view to hurt the Christian religion, and perhaps the translation was made with the same view; but what then, does it follow that this book, or this translation, must necessarily answer the end with which they were written? Those who think so, must believe the Christian religion to be false, for otherwise they will be in no pain about it. The providence of God shewed itself in the establishment of the Christian religion in spite of all opposition. The folly of men is shewn, in apprehending that what has been once proved true, should be in danger by being brought to a new trial. It must indeed be confessed, that such books may do a great deal of mischief, but the question is, Whether suppressing them will prove the means of preventing this mischief? I must own, I think not; and that it is much better to answer them, which, for any thing that appears to the contrary, is not so hard a thing to be done. Those who are proper judges of such questions, will then see on which side the truth lies; those who are not proper judges must read such books at their peril, if their curiosity leads them to run the hazard. But I am persuaded it will be found, that none cry out so loud against such books, and magnify so much the mischief they are capable

(10) Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary in the remark [*I*] on the article APOLLONIUS. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. Vol. IV. lib. ii. cap. 24. p. 46.

that came abroad, have also contributed to raise it's reputation, by placing it in the lists of those that are extremely rare [*F*]. In the same year he published his DIANA *of the* EPHESIANS, which, as the author foresaw, raised a new clamour, many suggesting that, under colour of exposing superstition, he struck at all Revelation, and while he avowed only a contempt of the Heathen, seemed to intimate no great affection for the Christian priesthood (*b*). The truth is, there cannot well be a more suspicious book [*G*]. The wit, learning, and zeal of our author, had, by this time, raised him to be the chief of his sect; and he took a great deal of pains to propagate and defend his opinions in his discourses and familiar letters, as well as by his books. But it seems he had not always the same sense in regard to these speculations, since we find him owning, in a letter to Dr Sydenham, that in point of practice, Deism was less satisfactory than the Christian scheme (*i*) [*H*]. The noise his former pieces had made, induced him to conceal, industriously, his being the author of a book, intituled, *Religio Laici*, published in 1683 (*k*); and one may reasonably suppose, that the same motives prevailed on him to drop a design, in which it appears he was once engaged, of writing the Life of *Mohammed*, the Turkish Prophet, which however has been since executed, in his manner, by a French author (*l*). That the world might perceive Mr Blount was capable of turning his thoughts to subjects very different from those he had hitherto handled, he, in 1684, published a kind of introduction to polite literature (*m*), which shewed the extent of his knowledge, and the perfect acquaintance he had in the several branches of Philosophy and Science [*I*]. He concurred heartily in the Revolution,

(*b*) See the Preface to this Tract, in the second Volume of Blount's Miscellaneous Works.

(*i*) Oracles of Reason, p. 87.

(*k*) Post Boy robbed of his Mail, Vol. II. p. 472.

(*l*) The Life of Mohammed, by M. de Boulainvilliers.

(*m*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

capable of doing, as those who are really on that side the question, and are therefore prejudiced in favour of the champion, whose strength they seem to apprehend capable of such mighty feats.

[*F*] *By placing it in the lists of those that are extreamly rare.*] It is said to have been prohibited in 1693, and perhaps there were but a few copies of it came abroad at the time it was published, which has given occasion to some authors to put it into their catalogues of scarce books (11), which is another method of raising the credit of such performances, by suggesting on the one hand, that great pains have been taken to destroy such works; and that on the other hand, such as came abroad were eagerly bought up: In the present case neither of these can be strictly said to have any truth, for the book is publickly enough sold, and though not very common, is not either very scarce or very dear. It is requisite to take notice of this, that if our work should be printed abroad, foreigners may be undeceived in their notions on this head, and avoid publishing for the future such groundless stories as they have done upon this subject, for want of due information.

(11) Bibliothec. Uffenbach. Tom. I. p. 765, 768. Vogt. Catal. Histor. Crit. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

[*G*] *There could not be well a more suspicious book.*] The title of this treatise at large runs thus (12), *Great is* DIANA *of the* EPHESIANS; or, *The Original of Idolatry, together with the Political Institution of the Gentiles Sacrifices.* With these two Latin verses by way of motto, and at the same time to serve by way of key to the ensuing discourse, viz.

(12) This small Piece is also to be found in the second Volume of Blount's Miscellaneous Works.

Cum scis ipse, nocens, moritur cur victima pro te?
Stultitia est morte alterius sperare salutem.

That is,

Knowing thy guilt, why take the victim's breath,
Or hope for safety from another's death?

This short treatise is written with great bitterness against priestcraft; and though the author pretends to point out the impositions only of Heathen priests, and consequently to attack the truth only of the religions taught by them; yet it is very easy to see, that some other priests are aimed at. After all, it may be doubted, whether this performance of our author was intended against the Gospel system, or against that mixture of priestcraft which had been blended therewith. One would incline to think the latter, from the following passage in our author's preface, which might likewise tempt one to think he had in some measure changed his opinion of Apollonius Tyanæus. 'Such, says he, 'after exposing the follies of Paganism, were the mysteries of the Heathenish religions, and what I have 'here written concerns them only; for when Christ 'came into the world he delivered a doctrine so pious, 'just, and necessary, that (even in it's infancy) it's own 'merits supported it, without the assistances of princes 'or grandees. What is more reasonable than to forbear those lusts which will ruin us both here and 'hereafter, or who but a madman would condemn 'that law for unjust, which prohibits him from murdering himself? and Christ doth no more. Now if 'the law be good, what must the lawgiver be? For 'such as the fruit is, such must the tree be also. Some 'have even among the Heathens been reported to have 'wrought miracles, as Apollonius Tyanæus; others 'have delivered good doctrines, as Plato, Seneca, 'Epictetus, &c. but what one man ever did both to 'that perfection as Christ did? Many in all religions 'have died to justify their own opinions; but who, 'except the primitive Christians, ever died to justify 'the truth of miracles, which they beheld with their 'own eyes; but this is unnecessary, for that I write 'not to Heathens but Christians.'

[*H*] *Was less satisfactory than the Christian scheme.*] It is generally supposed that our author wrote a short treatise in defence of Deism, under the title of *a Summary Account of the Deists Religion* (13), for the sight of which, Dr Sydenham had applied to him, and which our author sent him, together with this letter which is dated from Rolleston, May 14, 1686; and as it is very short, we will give it the reader, because it seems to afford a new proof of what has been hinted in the former note, *viz.* That Mr Blount had in some measure changed his sentiments, and begun to entertain more favourable notions than formerly of the Christian religion.

(13) Published in the Oracles of Reason, p. 88.

SIR,

'THE last time I had the happiness of your 'company, it was your request that I would 'help you to a sight of the Deists Arguments, which 'I told you I had sometimes by me, but then had 'lent them out; they are returned me again, and 'according to my promise, I have herewith sent them 'to you, whereby you'll only find that human reason, 'like a pitcher with two ears, may be taken on either 'side. However, undoubtedly in our travels to the 'other world, the common road is the safest; and 'though Deism is a good manuring of a man's conscience, yet certainly if sowed with Christianity it 'will produce the most profitable crop. Pardon the 'haste of,

'SIR,

'Your most obliged friend,

'and faithful servant,

'C. BLOUNT.

[*I*] *The several branches of Philosophy and Science.*] The title of this work of our author's runs thus. JANUA SCIENTIARUM; or, *An Introduction to Geography, Chronology, Government, History, Philosophy, and all genteel sorts of Learning* (14). Our author calls this very modestly an Introduction; and it is evident enough from his plan, that he thought it very practicable to make young men of tolerable parts by reasonable application, masters of the most useful parts of

(14) London, 1684, 8vo.

Revolution, and seems to have had very honest intentions of punishing those who were King James's evil counsellors, after the government was re-settled, by declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen (n) [K]. He gave another strong testimony of his sincere attachment to his principles, and inviolable love to freedom, by a nervous defence of the liberty of the press; wherein he shews that all restraints thereon, can have no other tendency than to establish superstition and tyranny, by abasing the spirits of mankind, and injuring the human understanding (o). This little piece, therefore, has been always esteemed one of the best he ever wrote; and has furnished their strongest arguments to many succeeding writers [L]. The warmth of Mr Blount's temper, his great affection for King William, and his earnest desire to see certain favourite projects brought about, led him to write a pamphlet, in which he asserted King William and Queen Mary to be conquerors, which was not well relished by the House of Commons (p) [M]. We

(n) See this explained in note [K].

(o) This short Tract is preserved amongst the rest of Mr Blount's performances in the Work before-mentioned.

(p) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 657.

of learning, without obliging them to run through so tedious and so troublesome a course, as that which they are generally compelled to in the schools, and which, instead of inclining them to the pursuit of knowledge, gives them very frequently a disgust to it. We may see from this performance that our author had the true spirit of his family, and was desirous of promoting useful and polite Literature, though he was an enemy, as well as his father Sir Henry, and his brother Sir Thomas, to whatever had the least tincture of superstition or pedantry.

[K] *The Prince and Princess of Orange, King and Queen.*] This is no more than a letter to Sir W. L. G. that is, Sir William Leveson Gower, Baronet, concerning the regulations of Corporatiens, and surrenders of Charters in the year 1691 (15). It seems there was then a design to call those people to an account who had been concerned in the garbling Corporations during the two last reigns, and the reason that Mr Blount applied himself to this gentleman was, his serving for the borough of Newcastle Under-line in Staffordshire. We perceive in this short piece that Mr Blount was truly a patriot, and that he thought no pretences, interests, or connections, ought to screen such as had been concerned in schemes for ruining the free choice and independency of Parliaments. He lays it down, that Parliaments are the excellency of our constitution as they are representatives of the people, but that when they cease to be representatives they lose their excellency, and cease to be Parliaments; so that if it be treason to endeavour the deposing a King who has a legal title, and is owned by Parliament, it is a crime of as a high nature, if not an higher, to aim at the subversion of Parliaments, by so practising upon them, as that they shall become no longer representatives of the people. He therefore presses, that for the sake of justice, for the sake of that generation, but more especially for the sake of posterity, the persons engaged in these iniquitous practices should be punished in the most exemplary manner. But the gentleman to whom he wrote dying very soon after, and the Government not caring to come to extremities with those who had been deepest in those measures, that affair dropped; but our author's epistle remains a full proof of what the sentiments were of the disinterested patriots of those times as to this affair, which they apprehended to be attempting the subversion of the Constitution.

(15) This piece is inserted in the Oracles of Reason, p. 174.

[L] *Strongest arguments to many succeeding writers.*] This treatise in defence of the liberty of the Press (16), as it was one of the best, so it was also one of our author's most successful performances. It was written at a very critical time, that is, when the Act of Parliament for restraining the liberty of the Press, and permitting nothing to be published without the Imprimatur of a licenser was just expiring, and the design was to prevent that Act from being renewed, and therefore it was addressed to the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled. It is digested into nine sections, each of which contains a distinct argument against the invasion of that liberty, which, as he observes, is the foundation, and, at the same time, the security, of all other kinds of liberty; for this being the power of speaking truth, and of publishing it with respect to persons and things in general, it follows, that while a people are in possession of this liberty, the rest are in a great measure safe; but if this is once weakened or taken away, it is impossible to say how soon the rest may follow. His advice in this respect, supported by the reason of the thing, and the general voice of the people, had a proper effect; that pernicious Act was suffered to expire, and the Press was set free, to the inexpressible benefit of this nation.

(16) The title is, *A just Vindication of Learning, and of the Liberty of the Press*, by *Charles Blount*, Esq; It is the last piece in the second Volume of his Miscellaneous Works.

[M] *Which was not well relished by the House of Commons.*] The title of this very singular and remarkable piece at large runs thus (17). *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors*; or, *A Discourse endeavouring to prove, that their Majesties have, on their side against the late King, the principal reasons that make Conquest a good title: Shewing also, how this is consistent with that Declaration of Parliament, King James abdicated the Government, &c. Written with an especial regard to such as have hitherto refused the oath, and yet allow of the title of Conquest when consequent to a just war.* This piece is now become very scarce, and, which is more extraordinary, is hardly remembered, though a very well written, and certainly as well intended a work as ever came from the Press. There is a long and excellent Preface before it, which because it is long we will not transcribe; but there is so much good sense, good nature, and true patriotism, visible in the last paragraph of this discourse, that the reader will certainly not think his time mis-spent in reading it. 'I shall now, says he, leave what I have 'written to the reader's sober thoughts, repeating 'my request, that he would consider maturely, and 'judge impartially. I know some will be apt to say, 'there is no occasion for so much caution to Protestants, whose interest may be supposed to be a 'byass on the side I write for, and not against it. But 'to such I observe, that a fancied reputation of extraordinary loyalty, scorn to change an opinion that 'a man has pleaded for, suffered for, and, perhaps, 'written for, having espoused a party and been considerable on that account, and imbittered against the 'contrary side. These and some other circumstances, 'do many times with some tempers out-balance even 'interest itself, and turn the scale of men's judgments 'against it. And of this I am so fully persuaded, that 'I cannot but fear worse effects from these, and such 'like prejudices, than from any thing that can be objected against what I have said. The God of light 'and love open our understandings, govern our wills, 'cool our heats, and temper all our affections, so as 'we may see and embrace *the things that belong unto 'our peace, before they be hid from our eyes.*' But the title of this performance giving many people offence, it met with a very severe censure, which probably gave great uneasiness to it's author, whose last work it was. A Right Reverend author relates the whole transaction thus (18). '*January* the 21st, a complaint having 'been made to the House of Commons of a printed 'pamphlet, intitled, *King* William *and Queen* Mary '*Conquerors*, as containing assertions of dangerous consequence to their Majesties, to the liberties of the 'subjects, and peace of the kingdom. The House, 'upon examination of the matter, ordered the same 'pamphlet to be burnt by the hands of the common 'hangman, and that his Majesty be desired to remove 'Mr *Edmund Bohun* the licenser from his employment, 'for having allowed the same to be printed. In this 'debate it was suggested, that Dr *Burnet*, Bishop of '*Sarum*, had recommended this notion of Conquest in 'his Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of his diocese, tho' 'he had done it only upon a favourable supposition, 'not in a way of assertion. However, the majority, 'in the warmth of debating, and some of them for 'the sake of allusion to the author's name, passed the 'same censure on that excellent Letter, and ordered it 'to be publickly burnt by the common executioner. 'On *January* the 24th, the Lords came to the like resolution,

(17) London: Printed for Richard Baldwin in Warwick Lane, 4to, 1693.

(18) Kennet's Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 657.

We now draw towards the close of his life; and it would give us great satisfaction, if we could draw a veil over his death; but the regard we owe to truth, and to the publick, will not permit. After the death of his wife, he became enamoured of her sister, who we are told was a Lady of great beauty, wit, good humour, virtue, and discretion, who is said not to have been insensible on her side, but scrupulous only as to the lawfulness of the thing he proposed, viz. marrying her after her sister (r). Our author wrote a letter on this subject, wherein he states the case as of a third person, and treats it with great learning and address. It is also said, that he applied himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Divines, who having decided against his opinion, and the Lady thereupon growing inflexible, it threw him into a fit of despair, which ended in a frenzy, so that he shot himself in the head, which brought him to his grave (s). The wound, however, did not prove immediately mortal, he lived after it some days; and retaining still his passion for that Lady, he would receive nothing but from her hands, so long as he preserved life (t). He died in the month of August, 1693, and was interred with his family in the church of Ridge in Hertfordshire (u). Mr Bayle, who mentions this fact in his article of Apollonius Tyanaeus, is mistaken in several circumstances (w) [N]. After Mr Blount's decease, abundance of his private letters were published, in a work called *The Oracles of Reason*, compiled by one Mr Gildon, who in his preface, gives some account of our author, in a letter addressed to a Lady, wherein he defends Mr Blount's manner of dying, and threatens to follow his example, but he lived to change his opinions afterwards (x). These *Oracles of Reason* were afterwards printed with several of our author's pieces, under the title of *The Miscellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Esq*; [O]. As to his character, he was certainly a man of sense and learning; had a faculty of writing with much seeming strength, where his arguments were not very cogent. His early dislike to superstition, hurried him into dangerous mistakes, and inclined him to believe all Revealed Religion priestcraft, because he saw plainly that some priests made a trade of religion. However, if any credit be due to his writings, (and sincerity seems to have been rooted in his temper) he was certainly a Deist; and therefore such foreigners as have set him down in their catalogues of Atheists (y), both injure his memory, and betray their own

(r) Histoire des Ouvrages de Scavans, Tom. X. p. 135.

(s) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(t) Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Vol. XXIII. p. 402.

(u) The English Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 670.

(w) See the remark [I] on this article in his Dictionary.

(x) Under the name of *Lindamour*, and the person to whom they are addressed is stiled *Hermoine*.

(y) Reimanni Histor. Atheism. Hild. 1725, 8vo, p. 451.

'solution, *That the assertion of King* William *and* Queen Mary*'s being King and Queen by Conquest, was highly injurious to their Majesties, and inconsistent with the principles on which this Government is founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people*; which vote being communicated to the Commons, that House on the next day unanimously concurred with their Lordships, with the remarkable addition of some words, viz. *Injurious to their Majesties rightful title to the crown of this realm.*'

[N] *Is mistaken in several circumstances.*] It is certain that Mr Bayle was generally speaking very accurate in his accounts, but in this very short story of our author he has made several mistakes (19), and these are the more extraordinary, because he quotes another foreign author, in whose works there are no such mistakes. He says, *that Mr* Blount *was violently in love with his brother's widow*, whereas the passion that was fatal to Mr Blount was for his wife's sister. Mr Bayle tells us next, *that he pretended he might marry her without incest, and that he wrote a book to prove this*, which is another mistake grounded upon the former, though it is true that he did write a short discourse, to shew the lawfulness of marrying two sisters successively. Dr Bernard delivers himself very correctly (20); he gives us an account of the Oracles of Reason, and sets down their contents exactly. He observes, that among these treatises, the eleventh upon the lawfulness of marrying two sisters successively, did not relate to a subject indifferent of the author. It was not, says he, a simple question of Theory, for, to it, if I may so speak, he died a martyr. He observes, that he applied himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Divines upon this subject, and sets down other particulars mentioned in the text, which shews he was very well informed; yet other foreign writers have not only copied the mistakes of Mr Bayle, but have augmented them very considerably; as for instance Reimannus (21), who is pleased, instead of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to give us the Archbishop of Cambridge, and doubts whether his disasterous end was owing to disappointment in love or in fortune. This is literally copied by another writer, who takes the Archbishop of Cambridge without the least hesitation (22). Some very late editions of Moreri (23) follow Bayle exactly, and are therefore no more in the wrong than he. This shews the importance and utility of a work of this nature, as well as the impossibility that foreigners should be able to form a true judgment of the merit of English authors, whose works they very seldom see, and the very titles of which they sometimes misapprehend, notwithstanding which their errors are so spread, that throughout the greatest part of Europe things pass for undoubted facts which are known here to be downright falshoods.

(19) See the Remark [I] on the article of APOLLONIUS (TYANAEUS).

(20) Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans, Tom. X. p. 135, 136.

(21) Hist. Univ. Atheism. & Atheor. p. 450, 451.

(22) Vogt. Catal. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

(23) See the article of BLOUNT, in the edition of Moreri printed at Basle in 1731.

[O] *Title of The Miscellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Esq*;] We must in this note observe to the reader, that the *Oracles of Reason* were printed in a small volume by themselves, in 1693, in the life-time of Mr Blount, with a preface before them, subscribed C. Gildon. There is some reason to suspect, that this collection of small tracts were sent abroad for the sake of that which concerns the marriage of two sisters successively. This is subscribed by Mr Blount; but he states the case as of a third person, whom he calls Tourismond, and the Lady Eugenia. His epistle is dated from Burton in Staffordshire, March the 8th, 1693; and of all the treatises in that collection, this seems to have been written with the greatest care and circumspection, with a great seeming spirit of candour, and as much learning as could be shewn upon the subject. But these, however, are not the sole reasons that induce me to think the *Oracles of Reason* were made publick, that this might appear amongst them: The preface seems to speak the same thing; and Mr Gildon labours very hard in adding new arguments on the side of his friend; but it seems they did him no service, and indeed they are very much inferior to those of Mr Blount, which are such as shew him to have been a man of great reading and profound learning. There are besides, in these *Oracles of Reason*, several other pieces of our author, besides those already mentioned, particularly his letters to a Nobleman, under the name of *Strephon*; and one to Mr Gildon, with a translation of *Ocellus Lucanus*, and a translation and defence of the learned Dr Thomas Burnet's writings; which though first in the collection, were last written in point of time, as bearing date the twenty-third of March, 1693. After Mr Blount's death Mr Gildon thought fit to republish the *Oracles of Reason*, with the best of Mr Blount's writings, under the title of his *Miscellaneous Works*; to which he prefixed an account of the life and death of the author. These were printed in 1695, but they do not include the pamphlet beforementioned, of King William and Queen Mary's title by Conquest, on account of it's being censured by Parliament.

[P] *As*

own want of judgment, as the reader will see more at large in the notes [*P*]. He left a son, Henry Blount, Esq; who was a Lieutenant-Colonel, and several other children (*z*).

(*z*) The English Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 671.

[*P*] *As the reader will see more at large in the notes.*] We have already mentioned Reimannus, but it is necessary here to take notice, that in his Universal History of Atheism and Atheists, the eighth chapter is dedicated to the history of such as have flourished in England; and in the seventh section he speaks of Mr Blount (24). But he does not pretend to have seen his writings, of which he mentions only his translation of the life of Apollonius Tyanæus, and the Oracles of Reason, and cites for his authorities, Bernard, Bayle, and Fabricius. He calls him, however, in express terms, an Atheist, without assigning any reason; and indeed, if he had seen his books, he must have been satisfied that he was very far from being so; but, however, he has placed him in very good company, since in the same chapter he sets down Dr Glisson, Lord Herbert, Dr Connor, Mr Collins, and Dr Garth, as Atheists; and mentions also Sir Thomas Browne, Mr Locke, Dr Clarke, Dr Cudworth, and Dr Grew, as suspected of the same opinions, though he is so kind as to acquit them. Upon the credit of this author, whose account of Mr Blount is entirely transcribed by him, the Reverend Mr Vogt, pastor of the cathedral church of Bremen, gives him the like character (25), and his writings are stamped with the title of Atheistical, by several other foreign authors, who, perhaps, had never seen them. It is inconceivable how these and other writers take upon them to treat, not only Mr Blount, but many other persons of great learning, unspotted characters, and unsuspected piety, in very harsh terms, on the slightest pretences, and without having any better notions of what they found their judgments upon, than are derived from extracts out of their writings, made by such as very indifferently understand them; or, perhaps, characters given of them and their writings by their declared adversaries, which, in a country like ours, where party-prejudices generally run high, are not to be depended upon. But the great mischief of all is, they become authorities to each other: and after the scandal is once published, either in Germany or Holland, it is, in the space of a few years, disseminated as undoubted truth over all Europe. E

(24) Histor. univ. Atheismi & Atheorum, p. 450, 451.

(25) Catal. Lib. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

BOADICEA (*a*), a famous British Queen (in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero) whose story is related by Tacitus (*b*), and Dion Cassius (*c*). She was widow of Prasutagus, King of the *Iceni*, and, having suffered the most barbarous indignities from the Romans [*A*], she excited the Britons to a revolt [*B*]. Accordingly, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand, with Boadicea at their head, they attacked the Roman colony at *Camalodunum*, and slaughtered seventy or eighty thousand Romans, committing the most shocking and unheard-of cruelties [*C*]. But Suetonius Paulinus marching

(*a*) Or Bonduca, or Boudicea, or Baudaica, or Bounduica, or Boduo, or Voadica.

(*b*) Annal. l. xiv. c. 31—37.

(*c*) Hist. Rom. l. lxii. typ. Wechel. 1606. p. 700—706.

[*A*] *She suffered the most barbarous indignities from the Romans.*] Her husband, Prasutagus, in hopes to secure the protection of the Romans to his kingdom and family, had by his Will, made the Emperor and his own daughter coheirs of his great treasures: but it happened quite contrary to his expectations; for his kingdom and treasures became thereby a prey to the Roman officers, who proceeded to such a pitch of brutality, as to order his Queen Boadicea to be publickly whipped, and the two Princesses, his daughters, to be ravished by the soldiers. *Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Cæsarem hæredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnum et domum suam procul injuria fore: quod contra vertit; adeo ut regnum per Centuriones, domus per servos, velut capta vastarentur. Jam primum, uxor ejus Boadicea verberibus affecta, et filiæ stupro violatæ sunt* (1). Dion Cassius, who is thought to have paraphrased upon Tacitus in this story, makes no mention, however, of these personal injuries offered to Boadicea and her daughters. But, as the author cited in the margin (2) justly observes, Tacitus, in relating the cruelties and injustices that Queen suffered, *is worthy of belief against his own nation.*

(1) Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 31.

(2) Mr Bolton in his *Nero Cæsar, or Monarchie depraved, an Historical Work.* London, 1624, fol. ch. xxv. p. 100.

[*B*] *She excited the Britons to a revolt.*] Dion Cassius (3) has given us a long speech, which, he tells us, she made upon her first assembling the Britons together, in order to animate them to take up arms against the Romans. She begins with observing, 'that they could not but be convinced how much liberty was preferable to slavery, and how much they were deceived by the fair promises of the Romans, in preferring a foreign government to the laws and manners of their own country, having sustained all manner of calamities since the Romans entered Britain.' And she owns, 'that the Britons themselves had been the authors of their own misfortunes, by suffering the Romans at first to settle in the island.' The historian places her on a rising ground, dressed in a loose-bodied gown, with a spear in her hand, and a hare in her bosom, which, at the end of her harangue, she lets slip among them, as an omen of success. The author, referred to in the last remark (4), highly extols Boadicea's speech, as well worthy of that historian's eloquence, and the wit of a Greek, *who*, he says, *was so greatly delighted with the wonder and worth of this argument, that he seems to have made the exquisite handling thereof his master-piece. For*, he adds, *there is not any thing of that bright author extant, upon which he can be thought to have dealt with greater care or endeavour than upon his Bunduca's story.* But Mr Milton, after briefly relating the circumstances given us by the Greek historian upon this occasion, passes a general censure upon this and the like narrations. 'This they do, *says he* (5), out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out their history with the strangeness of our manners; not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of barbarism, as if in Britain women were men, and men women. I affect not set speeches in a history, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they were written; nor then, unless worth recital. And to invent such, though eloquently, as some historians have done, is an abuse of posterity, raising in them that read other conceptions of those times and persons than were true.' By the way, this author is mistaken in placing this speech immediately before the last battle between Boadicea and the Romans (6); as is M. de Rapin Thoyras, who (7) places the artifice of letting slip the hare immediately after her speech before that last battle. Besides the injuries offered to the family of King Prasutagus, the Britons had other causes of discontent. The Roman Veterans, being newly planted in the colony of *Camalodunum*, had driven the inhabitants from their houses, dispossessed them of their lands, and treated them as slaves and captives; and, moreover, the temple, lately built in honour of the Emperor Claudius, seemed to them the foundation of a perpetual tyranny. And, as the Britons were animated with the hope of recovering their liberty, the Romans were discouraged by various omens; for the statue of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down, without any apparent cause, strange noises were heard in the Court and Theatre, the sea looked bloody, and several enthusiastic women foretold the subversion of that colony (8).

(3) Histor. Rom. l. lxii typ. Wechel. 1606, p. 701.

(4) Mr Bolton, ubi supra.

(5) History of England, B. ii. In the Complete History of England, Vol. I. p. 18.

(6) See the remark [*D*].

(7) Hist. d'Angleterre, liv. i.

(8) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 31, 32.

[*C*] *The Britons committed the most shocking and unheard-of cruelties.*] Tacitus (9) only relates in general, that they gave no quarter, but destroyed their enemies by sword, gallows, fire, and crucifixion. *Neque enim capere aut venundare, aliudve quod belli commercium, sed cædes, patibula, ignes, cruces, tanquam reddituri supplicium, ac prærepta interim ultione, festinabant.* But Dion Cassius (10) has particularized some of their cruelties upon this occasion. The men, he tells us, had their bowels cut out; and some of them were gored

(9) Ibid. c. 33.

(10) Ubi supra.

marching against them with about ten thousand men, a bloody battle ensued [*D*], in which eighty thousand Britons were slain, and the Romans gained the victory, with a very inconsiderable loss. This battle was fought in the year of Christ 61, of Nero 8. Some have thought it was fought on Salisbury-Plain, and that *Stonehenge* was erected as a monument to Boadicea [*E*]. This valiant Queen, whose person we shall give a description of in the remark [*F*], dispatched herself by poison, or died by sickness, soon after.

gored upon stakes, and others boiled to death. The most noble and honourable of the British ladies were stripped naked; their paps sliced off, and stitched to their mouths that they might seem feeding; and lastly were staked through their bodies.

[*D*] *A bloody battle ensued.*] The Britons brought their wives and children into the field in waggons, to be spectators of the fight, and share with them in the victory. Boadicea, with her daughters by her side, in her chariot, rode from rank to rank, animating and encouraging the several nations. She told them, 'this was not the first time the Britons had been victorious under the conduct of their Queens; but that, upon this occasion, she considered not her royal descent, nor the loss of her riches and grandeur, but was come as a private woman to revenge the loss of liberty, the stripes inflicted upon her own body, and the violation of her daughters chastity; that neither age, sex, nor quality, could escape the unbounded lust of the Romans; however, that the Gods had already begun to make them feel the punishments they deserved, in the entire defeat of one of their legions, and the terror which had seized the rest; that, far from sustaining the efforts of a victorious army, they were not able to endure even the shouts of so great a multitude; that, if the Britons did but consider their own strength, and the causes of the war, they would be convinced they must either conquer or die; that, for her own part, though a woman, this was her resolution; the men might live if they pleased, and be slaves.' *Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bellare testabatur; sed tunc non ut tantis majoribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo, libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci; eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne senectam quidem, aut virginitatem impollutam relinquant: Adesse tamen Deos justæ vindictæ; cecidisse legionem, quæ prælium ausa sit; cæteros castris occultari, aut fugam circumspicere; ne strepitum quidem et clamorem tot millium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos; si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent, vincendum illa acie,' vel cadendum esse; id mulieri destinatum; viverent viri et servirent* (11). Mr Milton, upon this occasion, is as much displeased with the Roman as the Greek historian (12). 'A woman also, *says he* (13), was their Commander in chief; for Boadicea and her daughters rid about in a chariot, telling the tall champions, as a great encouragement, that with the Britons it was usual for women to be their leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lashed, how her daughters were handled; things worthier silence, retirement, and a veil, than for a woman to repeat, as done to her person, or to hear repeated before an host of men.' The reader, we believe, will join with us in opinion, that this ingenious writer has pushed his censure of Tacitus too far; for what is there of immodest or indecent in the terms made use of by that writer, *Confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam?* And could she have used a topick more likely to inflame the Britons to a desire of revenge, than the contemptuous treatment, and personal insults, she, their Queen, and her children, had met with at the hands of the Romans? Besides, it seems a piece of false delicacy, to think the mention of such acts improper from a woman to men, under such extraordinary circumstances as Boadicea and the Britons were then in. But to return: while Boadicea was endeavouring to inspire courage into the Britons, Paulinus, though assured of the valour of his troops, exhorted them to dispise the threats and cries of the Barbarians. He represented to them, 'that among the enemy there were more women than warriors; and that the greatest part of them, being without arms and without strength, would betake themselves to flight upon the first attack; that in the best armies the decision of the day depended upon a few; and that their glory would be so much the greater, as it was shared among fewer.' He exhorted them to keep their ranks close, and to have recourse to their swords, after they had flung their javelins; in fine, not to amuse themselves about plunder, which the conquerors could not fail of. This harangue being received with loud acclamations, the Roman General ordered the charge to be sounded. While the fight continued at a distance, the Britons thought to terrify their enemies by the superiority of their numbers; but when they perceived the legions advancing sword in hand, and with a dauntless countenance, they fell into the utmost disorder, and betook themselves to flight. But the waggons, in which they had placed their wives and children, intercepting most of them, a dreadful slaughter ensued, and the Britons suffered a total defeat (14).

(11) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 35.

(12) See the remark [*B*].

(13) History of England, ubi supra.

(14) Tacit. ibid. c. 36, 37.

[*E*] *Some have thought —— that Stonehenge on Salisbury-Plain was erected as a monument to Boadicea.*] This is particularly the opinion of Mr Bolton, who thinks no other tomb so likely to be her's, as that admirable monument of stones. 'The dumbness of it, *says he* (15), (unless the letters be worn quite away) speaks, that it was not any work of the Romans, for they were wont to make stones vocal by inscriptions. The common opinion touching that *Trophea*, or whatsoever else it may be called, would have it believed, that their structure was contrived in memory of the Britain Lords perfidiously murthered by the Saxons here upon an interview. Of that heinous assassinate Nennius hath a touch, but assigns not the place. Geoffrey Arthur or Monmouth is the man, who fetches these merveilous stones (reported by him to be medicinal) from out of Ireland, for the purpose of a memorial, by Merlin's counsel and force of arms. —— That *Stonage* (*Stonehenge*) was a work of the Britons, the rudeness itself persuades. And if that plate of mixed metal, mentioned by Camden, which was found about fourscore years since near to that monument, and inscribed with such characters as were not legible to the learned of that time, did appertain to *Stonage*, then may it easily be credited to have been some old British inscription, dedicated to the immortal fame of some or other great worthy, nor of any rather than, in my conceit, of the most mighty Bunduca. —— The bones of men, digged up at times near this place under little banks, convince it to have been sepulchral; but armours of a large and antique fashion, upon which the spade or pick-ax are sometimes said to hit, do clear the owners from having been in the number of those Britons, whom Pagan Hengist wickedly slew; for they came not armed, but weaponless.'

(15) Nero Cæsar, or Monarchie depraved, c. 25. p. 181.

[*F*] *A description of her person.*] We shall give it in the words of Mr Bolton, who copies it from Dion Cassius. 'Boadicea's body, *says he* (16), was big and burly, or rather huge; which some, translating the Greek into Latin, not thinking to be a fit parcel in the bill of a lady's praise, have turned tall. Her face, naturally good, and full of dignity, was of purpose set to the quality of the present service, after a most severe and serious manner; which moved famous Dio to hang (βλοσυρωτάτη) an epithet of such an ambiguous sense, upon her countenance, as like a double picture represents her diversly to diverse understandings, excellently comely, or incomparably terrible. Her complexion very fair, which who will wonder at in a Lady born in Britain? her copious tresses dangling in compasse farre beneath her waste were of most bright yellow. And though by her colour her constitution might seem to be cold, yet her doings declared, that choler had the mastery in her, even unto deceit and adustion. Her looks most eager, sharp and piercing; an argument perhaps, that her eyes were disproportionably small; and that was a sign, if artists err not, of fraud and cruelty. Nature, finally, to make the consort of her properties complete, furnished her with an alarum-bell for the country, and a deadly knell for thousands, a tongue as harsh and tolling, as herself was high and great. —— In Dio she doth not appear old or decayed, but a strong and perfect woman. Her picture hangs up there in such words, as shew the person of some martial bosse, or amazonian giantness.'

(16) Ibid. p. 101.

BODLEY (Sir THOMAS), from whom the *Bodleian* or Publick Library at Oxford takes it's name, was the eldest son of Mr John Bodley [*A*] of Exeter, and born in that city the second of March 1544. He was about twelve years of age, when his father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, settled with his family at Geneva [*B*], where he lived a voluntary exile during the reign of Queen Mary (*a*). In that university, then newly erected, young Mr Bodley applied himself to the study of the learned languages, and Divinity, under the most celebrated Professors [*C*]. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, he returned into England, with his father and family, who settled at London; and soon after he was sent to Magdalen-College in Oxford, under the tuition of Dr Humphreys, afterwards President of that society. In 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and the same year was chosen Probationer of Merton-college, and the year following admitted Fellow. In 1565, by persuasion of some of the Fellows, he undertook the publick reading of a Greek Lecture in the hall of that college (*b*) [*D*]. In 1566, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and that year, read Natural Philosophy in the publick schools. In 1569, he was elected one of the Proctors of the university; and after that, for a considerable time, supplied the place of University Orator. Hitherto Mr Bodley applied himself to the study of various faculties, without any inclination to profess any one more than the rest. In 1576, being desirous to improve himself in the modern languages, and to qualify himself for publick business, he began his travels, and spent near four years in visiting France, Germany, and Italy (*c*). Afterwards returning to his college, he applied himself to the study of History and Politicks. In 1583, he was made Gentleman-Usher to Queen Elizabeth; and, in 1585, married Anne, daughter of Mr Carew of Bristol, and widow of Mr Ball; a lady of a considerable fortune (*d*). Soon after, he was employed by Queen Elizabeth in several embassies, to Frederick King of Denmark, Julius Duke of Brunswick, William Landgrave of Hesse, and other German Princes, to engage them to join their forces with those of the English, for the assistance of the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France; and, having discharged that commission, he was sent to King Henry III, at the time when that Prince was forced by the Duke of Guise to quit Paris (*e*) [*E*]. In 1588, he was sent to the Hague, to manage the Queen's affairs in the United Provinces; where, according to an agreement between the Queen and the States, he was admitted one of the Council of State, and took his place next to Count Maurice, giving his vote in every proposition made to that Assembly (*f*). In this station he behaved greatly to the satisfaction of his Royal Mistress, and the advancement of the publick service [*F*]. After

(*a*) See *The Life of* Sir Tho. Bodley, *written by himself*, p. 1, 2. in the *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, &c. published by Mr T. Hearne, London, 1703, 8vo.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 3.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

(*e*) *Life*, &c. ubi supra, p. 4, 5.

(*f*) Ib. p. 6, 7.

[*A*] *Eldest son of Mr* John Bodley.] By his father's side he was descended from an antient family of the Bodleys, or Bodleighs, of Dunscomb near Crediton in Devonshire. His mother was Joan, daughter and heiress of Robert Hone, Esq; of Offery St Mary, nine miles from Exeter (1).

[*B*] *His father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, settled with his family at Geneva.*] 'My father, *says* Sir Thomas (2), in the time of 'Queen Mary, being noted and known to be an 'enemy to Popery, was so cruelly threatened, and so 'narrowly observed by those that maliced his religion, 'that, for the safeguard of himself and my mother, 'who was wholly affected as my father, he knew no 'way so secure as to fly into Germany; where after 'awhile he found means to call over my mother, with 'all his children and family, whom he settled for 'awhile at Wesel in Cleveland; (for there then 'were many English, which had left their country for 'their conscience, and with quietness enjoyed their 'meetings and preachings) and from thence we re'moved to the town of Franckford, where was in like 'sort another English congregation. Howbeit we 'made no long tarriance in either of these two towns, 'for that my father had resolved to fix his abode in the 'city of Geneva, where (as far as I remember) the 'English church consisted of some hundred persons.'

[*C*] *He studied under the most celebrated Professors.*] He frequented the publick lectures of Chevalerius in the Hebrew tongue, of Beroaldus in the Greek, and of Calvin and Beza in Divinity; besides his domestic teachers in the house of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous Physician of that city, with whom he boarded, where Robert Constantine, author of the Greek Lexicon, read Homer to him (3)

[*D*] *He undertook the public reading of a Greek lecture in the hall of Merton-college.*] He read this lecture for some time without expecting or requiring any stipend for it; but afterwards the society of their own accord allowed him a salary of four marks *per annum*, and from thenceforth continued the lecture to the college (4).

[*E*] *He was sent to King Henry* III, *at the time when that Prince was forced by the Duke of Guise to quit Paris.*] This commission, he tells us (5), he performed with extraordinary secrecy, not being accompanied by any one servant, (for so he was commanded) nor with any other letters than such as were written with the Queen's own hand to the King, and some select persons about him. 'The effect, *continues he*, of 'that message it is fit I should conceal; but it tended 'greatly to the advantage of all the Protestants in 'France, and to the Duke's apparent overthrow, 'which also followed soon upon it.' Mr Camden says nothing more of this embassy, than that Queen Elizabeth 'not only assisted the King of Navarre, 'when he was intangled in a dangerous and difficult 'war, with money and other military provisions, but 'sent over Sir Thomas Bodley to support or encourage 'the French King, when his affairs seemed to be in a 'very desperate condition (6).'

[*F*] *He behaved greatly to the satisfaction of his Royal mistress, and the advancement of the public service.*] 'During all that time (*says* Sir Thomas (7), '*speaking of his residence at the* Hague) what appro'bation was given of my painful endeavours by the 'Queen, Lords in England, by the States of the 'country there, and by all the English soldiery, I re'fer it to be notified by some other's relation, sith it 'was not unknown to any of any calling that then 'were acquainted with the state of that government. 'For at my first coming there, the people of that 'country stood in dangerous terms of discontentment, 'partly for some courses that were held in England, as 'they thought, to their singular prejudice; but most 'of all in respect of the insolent demeanour of some 'of her Highness's Ministers, which only respected 'their private emolument, little weighing in their 'dealing what the Queen had contracted with the 'States of the country; whereupon was conceived a 'mighty fear on every side, that both a present disso'lution of the covenant would ensue, and a down'right breach of amity, between us and them. Now 'what means I set a-foot for redress of these perils, 'and by what degrees the state of things was reduced 'into order, it would require a long treatise to report 'it exactly. But this I may aver with modesty and 'truth, and the country did always acknowledge it 'with

(1) *Life of* Sir T. B. *in the* Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, &c. p. 1. and Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

(2) *Life*, &c. ubi supra, p. 1, 2.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. p. 3.

(5) Ibid. p. 5.

(6) Annal. Eliz. Rer. *ad ann.* 1589.

(7) *Life*, &c. ubi supra, p. 6, 7.

After near five years residence in Holland, he obtained leave to return into England, to look after his private affairs; but was shortly after remanded back to the Hague. About a year after, he came into England again, to communicate some private discoveries to the Queen; and presently returned to the States for the executions of those councils he had secretly proposed. At length, having succeeded in all his negociations, he obtained his final re-call in 1597 (*g*). After his return, finding his advancement at Court obstructed (*g*) Ib. p. 7, 8. by the jealousies and intrigues of the great men, he retired from the Court and all publick business, and never could be prevailed with to return and accept of any new employment (*h*) [G]. The same year he set about the noble work of restoring, or rather founding (*h*) Ib. p. 8—13.

'with gratitude, that had I not of myself, without 'any direction from my superiors, proceeded in my 'charge with extreme circumspection, as well in all 'my speeches and proposals to the States, as in the 'tenour of my letters that I writ into England, some 'sudden alarm had been given to the utter subversion 'and ruin of the state of those Provinces, which in 'process of time must needs have wrought, in all 'probability, the same effect in the State of this 'realm. Of this my diligence and care in the ma'naging of my business, there was, as I have signi'fied, very special notice taken by the Queen and 'State at home, for I received from her Majesty 'many comfortable letters of her gracious acceptance; 'as withal from that time forward, I did never almost 'receive any set instructions how to govern my pro'ceedings in her Majesty's occasions, but the carriage 'in a manner of all her affairs was left to me and my 'discretion.' A more particular account of Sir Thomas's negotiations with the *States* may be seen in Mr Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, under the year 1595, and in a short piece, written by Sir Thomas himself, and published by Mr Thomas Hearne in his *notes* upon that passage of Camden, intitled, *An Account of an Agreement between Queen Elizabeth and the United Provinces, wherein she supported them, and they stood not to their Agreement.*

[G] *He retired from Court and all publick business, and never could be prevailed with to return and accept of any new employment.*] We shall enlarge upon this part of Sir Thomas's life in his own words. 'I can(8) Ibid. p. 8—13. 'not chuse, *says he* (8), in making report of the prin'cipal accidents that have befallen unto me in the 'course of my life, but record among the rest, that 'from the very first day I had no man more to friend, 'among the Lords of the Council, than was the Lord'Treasurer Burleigh; for when occasion had been of'fered of declaring his conceit, as touching my ser'vice, he would always tell the Queen (which I re'ceived from herself, and some other ear-witnesses) 'that there was not any man in England so meet as 'myself to undergo the office of the Secretary; and 'since, his son the present Lord-Treasurer had signi'fied unto me in private conference, that, when his 'father first intended to advance him to that place, his 'purpose was withal to make me his collegue. But 'the case stood thus in my behalf: Before such time 'as I returned from the *Provinces United*, which was 'in the year 1597, and likewise after my return, the 'Earl of Essex did use me so kindly both by letters 'and messages, and other great tokens of his inward 'favour to me, that although I had no meaning but 'to settle in my mind my chiefest dependance upon 'the Lord Burleigh, as one that I reputed to be both 'the best able, and therewithal the most willing, to 'work my advancement with the Queen; yet I know 'not how the Earl, who sought by all devices to di'vert her love and liking both from the father and the 'son, (but from the son in special) to withdraw my af'fection from the one and the other, and to win me 'altogether to depend upon himself, did so often take 'occasion to entertain the Queen with some prodigal 'speeches of my sufficiency for a Secretary, which 'were ever accompanied with words of disgrace against 'the present Lord-Treasurer, as neither she herself (of 'whose favour before I was thoroughly assured) took 'any great pleasure to prefer me the sooner; (for she 'hated his ambition, and would give little counte'nance to any of his followers) and both the Lord 'Burleigh and his son waxed jealous of my courses, as 'if underhand I had been induced, by the cunning 'and kindness of the Earl of Essex, to oppose myself 'against their dealings. And though in very truth 'they had no solid ground at all of the least alteration 'in my disposition towards either of them both, (for 'I did greatly respect their persons and places, with a 'settled resolution to do them any service, as also in 'my heart I detested to be of any faction whatsoever) 'yet the now Lord-Treasurer, upon occasion of some 'talk that I have since had with him of the Earl and 'his actions, hath freely confessed of his own accord 'to me, that his daily provocations were so bitter and 'sharp against him, and his comparisons so odious, 'when he put us in a ballance, as he thought there'upon, he had very great reason to use his best means 'to put any man out of love of raising his fortune, 'whom the Earl with such violence, to his extreme 'prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify. And this, 'as he affirmed, was all the motive he had to set him'self against me, in whatsoever might redound to the 'bettering of my state, or increasing my credit and 'countenance with the Queen. When I had tho'roughly now bethought me, first in the Earl, of the 'slender hold-fast he had in the Queen; of an endless 'opposition of the chiefest of our Statesmen like still 'to wait upon him; of his perilous, feeble, and un'certain advice, as well in his own, as in all the causes 'of his friends; and when moreover for myself I had 'fully considered how very untowardly these two coun'sellors were affected unto me, (upon whom before in 'cogitation I had framed all the fabric of my future 'prosperity) how ill it did concur with my natural dis'position, to become, or to be counted, a stickler or 'partaker in any publick faction; how well I was able 'by God's good blessing to live of myself, if I could 'be content with a competent livelihood; how short a 'time of farther life I was then to expect by the com'mon course of nature; when I had, I say, in this 'manner represented to my thoughts my particular 'estate, together with the Earl's, I resolved there'upon to possess my soul in peace all the residue of 'my days; to take my full farewel of State employ'ments; to satisfy my mind with that mediocrity of 'worldly living that I had of mine own; and so to 'retire me from the Court, which was the epilogue 'and end of all my actions, and endeavours of any 'important note, 'till I came to the age of sixty-three. 'Now although after this, by her Majesty's directions, 'I was often called to the Court by the now Lord'Treasurer, then Secretary, and required by him, as 'also divers times since, by order from the King, to 'serve as Embassador in France, to go a Commissioner 'from his Highness for concluding the truce between 'Spain and the *Provinces*, and to negotiate in other 'very honourable employments; yet I would not be 'removed from my former final resolutions; insomuch 'as at length to reduce me the sooner to return to the 'Court, I had an offer made me by the present Lord'Treasurer (for in process of time he saw, as he him'self was pleased to tell me more than once, that all 'my dealing was upright, fair, and direct) that in case 'I myself were willing unto it, he would make me 'his associate in the Secretary's office: And to the in'tent I might believe that he intended it *bona fide*, he 'would get me out of hand to be sworn of the Coun'cil. And for the better enabling of my state to 'maintain such a dignity, whatsoever I would ask that 'might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to en'joy, he would presently sollicit the King to give it 'passage. All which persuasions notwithstanding, al'beit I was often assaulted by him, in regard of my 'years, and for that I felt myself subject to many in'dispositions, besides some other reasons, which I re'serve unto myself, I have continued still at home my 'retired course of life, which is now methinks to me 'as the greatest preferment that the State can afford.' Mr Camden mentions the affair of Sir Thomas's disappointment in regard to the office of Secretary in these words: 'It raised in him (*the Earl of Essex*) 'a greater and more apparent discontent, that Sir Ro'bert

ing anew, the Publick Library at Oxford [*H*], which was completed in 1599 (*i*). After King

(*i*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 308. & l. ii. p. 50.

'bert Cecil was choſen Secretary in his abſence; 'whereas he had ſome time before recommended *Sir Thomas Bodley*, on the ſcorce of his great wiſdom and 'experience in the affairs of the *Low-Countries*, and 'had run very high in his commendations; but with 'ſo much bitterneſs, and ſo little reaſon, diſparaged 'Cecil, that the Queen (who had by this time a mean 'opinion of Eſſex's recommendations) was the more 'inclinable to refuſe to make Bodley Secretary; nei-'ther would ſhe let the Lord-Treaſurer join him in 'commiſſion with his ſon; both which honours were 'deſigned him, 'till Eſſex, by too profuſe and laviſh 'praiſes, had rendered him ſuſpected as a creature of 'his own (9).'

(9) Camden, ubi ſupra, ad ann. 1596.

[*H*] *He reſtored, or rather founded anew, the Publick Library at Oxford.*] Let us, firſt, hear Sir Thomas himſelf. Having given us the motives of his retirement from Court, and chuſing a private life (10), he goes on thus: 'Only this I muſt truly confeſs of my-'ſelf, that though I did never yet repent me of thoſe, 'and ſome other my often refuſals of honourable of-'fers, in reſpect of enriching my private eſtate; yet 'ſomewhat more of late I have blamed myſelf and 'my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my 'reverend mother the univerſity of Oxon, and to the 'advancement of her good, by ſuch kind of means, 'as I have ſince undertaken. For thus I fell to diſ-'courſe and debate in my mind; that although I 'might find it fitteſt for me to keep out of the throng 'of Court contentions, and addreſs my thoughts and 'deeds to ſuch ends altogether, as I myſelf could beſt 'affect; yet withal I was to think, that my duty to-'wards God, the expectation of the world, and my 'natural inclination, and very morality did require, 'that I ſhould not wholly ſo hide thoſe little abilities 'that I had, but that in ſome meaſure, in one kind or 'other, I ſhould do the true part of a profitable mem-'ber of the State. Whereupon examining exactly for 'the reſt of my life what courſe I might take, and 'having ſought (as I thought) all the ways to the wood, 'to ſelect the moſt proper, I concluded at the laſt to 'ſet up my ſtaff at the *Library* door in *Oxon*, being 'thoroughly perſuaded, that in my ſolitude and ſur-'ceaſe from the Common-Wealth affairs, I could not 'buſy myſelf to better purpoſe, than by reducing that 'place (which then in every part lay ruined and waſte) 'to the public uſe of Students. For the effecting 'whereof I found myſelf furniſhed, in a competent 'proportion, of ſuch four kinds of aids, as, unleſs I 'had them all, there was no hope of good ſucceſs. 'For without ſome kind of knowledge, as well in the 'learned and modern tongues, as in ſundry other ſorts 'of ſcholaſtical literature; without ſome purſe-ability 'to go through with the charge; without great ſtore 'of honourable friends, to further the deſign; and 'without ſpecial good leiſure to follow ſuch a work, 'it could but have proved a vain attempt and incon-'ſiderate. But how well I have ſped in all my endea-'vours, and how full proviſion I have made for the 'benefit and eaſe of all frequenters of the library, that 'which I have already performed in ſight, that which 'beſides I have given for the maintenance of it, and 'that which hereafter I purpoſe to add, by way of 'enlargement of that place, (for the project is caſt, 'and, whether I live or die, it ſhall be, God willing, 'put in full execution) will teſtify ſo truly and abun-'dantly for me, as I need not be the publiſher of the 'dignity and worth of my own inſtitution (11).' Mr Camden (12), under the year 1598, tells us, 'Bod-'ley, being at preſent unengaged from affairs of State, 'ſet himſelf a taſk, which would have ſuited the cha-'racter of a crowned head, I mean, *ſays he*, the promo-'tion and encouragement of learning; for he began 'to repair the Publick Library at Oxford, and furniſhed 'it with new books. 'Twas ſet up, *he adds*, by 'Humphrey Duke of Gloceſter, but through the ini-'quity of the times was, in the reign of Edward VI, 'ſtripped of all the books; but he (*Bodley*) having 'made the choiceſt collection from all parts of the 'world of the moſt valuable books, partly at his own 'coſt, and partly by contributions from others, he firſt 'ſtocked, and afterwards left it ſo well endowed at 'his death, that his memory deſerves to bear a very 'laſting date amongſt men of worth and letters.' The ſame author, in his *Britannia* (13), tells us, Duke

(10) See the laſt remark.

(11) Life, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 13—15.

(12) Ubi ſupra.

(13) By Biſhop Gibſon, fol. Vol. I. col. 311.

Humphrey's library conſiſted of one hundred twenty-nine volumes, procured from Italy at a great expence. His tranſlator adds, that they were valued at above a thouſand pounds, and that the Duke in 1440 gave one hundred twenty-ſix volumes more, and in 1443 a much greater number, beſides conſiderable additions at his death three years after (14). But, before Duke Humphrey's time, Richard de Bury, *alias* Aungervil (15), Biſhop of Durham, in 1295, gave a great number of books to the univerſity, which were kept in a place for that purpoſe in the college, which the Monks of Durham had founded in the north ſuburbs of Oxford; an account whereof may be gathered from a book written by himſelf, called *Philobiblos, Sive de amore librorum, et inſtitutione Bibliothecæ* (16). And after him, in the year 1320, Thomas Cobham, Biſhop of Worceſter, built another over the old Congregation-houſe in the north cœmitery of St Mary's (17). In 1597, Sir Thomas Bodley, taking into his conſideration the ruinous condition of Duke Humphrey's library, and reſolving to untertake the reſtoration of it at his own expence, wrote a letter, dated at London, *Jan.* 23, to Dr Ravis, Dean of Chriſt-Church, then Vice-Chancellor, to be communicated to the univerſity; offering therein to reſtore the fabric of the ſaid library and to ſettle an annual income for the purchaſe of books, and the ſupport of ſuch officers as might be neceſſary to take care of it. This letter was received with the greateſt ſatisfaction by the univerſity, and an anſwer returned, teſtifying their moſt grateful acknowledgment and acceptance of his noble offer (18). Whereupon Sir Thomas immediately ſet about the work, and in two years time brought it to a good degree of perfection (19). He furniſhed it with a large collection of books, purchaſed in foreign countries at a great expence (20); and this collection in a ſhort time became ſo greatly enlarged by the generous benefactions of ſeveral Noblemen, Biſhops, and others, that neither the ſhelves nor the room could contain them. Whereupon Sir Thomas offering to make a conſiderable addition to the building, the motion was readily embraced, and, upon July the 19th, 1610, the firſt ſtone of the new foundation was laid with great ſolemnity, the Vice Chancellor, Doctors, Maſters of Arts, &c. attending in their proper habits, and a ſpeech being made upon the occaſion. But Sir Thomas Bodley did not live to ſee this part of his deſign completed, though he left ſufficient to do it with ſome friends in truſt; for, as appears by the copy of his Will, he beſtowed his whole eſtate (his debts, legacies, and funeral charges defrayed) to the noble purpoſes of this foundation. By this means, and the help of other benefactions, in procuring which Sir Thomas was very ſerviceable by his great intereſt with many eminent perſons, the Univerſity was enabled to add three other ſides to what was already built; whereby was formed a noble quadrangle, and ſpacious rooms for ſchools of Arts (21). By Sir Thomas's Will 200 *l. per annum* was ſettled on the library for ever; out of which he appointed near forty pounds for the Head-Librarian, ten pounds for the Sub-Librarian, and eight for the junior (22). He drew up likewiſe a body of excellent ſtatutes for the government of the library (23). In this library is a ſtatue, erected to the memory of Sir Thomas Bodley, by the Earl of Dorſet, Chancellor of the univerſity, with the following inſcription. THOMAS SACKVILLUS DORSETTIÆ COMES, SUMMUS ANGLIÆ THESAURARIUS, ET HUJUS ACADEMIÆ CANCELLARIUS, THOMÆ BODLEIO EQUITI AURATO, QUI BIBLIOTHECAM HANC INSTITUIT, HONORIS CAUSA PIE POSUIT; i. e. '*Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet, Lord High-'Treaſurer of England, and Chancellor of this uni-'verſity, piouſly erected this monument to the honour of 'Sir Thomas Bodley, Knight, who founded this library.*' The *Bodleian library* is juſtly eſteemed one of the nobleſt libraries in the world, and, if travellers are to be credited, exceeds even the *Vatican* at Rome. King James I, we are told (24), when he came to Oxford in the year 1605, and, among other edifices, took a view of this famous library, at his departure, in imitation of Alexander, broke out into this ſpeech: *If I were not a King, I would be an univerſity man; and if it were ſo that I muſt be a priſoner, if I might have my wiſh, I would have no other priſon than that library, and be chained together with ſo many* good

(14) Ibid.

(15) See his article.

(16) Printed at Paris, in 1500, and at Oxford in 1599 in 4*to*, and ſince in 8*vo*.

(17) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 48.

(18) Id. ib. p. 308.

(19) Id. ib. l. ii. p. 50.

(20) Dr Willet, in his Synopſis Papiſmi, apud Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 79. ſays, they were valued at about 10000*l*.

(21) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 23.

(22) Id. ib. p. 51.

(23) See the remark [*L*].

(24) Vide Iſaaci Wake, Rex Platonicus, ſive Muſæ regnantes.

King James's acceſſion to the throne, he received the honour of Knighthood (*k*). He died the 28th of January, 1612, and was buried, with great ſolemnity, at the upper end of Merton-college choir [*I*]. An annual ſpeech in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley [*K*] is ſtill made at Oxford on the 8th of November, at which time the viſitation of the library is uſually made. His ſtatutes for the regulation of that library [*L*], were tranſlated out of Engliſh into Latin, by Dr John Budden, Principal of Broadgate-hall, and incorporated with the univerſity ſtatutes (*l*). Sir Thomas wrote his own *Life* to the year 1609; which, together with the firſt draught of his *Statutes*, and a collection of his *Letters*, were publiſhed, from the originals in the Bodleian library, by Mr Thomas Hearne, under the title of *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, or, Some Genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley* (*m*). Sir Thomas had two younger brothers, named LAURENCE and JOSIAS BODLEY.

(*k*) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 385.

(*l*) Id. ib. col. 451.

(*m*) London, 1703, 8vo.

good authors. A catalogue of the printed books in the *Bodleian library* was publiſhed in 1674 by Dr Thomas Hyde, then chief librarian; another of the manuſcripts was printed in 1697; and a new catalogue of both, which will contain four volumes in *folio*, has been for ſome years printing at Oxford.

[*I*] *He was buried at the upper end of Merton college choir.*] Over him is erected a monument of black and white marble, on which is placed his effigies, in a ſcholar's gown, ſurrounded with books: and at the four corners ſtand Grammar, Rhetoric, Muſic, and Arithmetic. On each hand of his effigies ſtands an angel; that on the left holds out to him a crown; and that, on the right, a book open, in which are theſe words; *Non delebo nomen ejus de libro vitæ*; i. e. '*I will not blot his name out of the book of life.*' Underneath is the figure of a woman, ſitting before the ſtairs of the old library, holding in one hand a key, and in the other a book, wherein the greateſt part of the alphabet appears; and behind are ſeen three ſmall books ſhut, inſcribed with the names of *Priſcianus*, *Diomedes*, and *Donatus*. Beneath all are engraven theſe words: *Memoriæ Thomæ Bodley Militis, Publicæ Bibliothecæ fundatoris, ſacrum. Obiit 28 Jan.* 1612 (25).

(25) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 89.

[*K*] *An annual ſpeech in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley.*] Dr John Morris, Canon of Chriſt-Church, bequeathed by his Will to the univerſity five pounds *per annum*, for a ſpeech to be made by a Maſter of Arts in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley; the perſon who made the ſpeech to be nominated by the Dean of Chriſt-Church, and confirmed by the Vice-Chancellor for the time being. But this gift was not to take place 'till the death of Dr Morris's widow; which happening in November, 1681, the annuity then fell to the univerſity; whereupon, the year following, Dr John Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, nominated Thomas Sparke, A. M. of his college; who, being approved by the Vice-Chancellor, made a ſolemn ſpeech in the *Schola linguarum*, the 8th of November, 1682 (26).

(26) Id. Athen. Oxon, col. 385.

[*L*] *His* Statutes.] The original copy of them, written by his own hand, is preſerved in the archives of the *Bodleian library*. They provide, 1. That the Keeper, or Librarian, ſhall be a graduate, without cure of ſouls, and unmarried; and that both the electors, and elected, ſhall take an oath, preſcribed in the Statutes; the election to be made after the ſame manner as in the choice of Proctors. 2. The Librarian's office is to keep the great regiſter-book, in which are enrolled the names and gifts of all benefactors to the library; to preſerve the diſpoſition of the whole, and to range all books that ſhall be given under their proper claſſes; to attend in the library from eight to eleven in the morning, and from two to four or five in the afternoon, ſuch days and times only excepted, as are ſpecified in the Statutes. 3. To prevent accidents from fire, neither the keeper, nor any perſon frequenting the library, to be allowed candle, or any other kind of light. 4. The keeper to deliver the books into the hand of perſons deſiring them, to be uſed in ſight, and reſtored before ſuch perſons depart; and no book, upon any pretence whatever, to be lent out of the library. 5. In caſe of ſickneſs, or other neceſſary avocation, the keeper may be allowed a deputy, who muſt be a graduate, and take the ſame oath as the keeper did at his admiſſion. He is allowed likewiſe an aſſiſtant in his office, and an inferior attendant (uſually ſome poor ſcholar) to keep the library clean. 6. The revenue ſettled for the maintenance of the library, &c. to be lodged in the univerſity cheſt, and managed by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors for the time being. 7. None to enjoy the freedom of ſtudy there, but only Doctors and Licentiates of the three faculties, Bachelors of Divinity, Maſters of Arts, Bachelors of Phyſick and Law, and Bachelors of Arts of two years ſtanding; alſo Lords, and the ſons of Members of Parliament, and thoſe who become benefactors to the library; and all ſuch, before admiſſion to ſuch privilege, to take an oath, preſcribed in the Statutes. 8. Any graduate, or other perſon, who ſhall be convicted of diſmembering, or purloining, or altering any word or paſſage of any book or books, to be publickly degraded, and expelled the univerſity. 9. Eight Overſeers or Viſitors of the library are appointed, *viz.* The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, the three Profeſſors of Divinity, Law, and Phyſic, and the two *Regius* Profeſſors of Hebrew and Greek, who are to inſpect the ſtate both of the building and the books, the behaviour of the keeper, *&c.* annually on the 8th of November; and, on the Viſitation-day, forty ſhillings is allowed to be expended on a dinner or ſupper for the Viſitors, and gloves to be preſented them by a beadle, *viz.* ſeven pair, of *ten ſhillings* the pair, to the five Profeſſors and two Proctors, and one pair, of *twenty ſhillings* price, to the Vice-Chancellor, beſides forty ſhillings in money to each of the Proctors, and twenty nobles to the Vice-Chancellor (27); &c. T

(27) Vide Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, &c. p. 16, &c.

BODLEY (LAURENCE) a younger brother of Sir Thomas Bodley, mentioned in the laſt Article [*A*], was born in the city of Exeter, about the year 1546 (*a*). After a ſuitable education, though in what ſchool is not known, he was ſent to Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford, where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts (*b*). From thence he removed into his native country, where his merit became ſo conſpicuous, that he was made one of the Canons Reſidentiary of Exeter-cathedral, and Rector of Shobroke, about ſeven miles from that city, near Crediton; which was all the preferment he ever had [*B*]. Among other good things which he did, he was of great uſe to his brother Sir Thomas Bodley, in founding his famous library at Oxford (*c*): He was chief mourner at that great man's funeral; and the next day after it, namely March 30, 1613, was actually created Doctor in Divinty, as a member of Chriſt-Church (*d*). He died April the

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, &c. edit. Exeter 1701. fol. p. 82.

(*b*) Ibid. His taking thoſe degrees is not mentioned in Wood's Faſti.

(*c*) Weſtcote; MS. Deſcript. of Devonſh. in Shobroke: and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 195.

[*A*] *A younger brother of* Thomas Bodley, *&c.*] Mr Wood, by miſtake, ſays (1), that he was Sir Thomas's elder brother. ——— *Laurentio nimirum fratre* ——— *natu majori.* ——— But Mr Prince poſitively affirms the contrary. He was the third ſon of John Bodley, Gent. the father of Sir Thomas, who is the ſubject of the laſt arricle (2).

(1) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſitat. Oxon. lib. I. p. 320.

(2) Prince, as above, p. 84.

[*B*] *Which was all the preferment he ever had.*] Theſe are Mr Prince's words (3); but Shobroke was undoubtedly a living of very conſiderable value, it being rated at 36*l.* in the King's books; and conſequently might be worth near 400*l* a year: So that the Doctor's preferment was not ſo very ſmall, as Mr Prince ſeems to intimate.

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 83.

the 19th, 1615, in the seventieth year of his age, and was interred in St Peter's Cathedral in Exeter, near the choir, under a flat marble stone (e), with an epitaph [C]. As to his character, we are told, that for his pious zeal, and continual labour in the faithful discharge of the duties of his function, he cannot be over-praised (f). He was at the same time of an hospitable disposition, very charitable, and pious. In his Will, he bequeathed to the Mayor and Chamber of Exeter, four hundred pounds in money, to purchase twenty pounds a year in lands, towards the maintenance of a preacher in that city (g). There is nothing of his writing extant, except an elegy on the death of the famous Bishop Jewel [D].

(e) Prince, as above, p. 84.

(f) Westcote ubi supra. See Prince.

(g) Prince, as above.

[C] *With an epitaph.*] It is now obliterated; but hath been preserved by Mr Risdon (4), and is as follows.

(4) Survey of the county of Devon, &c. 8vo.

Clarissimo viro, nec non reverendo, olim hujus ecclesiæ Canonico Residentiario Dno. Laurentio Bodleo, Johes *&* Laurentius Bodleus, *Nepotes, hunc dialogum, memoriæ sacrum devotissime consecrarunt.*

Laurentius Bodleius.

Anagramma —— *Bonus Dives ille erat,*

Johan. *Ille erat! Hoc miserum, non nunc; ubinam pia facta*
Virtutis, corpus, spiritus, ossa, caro?
Laurent. *Ossa jacent terrâ, & corpus, pia facta superfunt,*
(Protypa virtutis) Spiritus astra colit.
Obiit decimo nono Aprilis A. D. 1615.

[D] *Except an elegy on the death of the famous Bishop Jewel.*] It is inserted in Dr Humphreys's life of that Bishop; and part of it is as follows.

Interea, Decor, O! Doctorum summe Virorum,
Et pater, & patriæ Gemma, Juelle, vale:
Chare, vale: donec Superorum sede recepti,
Perpetuo juncti, stabimus ante Deum.
Tu modo præcedis, quia te præcedere dignum est:
Nos per idem læti mox veniemus iter, &c.

To conclude this learned person's life; Dr John Prideaux, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Rector of Exeter College in Oxford, dedicated to him an Act sermon of his on *Revel.* ii. 4. In which dedication he acknowledges himself indebted to him for some preferment; calling him his worthy patron, and commending him as a pattern to patrons, for disposing the Lord's portion, in those his days (5). C

(5) Prince, ubi supra.

BODLEY (Sir Josias) youngest brother to Sir Thomas, and Dr Laurence Bodley, mentioned in the two last articles (a), was, in all probability, born at Exeter, as well as his brothers. He was bred up a scholar, and spent some time in Merton-college in Oxford (b): But preferring a military to a studious life, he went and trailed a pike in the Low-Countries, which was then the grand theatre of war; where he behaved so well that he was advanced to the degree of a Captain (c). In 1598, he was sent into Ireland, with several old companies of English out of the Netherlands, amounting in all to above a thousand men, of which he was second Captain (d). There he signalized himself by his valour and conduct: and was at the taking of the isle of Loghrorcan (e); at the attack of Castle-Ny Parke (f); and at the siege of Kinsale, in 1601, where he was overseer of the trenches (g), as he was also at the sieges of Baltimore, Berchaven, and Castle-haven (h). For his good services upon which, and other occasions, he was knighted by the Lord-Deputy Chichester (i). He was living in Ireland in the year 1613, when he was Director-General, and Overseer of the fortifications of that kingdom (k). But how long he lived after that, and when or where he died, is unknown. He was author of some few things [A], which still remain in manuscript.

(a) He was the fifth and youngest son of John Bodley, Gent. mentioned above. Prince as above, p. 84.

(b) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 385.

(c) Prince, as above, p. 85.

(d) Fines Moryson's Itinerary, &c. Lond. 1617, fol. Part ii. p. 25.

(e) Ibid. p. 97, 98.

(f) Pacata Hibernia, Ireland appeased and reduced, &c. by T. Stafford, fol. London 1633, p. 215.

(g) Ibid. p. 220.

(h) Moryson ubi supra. See also Prince, as above.

(i) Prince, as above, p. 86.

(k) Moryson, p. 300.

[A] *He was author of some few things.*] Namely, these that follow. I. 'Observations concerning the 'Fortresses of Ireland, and the British Colonies of 'Ulster.' MS. fol. some time in the library of Sir James Ware, afterwards in that of Henry, Earl of Clarendon. II. 'A jocular Description of a Journey 'by him taken to Lecale in Ulster, in 1602.' MS. in the same library (1). But we know not where they are at present. C

(1) Wood, ubi supra.

BOETHIUS, BOECE, or BOEIS (Hector) a famous Scottish Historian, in part of the XVth and XVIth centuries, was descended from a very ancient and considerable family, and born at Dundee [A], in the shire of Angus, about the year 1470 (a). Having studied some time at Dundee (b), and at Aberdeen [in which latter place he was a Professor in 1497] (c), he went, for his further improvement, to the college of Montague, in the university of Paris, where he applied himself to Philosophy, and became a Professor of it there. He had an opportunity of cultivating at the same time, an intimate friendship with several persons of the most eminent learning, which were students in that university, particularly the great Erasmus, who kept a kind of correspondence with him afterwards (d). Dr William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, having founded the king's-college in that city, about the year 1500, sent over to Paris for our author, and made him Principal of that new university. When he arrived at Aberdeen, he found among the Canon-regulars there (into which order he himself entered) a great many learned men. Being installed in his place, he took for his collegue Mr William Hay, who had been educated with him under the same masters, both at Dundee and Paris: And by their joint care and labour, the kingdom was furnished with several eminent scholars (e). Upon the death of his Patron, Bishop Elphinston, in 1514 (f), he undertook to write his life; to which he added the lives of his predecessors in the See of Aberdeen.

(a) This is easily inferred from the dates hereafter mentioned.

(b) See the Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, &c. by G. Mackenzie, M. D. edit. Edinb. 1711. Vol. II. p. 376.

(c) Bishop Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, edit. 1736. fol. p. 37.

(d) Ibid. & Mackenzie, ubi supra.

(e) Mackenzie, ubi supra, p. 382.

(f) See the same author, ibid p. 116.

[A] *Born at Dundee.*] His father was Mr Boeis of Panbride (*).

(*) Mackenzie, ubi supra.

[B] To

Aberdeen (g). We shall give an account of this work below. Next, he applied himself to write the History of Scotland; to which he prefixed a large description of that country [B]. This history he published, under the title of, *Scotorum Historia ab illius Gentis Origine*, Paris. 1526, fol. [C]. But he afterwards improved, and continued it 'till his death; which is supposed to have happened about the year 1550: For we find two persons of great learning then bewailing his loss. One is Bartholomæus Latomus, with whom our author was intimately acquainted at Paris; and the other, Joachim Wolfius, a learned German (h). His History of Scotland hath been highly censured by some [D], and

(g) Ibid. p. 384.

(h) Ibid. p. 446, 447.

[B] *To which he prefixed a large description of that country.*] It was translated into English with considerable improvements, and inserted into our author's life, by Dr Mackenzie (1). But this geographical description of Scotland by our author, had been pretty severely, and justly, criticized upon by Bishop Nicolson (2); whose words we shall lay here before the reader. '—— Boethius, says he, takes occasion to let his 'reader know, that he was singularly addicted to the 'study of Natural History, and much delighted with 'such physical curiosities, as were most extraordinary 'and surprizing. His correspondents, he assures us, 'were persons of eminent learning in several parts of the 'nation; among whom, was Edward Bishop of Orkney, who furnished him with a faithful account of 'the healthy and vigorous constitution of the inhabitants of those isles. The rest, as the Bishop truly 'observes, did not (all of them at least) deal so fairly 'by him; several of them having most certainly imposed upon his good nature and easy faith. 'Tis a 'terrible story which Sir Duncan Campbel told him of 'the monstrous goose-footed otter of the Loch Garloil; which struck down great oaks with it's steer, 'and yet the fishermen escaped it's fury by climbing 'into trees. The sea-monks at the isle of Bass, and 'Ja. Ogilby's wild men of Norway, (who could 'pull up the tallest fir, with as much ease as an ordinary body can root up a turnip) are proper companions for these; and the credibility of the three parallel stories must rest upon the reporters. But the 'author himself is only answerable for the account, 'which, amongst others, he gives of the clack-geese, 'or barnacle, which he affirms upon his own word; 'since what he pretends to have frequently observed, 'of a perfect bird, feathers and all, being formed in 'these shells, is extremely dissonant from what the 'Naturalists of our days have taught from as nice and 'credible experiments. He is more authentick in 'what he reports of the Gustards (or Bustards as the 'English call them) in the county of Mers, and the 'Salmon at Aberdeen; and, above all, he is to be 'applauded for what he hints of the Purple-fish, reckoning it amongst the *Conchæ intortæ*. This shews 'that he rightly understood Bede (3), who has somewhat to the same purpose; and that Mr Cole's discovery of this very fish (4) ought not to be reckoned 'among such as had not formerly been published by 'any author. He does not appear to have been quite 'so happy in the use he made of the same antient Historian, and some others, in matters of antiquity; 'or else, he would hardly have placed the *Brigantes* 'in Galloway, the *Silures* in Carict, and the *Deiri* in 'Mers and Lowthian (5). The account he likewise 'gives of the first original of Ptolemy's Geography, 'seems to be far from the truth. He tells us (6), 'that it was begun by some mathematical gentlemen, 'sent purposely abroad by King Ptolemy Philadelphus; 'who having been regaled by King Reutha, as his 'own countrymen and kindred, and having narrowly 'inspected all the corners of the Scotch and Pictish territories, returned back to Egypt, wonderfully pleased 'with their finding a northern kingdom of the same 'language, manners, and government, with their own. 'Out of these observations, says he, King Ptolemy 'himself drew up part of a large volume of Cosmography; which, some centuries afterwards, in the 'Emperor Hadrian's time, was compleated by his 'name-sake of Alexandria (7).'

(1) Page 384—446.

(2) Ubi supra, p. 4.

(3) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1.

(4) See Philosophical Transact. Vol. XV. No. 178, p. 1278.

(5) See Bishop Nicolson, ubi supra.

(6) Hist. Scot. lib. ii. fol. 20. b.

(7) Bishop Nicolson, ibid. p. 3.

[C] *Scotorum Historia ab illius Gentis Origine.*] Or, *Scotorum Historia a prima Gentis Origine, &c. Libri XIX.* The first edition of this history was given by Badius Ascensius, at Paris, 1526, fol. and consisted only of seventeen books, ending with the death of K. James I. The next (at Lausanne and Paris, in 1574, fol.) was larger, having the addition of the eighteenth book compleat, and part of the nineteenth. Thus far the author himself continued it: But what follows was the work of J. Ferrerius, a native of Piedmont, who carried it down to the end of James the Third's reign. The Continuer himself wanted the helps he expected (8); his great encourager, H. Sinclare, Dean of Glasgow, and afterwards Bishop of Rosse, being suddenly taken off, before he could furnish him with the intended materials. But he seems to be honest and impartial in setting down matters as he found them.—Boethius's whole history was translated into the Scottish language by John Bellenden, or Ballanden, Archdeacon of Murray, who died at Rome about the year 1550; and published in 1536, under this title, 'The History and Croniklis of Scotland, 'compilit and newly correctit and amendit be the Reverend and Noble Clerk, Mr Hector Boece, Chanon 'of Aberdene. Translated laitly by Mr Johne Bellenden, Archdene of Murray, and Chanon of Rosse, at 'command of James the Fysth, King of Scottis. Imprentet at Edinburgh, be Thomas Davidson, dwelling fornens the Fryere Wynde.' R. Holinshed published it in English (9), with several large interpolations and additions out of Major, Lesley, and Buchanan: but he was not the author of that translation.

(8) See his Dedicat. ad Jac. Betoun, Archiep. Glasg. It was printed with his Continuation at Lausanne, as above; and also at Paris in 1574 and 1575.

(9) In the first Volume of his Chronicles.

[D] *His History of Scotland had been highly censured by some.*] Take the following account of it from Bishop Nicolson (10). In the six first books of his History there are a great many particulars not to be had in Fordon, or any other writers now extant; and unless the authors, which he pretends to have seen, be hereafter discovered, he will continue to be shrewdly suspected for the contriver of as many tales (11) as our Geoffrey of Monmouth. For these novelties he has been severely censured by H. Lhuyd (12); and Buchanan himself (13), though he makes Lhuyd as very a villain and blockhead as the other, acknowledges that he's never to be excused.—However, in matters relating to this nation, he certainly follows the most fabulous of our Historians more than he is willing to own, having only given a new turn of his pen to what they had written, and then commonly fathered it on Veremund, or Campbel. In his account of Achaius's treaty, Kenneth's victory over the Picts, the metropolitical power of the See of York, &c. he's extremely formal and tedious, giving us large samples of his oratory in the occasional speeches which he puts into the mouths of his several great men. To these he adds a collection of prodigies and miracles which happened upon every considerable revolution, and either he, or his friend the physician of Aberdene (14), garnishes every dish with flowers of choice observations in Natural History. His principles in polity are no better than those of Buchanan; whose *Jus Regni* is effectually confirmed by what he relates (15), of the making and deposing of Kings and Bishops, by the sole creating power of the people. His eighteenth book is as highly commended by Ferrerius (16) as it can possibly deserve; *in quo sane omnia ita scribendo consecutus est, ut nihil plenius aut significantius a quopiam in re persimili fieri posse credam*; i. e. 'That he has treated of all things 'there in so comprehensive a manner, that he believes 'no one could have done it more fully or significantly 'on the like subject.' Indeed the elegancy of his expressions is fine, and well becomes the character which an eminent master of the like Rhetoric has given of it (17); *Illius stylus tam est tersus ut Cæsaris puritatem decoxisse; ac rationum verborumque ponderibus ita nervosus, ut Livianam gravitatem in suam naturam transfusisse penitus videatur*; 'His style has all the purity 'of Cæsar's, and is so nervous both in the reflections 'and diction, that he seems to have absolutely entered 'into the gravity of Livy, and made it his own.' 'Tis to be wished that he had been as nice and curious in the matter of his work. How far he failed in this, the

(10) Ubi supra, p. 38.

(11) See them at large in Bishop Stillingfleet's Orig. Britan. p. 252, &c.

(12) See below, at the end of this note.

(13) Rerum Scot. lib. ii. sub finem.

(14) Vide Dempsteri Hist. Eccles. lib. ii.

(15) Confer. lib. vi. fol. 92. b. & lib. vii. fol. 128. b.

(16) In Epist. Dedicat. fol. 355. a.

(17) J. Lesley, lib. ix. p. 414.

and as much magnified by others [*E*]: All which was owing to that natural partiality and antipathy which reigned then between the Scotch and English nations, but, 'tis to be hoped, is now entirely abolished. Besides his History of Scotland, our author published

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the reader will best learn from the words of Sir Robert Gordon of Stralogh, who was as competent a judge of the performance as could be: *Displicet mihi*, says he (18), *Historia* Boethii: *ut liberè ad te loquar. Ille legum Historiæ scribendæ ignarus, rudi sæculo ea scripsit quorum nos pudet. Quid illa de* Ptolomæi *regis legatione ad Geographiam nostri regni vestigandam? Quis ille de* Caratago *tractatus è* Tacito *ad verbum descriptus? Illum nemo antiquitatis prudens regibus nostris annumeravit. Illum* Buchananus, *inscitiæ tantæ gnarus, ne* Boethius *ludibrio haberetur, aut Historia labem apud exteros sentiret, nolens è Regum serie delere, magnifica tamen illa intacta relinquit. Nomen ipsum* Caratacum *arguit Provincialem* Britonem *fuisse. Quale hoc,* Silures *nobis ascribi, quos, hodiernæ* Walliæ *partem tenuisse* Romani *scriptores testatissimum faciunt? Quam portentosum de* Cameloduno *commentum? Quales sunt illæ regis nostri ad Cæsarem Julium Epistolæ minaces? Nonne hoc est serio delirare? Ignosco Gatheli fabulæ; cum nævus ille omnibus tam communis: At illi plus satis immorari, omnia sigillatim, tanquam illorum temporum æqualis, referre, multum mihi displicet*; i. e. 'To speak freely 'to you, I dislike Boeis's history. He being ignorant 'of the laws of history, has written in a barbarous 'age what we are ashamed of. For what else can you 'think of King Ptolemy's mathematical gentlemen '(19)? Or of the story of Caratacus, taken word for 'word out of Tacitus? No man that knows any 'thing of antiquity would rank him among our Kings. 'And therefore though Buchanan, sensible of so gross 'a blunder, places him among our Kings; (that 'Boethius might not be exposed, and strangers should 'not perceive a blemish in our history) yet he passes 'over all the fine things that the other had said of 'him: The very name of Caratacus proves him to 'have been a South Briton. How stupid is it to fix 'the *Silures* among us, when the Roman writers de'clare that they were inhabitants of Wales? How 'monstrous is his fiction about *Camelodunum?* or our 'King's threatening letters to Julius Cæsar? Is not all 'that downright doting and foolishness? I could for'give him the fable of Gathelus, since it hath been 'embraced by all our historians; but to dwell too long 'or too minutely upon it, is extremely disagreeable.' —Dr William Lloyd, late Bishop of Worcester, hath also spoken of our author with great sharpness and contempt (20). For he calls him, 'A late romancer '(21),' who 'could not only make stories, but au'thors too when he pleased; nay, that made a Bishop 'of St Alban's cloak Amphibalus (22).' That, 'to 'prove him a man of no credit is needless, when so 'many have done it (23).' He 'not only avers the same 'thing that J. de Fordon and J. Major had said, with'out naming them, but, like Hector himself he ven'tures farther into the dark, and charges beyond all 'his company. He was the first (for ought I know, 'says the Bishop) that found there were Priests and 'Monks in Scotland, named *Culdees*, whom he makes 'to have been there above 150 years before there were 'Christians in that country (24). I doubt, says the 'Bishop elsewhere (25), whether Hector Boethius had 'those authors whom he quotes; [Veremund, Arch'deacon of St Andrew's, and John Cambel] for he 'never quotes him that was his author indeed, the 'Monk of Fordon (26), whom he seems to have fol'lowed in all his Antiquities.' Dr E. Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, having also minutely examined this history, shews, 'That if Hector Boethius 'did not forge all the names of the pretended first 'race of Scottish Kings, from Fergus I. to Fergus II, 'yet he did *insert* many things contrary to the antient 'genealogy in John de Fordon, l. 10. c. 2. And 'that finding the succession of those Kings very short 'and meagre, he set himself to *make up* what he found 'defective, and to put it together under the names of 'Veremundus and Cornelius Hibernicus, or others; 'out of these he framed a long series or catalogue of 'Kings, and filled up the story of these Kings, not 'out of their old annals, (as far as yet appears) but in 'a great measure *out of his own invention* (*).' Elsewhere he calls him, 'A man who stands out at no'thing (**),' and 'the Geoffrey of Scotland (†).'—— By the by I must observe, that Bishop Lloyd having in the course of his book, represented Hector Boethius's long succession of Scottish monarchs, from Fergus to Congallus inclusive, as a mere fiction; Sir George Mackenzie published (27) a violent and not very mannerly answer, intitled, 'A Defence of the Antiquity of 'the Royal Line of Scotland;' wherein he highly blames the Bishop for having 'cut off forty-four Kings, and expo'sing on a pillory as forgers the many and grave *Scotch* 'historians (28). Nay, Sir George admires, that any 'of the subjects of Great Britain did not think it a 'degree of *Lese Majesty* (29), to injure and shorten 'the Royal line of their Kings (30).' But certainly such a conduct is monstrous; for all learned men must know, that there is a fabulous part in the history of every nation; which to undertake to defend, shews extreme weakness and ignorance; as to abuse those who ridicule it, is the height of petulancy and madness. Accordingly the Bishop was soon after vindicated with great wit and smartness by Dr Stillingfleet, in the preface to his *Origines Britannicæ* just now mentioned.—But to return; the last author I shall mention, who condemns H. Boethius's history, is Humphrey Lhuyd our eminent English Antiquary, and he looks upon the whole history to be nothing else but a heap of lyes and fables from beginning to end, as appears from the following epigram of his (31).

> Hectoris historici tot quot mendacia quæris;
> Si vis ut numerem (lector amice) tibi:
> Idem me jubeas fluctus numerare marinos,
> Et liquidi stellas dinumerare poli.

[*E*] *And as much magnified by others.*] Erasmus, who was intimately acquainted with him, says in one of his epistles, 'That he was a man of an extraordi'nary and happy genius, and of great eloquence:' *Vir singularis ingenii foelicitatis, & facundi oris.* And elsewhere (32), 'that he knew not what it was to 'lye.' Mr William Gordon, in a letter of his to the university of Aberdeen, at the beginning of the History, tells them, 'That they had much reason to re'joice, in that the History of their nation, written in 'a most eloquent style, faithfully and learnedly, had 'been first published by their university.' And says, that 'Boethius was a man excellently well skilled in all 'the Sciences.' *Plurimum vobis gaudendum existimo, quod nostræ gentis historia dissertissimo stylo, fideliter, atque erudite conscripta ex nostra Aberdonensi literaria officina primum prodierit in lucem.*—[*Boethius*] *vir in omni Philosophiæ genere apprime eruditus*, &c.— John Ferrier, or Ferrerius, who continued this history, says (33), 'That Boethius was a man of great accomplish'ments and singular learning, who transmitted to po'sterity the noble and brave actions of the Scottish 'Kings and nation.' *Hector Boethius vir ornatissimus, & singulari doctrina præditus, qui regum vestrorum & Scoticæ gentis res clarissime susceptas, & fortissime gestas memoriæ ad posteritatem tradidit.* Paulus Jovius, Bishop of Nocera, in his description of Britain, speaking of our author, says, that 'he wrote the history of the 'Scottish Kings down to K. James III. with remarkable 'eloquence, and equal diligence;' *insigni facundia, & pari diligentia.* Buchanan, tho' he frequently criticizes upon him, and takes notice of his faults (34), yet owns, that 'he was not only remarkable for his knowledge in 'polite literature above what was common in his time, 'but also that he was a man of singular humanity and 'courteousness.'—*Non solum artium liberalium cognitione, supra quam illa ferebant tempora insignem; sed humanitate & comitate singulari præditum* (35).— Finally, Archbishop Spotiswood in his History of the Church of Scotland (36), speaking of our author, says, that 'he was a great Philosopher, and much com'mended by Erasmus for his eloquence and felicity of 'Ingine (37); yet is he traduced by some of the Eng'lish writers for a fabulous and partial Historian; but 'they who like to peruse his History will perceive, that 'this is spoken out of passion and malice, and not upon 'any just cause.' However, it is not the English writers alone that call him a fabulous Historian, for Gerard Vossius owns (38), that he has put many fables into his History—*fabulas multas historiæ immiscuit.*

[*F*] *The*

(18) Bishop Nicolson, ubi supra, p. 38.

(19) See the note [*B*].

(20) Hist. of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion, Lond. 1684, 8*vo*.

(21) Page 15.

(22) Ib. p. 151.

(23) Ib. p. 152. See Vossius de Historicis Latinis, edit. 1624, 4*to*, p. 615.

(24) Ib. p. 149.

(25) Preface, p. 26.

(26) Fordon was no Monk, says Sir George Mackenzie, Defence, &c. p. 34. See Mr Hearne's edit. of that author.

(*) Preface to Origines Britannicæ, p. xi. xvi.

(**) Ibid. p. xli.

(†) Orig. Brit. p. 64.

(27) Edinburgh, 1685, 8*vo*.

(28) Letter to the Earl of Perth at the beginning of the Defence, p. 4.

(29) A kind of high-treason.

(30) Ibid. p. 11.

(31) Fragm. Britan. Descr. fol. 32, &c.

(32) Epist. Anno 1530, in Vit. Erasmi.

(33) In Epist. Dedicat. ad Jac. Betuum, ut supra.

(34) Lib. i. & ii. Rerum Scoticar. &c.

(35) Lib. ii. sub finem.

(36) Book ii. p. 68.

(37) i. e. Wit or Ingenuity: an old Scottish word.

(38) Vossius de Historicis Latinis, ubi supra.

the Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen [F], just hinted at before. As to his character, he was a great master of classical and polite learning, well skilled in Divinity, Philosophy, and History; but somewhat credulous, and much addicted to the belief of legendary stories. With regard to his other accomplishments, he was discreet, genteel, well bred, attentive, generous, affable, and courteous (i). We shall take notice of a mistake committed by Bishop Lloyd, that has some relation to our author [G]; and for which that Prelate hath been severely censured.

(i) Mackenzie, ubi supra, p. 451. & Bale Scriptorum Britanniæ Centuria XIV. No. 61.

[F] *The Lives of the Bishops of* Aberdeen.] Under this title, *Vitæ Episcoporum Murthlacensium & Aberdonensium*. Paris. 1522, 4to. He begins at Beanus, the first Bishop of that See, and ends at Gawin Dunbar, who was Bishop when the book came out. A third part of the whole is spent in the life of Bishop Elphinston, for whose sake the work was undertaken. But there is in the King's college at Aberdeen a valuable original Chartulary of Charters, Grants, &c. which would furnish a better history of the Bishops of that See than that of our author's, which upon the whole is but lame and imperfect (39).

(39) Bishop Nicolson, ubi supra, p. 57.

[G] *We shall take notice of a mistake committed by Bishop Lloyd*, &c.] And we shall give it the reader in his own words (40). — 'After the succession from Fergus was published by *Hector Boethius*, it seems it was 'not then believed by the learned men of his own 'nation. For Polidore Virgil tells us (41), that when 'Hector's book was newly come forth, Gawen Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, warned him of it, and earnestly prayed him not to follow that history in writing 'of the Scottish manners. And that Bishop gave him 'another account of their original.' — Upon which Sir Geo. Mackenzie animadverts in the following words (42), — And whereas the Bishop of St Asaph, '[Dr Lloyd] to lessen the credit of Boethius, relates, 'that *Bishop Gavin Dowglas advised* Polidor Virgil '*not to follow his history*. Polidor Virgil himself is 'appealed to, where there is no mention of Boethius 'at all, nor could it be; for Polidor regrets that 'Gavin Dowglas died anno 1520 (43), whereas 'Boethius was not published 'till 1526, and Boethius 'himself informs us (44), that the records, from 'which he formed his history, were sent him from 'Icolmkill, anno 1525, and no sooner.' — Polydore Virgil's words are, — *postea summe rogavit, ut ne historiam paulo ante à quodam suo Scoto divulgatam sequerer*. ——— It was undoubtedly John Major that was meant, whose history of Scotland was published in 1520 (45). Observe likewise, that whereas Sir George Mackenzie says Gavin Dowglas died in 1520, Polydore Virgil expressly says it was in MDXXI (46). See Dr Stillingfleet's preface to his *Origines Britannicæ* (47).

(40) Preface, &c. as above, p. 38, 39.

(41) Histor. Anglican. lib. iii. p. 7. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1649, 8vo.

(42) Defence, &c. as above, p. 30, 31.

(43) It was 1521. See Polyd. Virg. p. 73.

(44) Lib. vii.

(45) See Dr Mackenzie, Lives &c. as above, Preface to Vol. II. p. vii. See also p. 315, 345.

(46) Ubi supra, p. 73.

(47) Page liv.

C

BOLTON, or BOULTON (EDMUND) an ingenious writer, and Antiquarian, in the beginning of the XVIIth century, was a retainer to the great George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, under whom he probably enjoyed some office (a). He was a Roman Catholick (b): and distinguished himself by his several curious writings; which are as follow. 1. 'The Life of King Henry II.' to be inserted in Speed's Chronicle; but the author being found to favour too much the haughty carriage of Thomas Becket, another life was written by Dr Barcham (c). 2. 'The Elements of Armories, Lond. 1610, 4to.' 3. A poem upon the translation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots, from Peterburgh to Westminster-abbey, in 1612 [A]. 4. An English translation of Lucius Florus's Roman History. 5. 'Nero Cæsar, or Monarchie depraved. An historicall worke, 'dedicated with leave to the Duke of Buckingham, Lord-Admiral.' Lond. 1624, fol. This book, which contains the life of the Emperor Nero, is printed in a neat and elegant manner, and adorned with several valuable and curious medals. At it is the most considerable work of our author, it will be proper to give some account of it; especially as it is not very common. The whole is divided into fifty-five chapters, in some of which are introduced curious remarks and valuable observations [B]. In chap. xii. he shows, how Nero devised to go beyond all examples, in making mankind beholden to him, by abolishing the taxes upon the portage, or sale, of wares. But he was diverted from it, by it's being represented to him, that those payments were among the sinews of the state, and that it was no more possible for Rome to have subsisted, had those returns of supply been withdrawn, than for a good husband to hold all together, where receipts do infinitely undergo expences. In the xvth he assigns the reasons which induced that unnatural monster, Nero, to resolve the death of his own mother Agrippina; namely, in order to bring about his marriage with his concubine Poppœa Sabina, which Agrippina opposed, out of regard to his wife Octavia; and also, for fear the same Agrippina, who was heir-general to Augustus Cæsar, should wrest from him the empire, as she sometimes threatened to do. Next he describes, how Nero contrived her destruction, by feasting her at Baiæ, and putting her on board a trap-galley, the cabbin whereof was so made as to fall at once with her into the water; but this wicked design miscarried, and she was saved by the assistance of her own servants, who jumped into the water, despising death and danger. In the xxivth and xxvth chapters, he gives a large account of the revolt in Britain against the Romans, under the conduct of Boadicia [C], which he introduces with a recapi-

(a) See Epistle Dedicatory at the beginning of his Nero Cæsar.

(b) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 19.

(c) The Surfeit to A. B. C. Lond. 1656, 12mo, quoted by A. Wood, ibid. See also Vol. I. col. 530.

[A] *A poem upon the translation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots*, &c.] It is entitled *Prosopopoeia Basilica*; and is extant in manuscript in the Cottonian library (1), having never been printed.

(1) Titus, A. XIII. 23.

[B] *In some of which are introduced curious remarks*, &c.] For instance: That the tower built by Caligula, was not at *Brittenhuis*, as is commonly supposed, but at *Cherburg*, or *Boulogne* (2). That the Roman standing forces in Britain, were not above 40,000 men (3). That the poll-money paid thoughout the Roman empire, was but about six-pence per head (4). That the name of *London* occurs first in ancient authentic writers about the time of Boadicea's revolt (5). And he supposes, it is denoted by that coin of Britannicus in Camden's Britannia, the reverse of which he reads thus after Strada, *Metropolis Etiminæi Ba. Lo.* The metropolis of King Etiminæus London (6).

(2) Page 84.

(3) Page 90.

(4) Page 95.

[C] *Under the conduct of Boadicia.*] The author observes (7), that her name is variously written, namely, in Tacitus, *Boadicia*, *Boudicea*, and *Voadica*; in Dio, *Bounduica*; and perhaps in Camden's British Monies, *Boduo*.

(5) Page 115.

(6) Page 134, 135. See Camden's Britan. edit. 1722. Vol. I. p. cxix.

(7) Page 99.

a recapitulation of the affairs in Britain, from the Romans first entrance under Julius Cæsar, 'till that revolt under Nero. The battle in which that brave heroine was defeated, he supposes was fought * on Salisbury-plain between two woods (*d*); and he further supposes that she was buried in that plain, and that Stone-henge, or Stonage, was erected for her monument [*D*]. In the xxviiith, he shows when Nero first came upon the common stage, namely, in the tenth year of his reign; and gives a print of his seal, on which was represented the story of Marsyas. To please, as the author observes, the meaner sort of people, was the poor chief point of his policy, in thus appearing upon the stage: For in their affections he reposed his safety, and in their applause his glory. The xxixth is an account of the burning of Rome by Nero's order; in which he takes occasion to describe the prodigious bigness of that city. As Augustus left it, it was comprised within a wall of almost *fourteen* miles in circuit, enlarged afterwards to *fifty*, under the Emperor Aurelian. But that spacious body, and the suburbs thereof, might rather seem a whole country super-edified, than only a city. For the buildings ran out above *thirty* miles one way, and from the milliary pillar fixed in the Roman Forum, as a center of measure, a line of seventy thousand paces would not have included the Prætorian camp, and the furthermost houses. Her increase of habitations was so manifold, that the *seven and thirty gates* thereof, could not let in more; and she had suburbs, which answered in quantity to so many several cities. For, to Ostia, the port of Rome, and mouth of Tyber, the banks were covered with buildings, twelve miles outright one way. He further takes notice, that the fire of Rome began the 21st day of July, the very day on which it had, many centuries before, been sacked and burned by the Gauls; and continued nine days. Chap. xxxvi. treats of the East-Indian trade in Nero's time; which was then carried on, not by the Cape of Good Hope, but some way up the river Nile, and from thence by caravans over land to the Red-sea, and so to the Indian ocean. The ready coin carried yearly from Rome upon that account, amounted, according to Pliny's computation, to above three hundred thousand pounds sterling. And the usual returns in December or January, yielded in clear gain an hundred for one. For, as the author observes, those oriental nations did always understand the use and value of our mints, and were so happy in the follies of the West, that while they sat in quiet at home, they were sought unto from the farthest coasts by sea and land, through all sorts of perils, to receive for their shadowy superfluities, our substantial payments. In chap. xliv, he relates Nero's attempt, to cut through the Corinthian Isthmus. And in the xlviith, how he caused the choice Antiquities, and all the prime monuments of the Greeks, to be brought away to Rome." At the end of this book, there is a small tract of eight leaves, intituled, 'An Historical Parallel; or, A Demonstration of the notable oddes, for the more use 'of Life, betweene reading large histories, and briefe ones, how excellent soever, as 'those of Lucius Florus. Heretofore, privately written to my good and noble friend 'Endymion Porter, Esq; one of the Gentlemen of the Prince's bed-chamber.' The occasion of that tract was this; The author having, in his epistle dedicatory to Lucius Florus, asserted, that 'Epitomes are in truth no better than anatomies,' he demonstrates the truth of it, by a parallel between the several accounts given by L. Florus (*e*), and Polybius (*f*), of the famous battle between Hannibal, and P. C. Scipio. From whence he observes, that Florus gives us, in proper words, the flowers and tops of noble matter; but Polybius sets the things themselves, in all their necessary parts, before our eyes. And concludes, that the oddes between an epitome and a just history are evidently as great, as between the contents of a chapter, and the chapter itself: And therefore, that all spatious mindes, attended with the felicities of means and leisure, will fly them as bane. 6. Besides the books above-mentioned, Mr Boulton hath written, '*Vindiciæ Britannicæ*, or London 'righted by rescues and Recoveries of antiquities of Britain in general, and of London 'in particular, against unwarrantable prejudices, and historical antiquations amongst the 'learned; for the more honour, and perpetual just uses of the noble island and the 'city.'

(*) In September.

(*d*) §. xxviii. p. 161.

(*e*) Lib. ii. cap. 6.

(*f*) Lib. xv.

[*D*] *He supposes, that she was buried in Salisbury-Plain, and that Stone-henge, or Stonage, was erected for her monument.*] This he grounds upon that passage of Dio, where it is said, 'That the Britons enterred 'her pompously, or with much magnificence,' which, as he imagines, cannot be better verified than by assigning these orderly irregular, and formless uniform heaps of massive marble to her everlasting remembrance. Various have been the hypotheses and conjectures of learned men, about the occasion and antiquity of this wild kind of structure, as it is termed by Mr Camden (8). For, besides what Mr Boulton thought of it; 1. Mr Sammes, in his Britannia, fancied, that it was a work of the Phœnicians; 2. Inigo Jones, Esq; (9), and Mr John Webb (10), that it was a temple of the Tuscan order, built by the Romans to the God *Cælum*, or *Terminus*; 3. Many of our Historians, that it was the burial-place of Uther Pendragon, Constantine, Ambrosius, and other British Kings; or, according to others, that it was erected by Ambrosius, or his brother Uthe, with the help of Merlin, the Mathematician, in memory of the Britons slain there by treachery, in a conference with the Saxons. 4. Dr Charlton (11), that it was a Danish monument, erected either for a burial-place, or as a trophy for some victory, or for the election and coronation of their Kings. 5. Some have maintained, that it was an old triumphal British monument, erected to Anaraith, the goddess of Victory, after a bloody battle won by the illustrious Stanings, and his Cangic giants, against Divitiacus and his Belgæ (12). 6. Finally, others have asserted, that it was a temple of the Druids, long before the coming in of the Romans (13). This opinion, which is the most probable, hath been embraced, and very well explained by Mr Toland, in his 'Specimen of a Critical History of 'the Celtic Religion (14);' He there supposes Stone-henge to have been a cathedral of the Druids. See also *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, by H. Rowlands, Dublin, 1723, 4to, and An Account of Jersey by Ph. Falle, &c. Lond. 1734, 2d edit. 8vo.

(8) In his Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, fol. Vol. I. col. 120.

(9) In, *The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain*, &c. restored, Lond. 1655, fol.

(10) In his *Vindication of Stone-henge restored*, &c. Lond. 1665, fol.

(11) In his *Chorea Gigantum*, &c. Lond. 1663, 4*to*.

(12) See Camden, ubi supra, col. 123.

(13) J. Aubrey's Monumenta Britannica.

(14) Printed in Vol. I. of Collection of his Posthumous Pieces, &c. Lond. 1726, 8*vo*.

[*E*] *Vindiciæ*

'city [*E*].' It consists of seven chapters. In the first he treats 'of London before the 'Britann rebells sackt and fired it in hatred and defiance of Nero.' In the second he shews, that 'London was more great and famous in Nero's days, than that it should be within 'the description, which Julius Cæsar makes of a barbarous Britann town in his days.' In the third, he proves, 'that the credit of Julius Cæsar's writings may subsist, and yet 'London retain the opinion of utmost antiquity.' In the fourth, 'the same fundamental 'assertion is upholden with other, and with all sorts of arguments or reasons.' The fifth bears this title, 'The natural face of the seat of London (exactly described in this section) 'most sufficiently proved, that it was most antiently inhabited, always pre-supposing 'reasonable men in Britain.' The sixth contains 'a copious and serious disquisition about 'the old book of Brute [*F*], and of the authority thereof, especially so far forth as con-'cerns the present cause of the honour and antiquity of London, fundamentally necessary 'in general to our national history.' The last chapter is intituled, 'special, as well 'hostorical, as other, illustrations, for the use of the coins in my Nero Cæsar, concerning 'London in and before that time.' 7. Mr Boulton was also author of '*Hypercritica*, or 'a Rule of Judgment for writing or reading our histories. Delivered in four supercenso-'rian addresses, by occasion of a censorian epistle, prefixed by Sir Henry Savile, Knt. to 'his edition of some of our oldest historians in Latin, dedicated to the late Queen Eliza-'beth. That according thereunto, a complete body of our affairs, a *Corpus Rerum An-'glicarum* may at last, and from among ourselves, come happily forth in either of the 'tongues. A felicity wanting to our nation, now when even the name thereof is as it 'were at an end [*G*].' 8. Moreover, it appears, that our author intended to compose, A General History of England, or an entire and complete Body of English affairs [*H*]. 9. And there is extant in the Cottonian Library, 'the contents, or draught of a book, 'intituled, *Agon Heroicus*, or concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Bolton (*g*) [*I*].' 10. He

[*E*] *Vindiciæ Britannicæ, or London righted, &c.*] This book was never printed, though preparerd by the author for the press. A copy of it, written very accurately in a thin folio of forty-five pages, is in the possession of Hugh Howard, Esq; (15). In an advertisement to the reader at the beginning of the book, Mr Boulton observes, that though these seven chapters of historical and antiquarian paradoxes, are wholly written in explication, defence, and full accomplishment of that, which is printed in the historical work of *Nero Cæsar*, concerning the state of Britain and London; yet they are made, of themselves, a body entire and independent, without the absolute necessity of having both the books together. His chief design in this book, is to shew, 'That London, the greatest, best, and 'most renowned city, of the greatest and best island of 'the whole Atlantick ocean, or of the universal world, 'was far more great and famous in Nero's days, than 'that it should be within the description, which Julius 'Cæsar makes (16) of a barbarous Britann town in 'his days.'——It was not a British or a Cornish *Tre* or town, but a *Kaër* or city; nor simply a *Kaër* or city, but a *Dinas*, the seat of a sovereign Prince, the seat of a Palace-Royal, as the last syllables of *Londinum* (formed out of *Dinas*, a palace) do most unquestionably testify.——Then he mentions the several names, which London hath borne at any time; namely, *Tre-Nant*, i. e. the town in the valley; *Troy-Novant*, i. e. New Troy; *Kaër-Lud*, i. e. Lud's city; *Dinas Belin*, i. e. Belin's palace; *Lhan Dian*, i. e. Diana's fane or temple; *Lhong Dinium*, i. e. the city or palace-royal of ships: And under the Romans, *Augusta Britannorum*, or *Trinobantum*.

(15) See General Dictionary, under the article BOLTON, Vol. III. p. 466.

(16) Comment. de Bello Gall. lib. v. c. 21. *oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum Silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt*, i. e. what the Britons call a *Town*, is a thick wood fenced with a ditch and a rampart.

[*F*] *The old book of Brute.*] That is, the story of Brutus's coming to Britain, (said to be so denominated from him) with his Trojans. This matter, which is generally looked upon as fabulous, is treated of at large by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and from him by most of our Chroniclers. Some truth there may be in Geoffrey's books, but the main of it is unanimously condemned as fictitious.

[*G*] *Hypercritica, or a Rule of Judgment, &c.*] This small piece, which is often mentioned with applause by A. Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, was published by Dr Anthony Hall, at the end of *Nicolai Triveti Annalium Continuatio, ut & Adami Murimuthensis Chronicon*, &c. Oxon. 1722, 8vo. In his preface, the Doctor stiles Mr Boulton, 'a considerable per-'son,' and 'a very learned man.'

[*H*] *Moreover, it appears, that our author intended to compose a General History of England, &c.*] This he intimates at the conclusion of his Hypercritica.——'I close up this argument with this final admonition 'to *myself*, or to whosoever else doth meditate the 'Herculean, and truly noble labour of composing an 'entire and complete body of English affairs, a *Corpus 'rerum Anglicanarum*, a general History of England; 'to which not only the exquisite knowledge of our 'own matters is altogether necessary, but of all other 'our neighbours whatsoever, yea of all the world; 'for where our arms and armies have not been, our 'arts and navies have.'

[*I*] *Concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Bolton.*]

Contents, or a draught of a book, intituled, *Agon Heroicus*, By Edmund Bolton.

AGON HEROICUS.

1. How to reduce honor, and arms to better estimation then euer heretofore.
2. Of places according to the known qualitie of parties, as they are of uirtue, or parts of minde.
3. Of the English Crosse, and of S. Georg.
4. The empire of uirtue, and learning adaunced by the studies of honor and antiquitie.
5. Excellent benefits comming to euery good gouernment, and person by the studies of honor and antiquitie.
6. The antient mysterie of antient Maiesties ceremonie.
7. Whither apprentiseship extinguisheth gentrie.
8. Of antient seals, and coigns, and of such as deface moniments of honor and arms.
9. Of such as usurp titles of gentrie, and notes of honor.
10. Of reuiuing publick rehersals of our works beefore they goe to the presse, or passe our hands.
11. On beehalf of Brute, Monmouth's founder of the Britann Monarchie.
12. Of Heathen Theologie among the Britanns and Saxens.
13. Of grants of arms.
14. Of Leters Patents, and other authentick instruments among the antient English.
15. Of Joseph of Arimathea, and the Abbie of Glastenberie.
16. Of Lucius, first Christan King of our land, and of S. Alban, first martyr of the same.
17. That the studies of honor and antiquitie, are not uoluptuarie, uain, or felicitated in the senses.
18. That no nature is good, which doth not uehemently incline to them.
19. Of Constantinus Magnus, and of his mother S. Helen.
20. Of the principal glorie of the Britann world, London.
21. Of Merlin, and his prophesies.
22. Of the most renowned ARTHVR.
23. Of antient English cheualrie.

24. Of

10. He also wrote 'The Life of the Emperor Tiberius (*h*).' The time and place of our author's death are unknown.

(*h*) This he informs us of, in his Nero Cæsar, p. 82.

24. Of English witts, and authors, with censures upon the cheif.

25. How the cheif care and assignation of armories came to bee a part of the crown-rights, or royal office, and why.

26. Of the law of arms as part of the lawes of nature, and of nations.

27. Of gentemen of bloud, and of name, and of arms, distinctly.

28. Of superscriptions, salutations, compliments in antiquitie among us, and of this Hemistichium in the Satyrist,

——— guadent prænomine molles.

29. Of old alligeance.

30. Of praise and glorie for witt or learning.

31. Whither euer any Englishman attained to the heighth of commendation in any kinde of studie.

32. Of mechanical conspiracies in London against the aduancement and enrichment of the learned out of theyr own labours.

33. Of coat-armours in England, and theyr use.

34. Of the studie of the old Britann, Scottish, Pictysh, Saxon, Mannish, Cornish; Weshford, and Irish tongues.

35. Of Robin-Hood, and other famous outlawes.

36. Of antient inuentions appertaining to magnificence among us.

37. Of the Historie of England, and of many late ignoble writers in that right noble subject, with censures upon them.

38. Of assuming new coats for antient, upon dislikes to theyr argument, or forms.

39. Whither the whole person of a man or woman may regularlie bee born in armeries, being disalowed Impreses.

40. Whither the poetical bodies of a Sphynx, a Pegasus, a Gryfon, a Centaur, a Syren, an Argus, a Gorgon, &c. may regularlie bee born in armories.

41. Whither antient heralds, or heraldrie, were more exact and artificious then the modern.

42 Whither the studies of honor and antiquitie bee among those of that wisdome, which scripture prefers aboue riches.

43. Whither according to the accedence of armories the L. Paget's coat bee a Quadrate roial, and what a Quadrate is.

44. That to honor, and please God, to the glorie and splendor of Prince and countrey, is the supreme cause of the studies of Honor and Antiquitie.

45. How this sentence of Salomon

Fecit Deus hominem rectum, sed ipse se infinitis
miscuit quæstionibus,

is to bee sensed for our present purpose.

46. That the natural rectitude mentioned therein is only to bee magistratized by the studies of Honor and Antiquitie, in order to God.

EDMUND BOLTON.

Appendix ad Heroicum Agon...

1. Of mere Materiators, enemies of style, and of mere Logodedalists, or phrase-wrights, enimies of matter.

2. That it is more profitable for uirtue among us to found a college for the studies of Honor and Antiquitie of Britainn, then to erect a Librarie as bigg as K. Ptolomes.

3. That the sphears of Cyclopedia move within the circle of Philarchæa.

4. That it would supplie the defect of a censor's office in the policie of our countrey, if the antient courses for noting coat armours with marks of bearers uices were recalled (17).

EDMUND BOLTON.

(17) Bibl. Cotton. Faustina, E. I. 7. fol. 63.

C

BOND (John) a celebrated Grammarian of the XVIth century, was born in Somersetshire, and educated in Grammar learning at Winchester school. In 1569, being then nineteen years of age, he was entered a student in the university of Oxford, where he became either one of the Clerks or Chaplains of New College, and was much noted for his great proficiency in academical learning. In 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1579, that of Master; and soon after was promoted by the Warden and Fellows of New College, to the mastership of the free-school of Taunton St Mary Magdalen in Somersetshire: in which station he continued many years, and taught school with such great success, that many of his scholars proved afterwards eminent both in Church and State. Being at length tired of the drudgery of a school, he turned his thoughts to the study of Physick, though he had not taken any degree in that faculty, which he practised rather for pleasure than profit, and became very eminent therein. Mr Bond died the third of August, 1612, possessed of several lands and tenements in Taunton, Wilton near Taunton, and Newenton, and was buried [*A*] in the chancel of the church of Taunton (*a*). We have his *Commentaries* on Horace and Persius [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 379.

[*A*] —— *and was buried*, &c.] Over his grave was put the following Epitaph (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 379.

Qui Medicus doctus, prudentis nomine clarus,
Eloquii splendor, pieridumque decus,
Virtutis cultor, pietatis vixit amicus,
Hic jacet in tumulo; spiritus alta tenet,

In *English*:

Skill'd in the healing art, for prudence fam'd,
To crown whose memory the Muses love,
Who liv'd to virtue and her friend's a friend,
Here lies in dust, his spirit soars above.

[*B*] *We have his* Commentaries *on Horace and Persius.*] His *Horace* has been several times printed, viz. *Lond.* 1606, 8vo; *Han.* 1621, 8vo; and *Ludg. Batav.* 1653, 8vo. His *Persius* was printed at London, 1614, in 8vo, *cum posthumis Commentariis Johannis Bond*; i. e. 'with the posthumous Commentaries of Mr John Bond.' It was published after the author's death by Roger Prowse, who had married his daughter Elizabeth (2), who in the dedication to Dr Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, informs us, that his father-in-law had not put the last hand to these Commentaries; which may be the reason of those considerable defects, especially with regard to some points of History and Philosophy, which M. Baillet tells us (3) are to be found in them. However, this author's notes on Horace and Persius are esteemed, as well as Farnaby's, on account of their conciseness, and are chiefly used by the younger students in our universities, and in most schools.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Jugemens des Savans, Tom. II. n. 522. p. 241.

T

BONNELL (JAMES) a man of strict virtue, and exemplary piety, was born at Genoa the 14th of November, 1653, being the son of Samuel Bonnell, Merchant (*a*), who resided some time at Genoa, and of Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Sayer, near Norwich, Esq; His grand-father was Daniel Bonnell of London, Merchant, and his great-grand-father, Thomas Bonnell, a gentleman of a good family near Ipres in Flanders, who, to avoid the Duke of Alva's persecution, removed with his family into England, and settled at Norwich, of which, before his death, he was chosen Mayor. Samuel Bonnell, father of James Bonnell, being bred up under that eminent Merchant, Sir W. Courteen, Knt. applied himself to the Italian trade, at Leghorn and Genoa, with such success, that about 1649, he was worth at least 10,000 *l.* and his credit much greater than his fortune. But both were soon impaired by several accidents, by great losses at sea, and particularly by his zeal for King Charles II, during his exile, and the rest of the Royal Family, which he privately supplied with large sums of money. About 1655, he removed with his family into England: And, at the Restoration, on account of the services he had done the Royal Family, and, as a compensation (*b*) for the large sums he had advanced them, (which, it seems, were never repaid otherwise) there was granted him a patent to be *Accomptant-General of the Revenue of Ireland*, a place worth about 800 *l.* a year; his son's life being included in the patent with his own. But this he was not long possessed of, for he died in 1664, leaving his son, of whom I am now to speak, and one daughter. —— After James Bonnell had been instructed in the first rudiments of learning at Dublin (*c*), he was sent to Trym-school, where he was eminent for sweetness of temper, and for a most innocent, gentle, and religious behaviour. At fourteen years of age, he left that place, and was sent to a private Philosophy School in Oxfordshire (*d*), kept by one Cole, who had formerly been Principal of St Mary-hall in Oxford; and staid there two years and a half. But finding his master was too remiss in matters of morality and religion, a thing quite unsuitable with his strict temper, and observing, there were in that place all the dangers and vices of the university, without the advantages, he removed to Katharine-Hall in Cambridge, where he prosecuted his studies with indefatigable diligence, and performed all his exercises with general approbation. After taking his degrees in Arts, he removed into the family of Ralph Freeman of Aspeden-Hall in Hertfordshire, Esq; as tutor to his eldest son (*e*); and there continued 'till 1678, when, going with his pupil into Holland, he stayed about a year in Sir Leoline Jenkins's family, at Nimeguen. From Nimeguen he went in the Embassador's company through Flanders and Holland; and returning to England, continued with his pupil 'till 1683, when Mr Freeman was sent into France and Italy. In 1684 Mr Bonnell went into France, and met Mr Freeman at Lyons; and in his company visited several parts of France. Leaving Mr Freeman in France, he went directly from thence into Ireland (*f*), and took his employment of Accomptant-General into his own hands, which had, since his father's death, been managed by others for his use. In the discharge of it, he behaved in so obliging a manner, and with so much diligence and faithfulness, that he soon equally gained the esteem of the government, and the love of all who were concerned with him. During the troublesome reign of K. James II, he neither unworthily deserted his employment (*g*), as others did; nor came into the arbitrary and illegal measures of the court; and yet was continued in his office [*A*], without his desiring it: which proved a great advantage to the Protestant interest in Ireland, since, whatever he received out of his place, he liberally distributed among the poor oppressed Protestants, taking all opportunities to relieve the injured, and boldly pleading for them with those who were then in power. But though his place was very advantageous, and he had in it great opportunities of doing good; yet, either the weight of that employment, or his ill state of health, or else his desire of entring into holy orders, (which he designed for a considerable time (*h*), but never effected) made him resolve to quit it; and he accordingly parted with it (*i*) to another person in 1693. —— In the whole course of his life (*k*) he behaved in so upright and worthy a manner, that he was courted by his superiors, and reverenced by his equals. For, with regard to piety, to justice [*B*], and charity, to sobriety and temperance, few have outdone him. His devotion, though very intense, was calm and governable, confined within the strictest bounds of sobriety and reason, and free from the least appearance of affectation (*l*). His charity was also very extensive (*m*), for he commonly gave away the eighth part of his yearly income to the poor [*C*]. And, for humility, meekness, and a contempt of the world, he was

(*a*) Life of James Bonnell, Esq; by W. Hamilton, Lond. 1718, 4th edit. p. 1, &c. Memoirs communicated.

(*b*) Memoirs communicated.

(*c*) Life of J. Bonnell, Esq; p. 4.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 89.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 30.

(*g*) Memoirs, ut supra. Life of J. Bonnell, Esq; p. 47, 54.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 31, 34, 71, &c.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 71, 72.

(*k*) Memoirs, ubi supra.

(*l*) Life of J. Bonnell, Esq; p. 135.

(*m*) Page 215.

[*A*] *And yet was continued in his office.*] Such an openness and sincerity shined in all his actions, such unshaken fidelity was his rule and guide, so known an enemy was he to faction and intrigue, that he was not only free from blame, but even suspicion; and the enemies of his religion reverenced his person. *Life of J. Bonnell*, Esq; p. 39. But it seems one reason of his being continued in his employment was, because at that time they could not be without his knowledge, nor do without him, in the revenue. Ibid. p. 275.

[*B*] *To justice*, &c.] He never knew what gratuity or reward meant, confining his gains entirely to his salary. *Life*, &c. p. 209.

[*C*] *He commonly gave away the eighth part of his yearly income*, &c.] He was eminent likewise for charity towards those who differed from him in opinion. 'Though no man was firmer to the Protestant religion 'established among us, and more truly zealous to support and enlarge it; yet force and violence he 'esteemed the unfittest means in the world to attain 'that end. And he utterly condemned all persecutions for religion, and violence to mens consciences. '— His charity was so generous and noble, that it 'effectually secured him from all narrowness of temper, and moroseness of behaviour, towards those 'who differed from him in opinion. He used frequently to say, that most differences among Christians 'were chiefly in words, and that their sentiments were 'much

was a pattern to all. Nay, a person who had the best opportunity of knowing him throughly, declares (*n*), 'I can with truth say, I never knew him do a thing, or heard him say a word, that I would have wished undone, or unsaid, if he had died the next hour.'——He had, withal, an accuracy and exactness in his judgment that few can equal (*o*). And he was master of the accomplishing, as well as necessary parts of learning; had throughly digested the Greek and Roman authors, understood French perfectly well, and had made good progress in the Hebrew (*p*). In Philosophy and Oratory, he exceeded most of his contemporaries in the university; and applied himself with good success to Mathematicks and Musick. In the course of his studies, he read several of the Fathers; and translated some parts of Synesius into English [*D*]. This worthy person died of a malignant fever, April 28, 1699, and was buried in St John's church in Dublin (*q*). In 1693, he married Jane, daughter of Sir Albert Conyngham (*r*), by whom he had three children; whereof only one daughter survived him, but she died not long after his decease. A very neat monument of white marble was erected to his memory [*E*], by his relict, with an inscription given below in the note.

(*n*) His widow, in a Letter.

(*o*) Bishop of Londonderry's Letter in Pref. to Mr Bonnell's Life, p. xvii.

(*p*) Life, &c. p. 80.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 76.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 72, 77.

'much nearer than their expressions.—The divisions 'which prevail among Christians he heartily bewailed; 'he saw how much of passion and worldly interest there 'was in them, and how destructive they are to piety 'and charity. But then he considered, that charity 'obliged him to look upon all Christians as his brethren, as children of the same father, and members 'of the same family to which he belonged, and consequently that he must not hate nor persecute any of 'them; that he ought to lament their divisions, and 'do all that in him lay to heal their breaches and cure 'their animosities, but still they had a right to his 'charity and to his prayers.' *Life of Bonnell*, p. 222, 223, 225.

[*D*] *And translated some parts of Synesius into English.*] There is however nothing of his published, but some *Meditations* and *Prayers* inserted in his life, and a *Harmony of the Gospels* done by another hand, but reformed and improved by *James Bonnell*, Esq; for his own use; printed at London for Joseph Downing.

[*E*] *A very neat monument of white marble was erected to his memory*, &c.] At the top there is a bust of his head, underneath which are his arms. The inscription is as follows.

P. M. S.

Jacobi Bonnelli armigeri, cujus exuviæ una cum Patris, et duorum filiorum *Alberti* et *Samuelis*, juxta sitæ sunt. Regibus *Carolo* 2do *Jacobo* 2do et *Guilielmo* 3o erat a rationibus generalibus in Hiberniâ, temporibus licet incertis. Dominis fidus, ab omni factione immunis, nemini suspectus, omnibus charus. Natus est Novembris 14o 1653, Patre *Samuele*, qui propter suppetias Regiæ familiæ largiter exhibitas, officio computatoris generalis Fisci *Hibernici* Anno Domini 1661, una cum Filio remuneratus est. Avo Daniele, Proavo Thoma, qui sub Duce *Albano* religionis ergo *Flandriâ* Patriâ suâ exul, *Norvicum* in Anglia profugit, ubi mox Civis, et demum Prætor. Pietate avitâ, & bene congenitâ, imo primævâ & Apostolicâ, eruditione, prudentiâ, probitate, comitate, et morum simplicitate conspicuus. Mansuetudine, patientiâ, et super omnia charitate insignis, Urbem hanc exemplo, et præceptis, meliorem, morte, mœstam reliquit. Obiit Aprilis 28. 1699. Monimentum hoc ingentis doloris publici, præsertim sui, exiguum pro meritis, posuit uxor mœstissima *Jana Coninghamorum* gente. C

BONNER (EDMUND)

BONNER (EDMUND) Bishop of London in the XVIth century, was born at Hanley in Worcestershire, being the son of an honest poor man of that place [*A*]. He was maintained at school by ——— Lechmore, ancestor to Nicholas Lechmore, Esq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the reign of the late King William (*a*). About the year 1512, he became a student in Broadgate-hall in Oxford, now Penbroke-college, then a famous nursery for Civilians and Canonists (*b*). Having made a sufficient progress in Philosophy and the Laws, he was admitted, on the 12th of June 1519, Bachelor of the Canon, and the day following, Bachelor of the Civil Law (*c*). He entered into holy orders about that time, and had some employment in the diocese of Worcester (*d*). On the 12th of July 1525, he was created Doctor of the Canon Law (*e*). He did not distinguish himself by his learning, but by his skill and dexterity in the management of affairs: For which he was much taken notice of by Cardinal Wolsey, who made him his Commissary for the Faculties. And he was with that Prelate at Cawood, when he was arrested of high-treason (*f*). At one and the same time he enjoyed these several ecclesiastical preferments; the livings of Blaydon, and Cherry-Burton in Yorkshire; of Ripple in Worcestershire; of East-Dereham in Norfolk; and the Prebend of Chiswick in the cathedral church of St Paul: but this he resigned in 1539, as he did his church of East-Dereham, in 1540 (*). He

(*a*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1725, fol. p. 575.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 158.

(*c*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 27.

(*d*) Athen. ubi supra.

(*e*) Id. Fasti, ut supra, col. 39.

(*f*) Stow's Annales, edit 1631, fol. p. 556. Hollinshed's Chronicle, edit. 1587, p. 915.

(*) Newcourt, Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 26, 140. & Wood, Athenæ, ubi supra.

[*A*] *The son of an honest poor man of that place.*] The common notion is, that he was the natural son of George Savage, Priest, rector of Davenham in Cheshire, natural son of Sir John Savage of Clifton in the said county, Knight of the Garter, and one of the Council to King Henry VII; which George Savage had seven natural children by three sundry women, viz. George Savage, Chancellor of Chester; John Wymesly, rector of Torperley in Cheshire, and made Archdeacon of London by his brother Edmund Bonner; Randal Savage of Lodge in the said county; Edmund Bonner, born of Elizabeth Frodsham, who was the wife (after Bonner had been begotten) of Edmund Bonner, a Sawyer, living with a gentleman called Armingham of Potters-Hanley in Worcestershire; besides three daughters, Margaret, Ellen, and Elizabeth (1). But Mr Strype informs us (2), that the late Baron Lechmore assured him, Bonner was certainly legitimately begotten, and born at Hanley in Worcestershire, of one Bonner, an honest poor man, in a house called *Boner's Place* to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year; and that his great-grandfather, Bishop Bonner's intimate friend and acquaintance, purchased that estate of the Bishop in Queen Elizabeth's time, and that he had it still in his possession. He added, that there was an extraordinary friendship between the Bishop and his said great-grandfather; insomuch, that the Bishop made leases to him of the value of 1000 *l.* a year, two whereof he remembered were Fering and Kelvedon in Essex. And that he had been told by some of his family, that Bonner shewed this kindness to this Gentleman out of gratitude, his father, or some of the relations, having put him out to school. But as to his birth the Baron said, he thought he could make it out beyond exception, that Bonner was begotten in lawful wedlock. And that he had several letters yet in his keeping between the Bishop and his great-grandfather, but of private matters.

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi supra. Godwin, de Præsulibus, edit. 1616. 4to, p. 250.

(2) Annals, ubi supra.

[*B*] He

He was likewise Archdeacon of Leicester, into which he was installed, October 17, 1535 (*g*). After the Cardinal's, his patron's, death, being a forward and pushing man, he insinuated himself into the good graces of K. Henry VIII; and became one of his chaplains, a favourer of the Lutherans, a promoter of that King's divorce from Q. Katharine of Spain, and of all his proceedings in abrogating the Pope's supremacy in this kingdom (*h*). He found means likewise to insinuate himself into the favour of Thomas Cromwell [*B*], Secretary of State, by whose recommendation he was employed as Ambassador at several courts (*i*). Particularly, in 1532, he was sent to Rome, along with Sir Edward Karne, to excuse K. Henry's personal appearance, or by proxy there, upon the Pope's citation for that purpose: And since there were, upon that occasion, many threatnings to be used to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fittest for the employment, as being a very bold man (*k*). Again, in 1533, he was sent to Pope Clement VII, then at Marseilles, upon the excommunication decreed at Rome, against King Henry VIII, on account of his divorce; to deliver that King's appeal, from the Pope to the next General Council lawfully called: And he delivered the threatnings he was ordered to make, with so much vehemence and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or of burning him alive; whereupon he apprehending some danger, made his escape (*l*). He was employed likewise in other embassies, to the Kings of Denmark and France, and to the Emperor of Germany (*m*). In 1538, being then Ambassador in France (*n*) [*C*], he was nominated to the Bishopric of Hereford: He had the royal assent to his election, November 27, and the temporalities were restored to his proctor, March the 4th following (*o*). But, before Consecration he was translated to London; of which he was elected Bishop, October 20 (*p*), 1539; confirmed the 12th of November ensuing; took a commission from the King for the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, immediately after (*q*); had restitution of his temporalities the 18th day of November just now mentioned; and was consecrated in his own cathedral, April 4, 1540, and enthroned the 16th of the same month (*r*). At the time of the King's death, in 1547, he was Ambassador with the Emperor Charles V (*s*). He had appeared, during that reign, zealous against the Pope; and concurred generally in the several steps taken to bring about a Reformation in this kingdom [*D*]. But it was either out of ambition, because he knew that to be the readiest way to preferment; or else out of a dread of the King's furious and violent temper, who would not be contradicted. For, he was all the while a thorough Papist in his heart, as appeared by his subsequent conduct. Among other instances; on the first of September, 1547,

(*g*) Fasti Eccles. Anglicanæ, &c. by J. Le Neve, Lond. 1716, fol. p. 164.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*i*) [illegible] J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1088.

(*k*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1681, p. 120.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 134.

(*m*) Wood, ubi supra, and Life of King Henry VIII, by the Lord Herbert, in Complete Hist. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 182.

(*n*) Wood, ut supra, col. 159. Godwin de Præsulibus, edit. 1616, 4to. p. 250. and Newcourt, and J. Foxe, ubi supra.

(*o*) Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. published by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 599, 601.

(*p*) Wood says it was, Octob. 1. Ubi supra.

(*q*) See Burnet, as above; in the Collection of Records, book iii. No. 14. p. 184.

(*r*) Wharton. de Episcop. Londin. 8vo. Newcourt, ubi supra.

(*s*) Wood, ubi supra.

[*B*] *He found means likewise to insinuate himself into the favour of* Thomas Cromwell.] And to him it was he chiefly owed his preferments and dignities, as he thankfully acknowledges in the following letter to that Lord, written from Blois in France, 2d September, 1538. 'My very singular especiall good Lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commende mee unto your honourable good Lordship. And whereas in times passed it hath liked the same, without any my desertes or merites, even only of your singular exceeding goodnes, to bestowe a great deale of love, benevolence and good affection upon me so poore a man, and of so small qualities, expressing in deede, sondry wayes, the good effectes thereof to my great preferment; I was very much bounde thereby unto your honourable good Lordshippe, and thought it alway my duetie (as indeede it was) both to beare my true hart againe unto your Lordship, and also remembring suche kindnes, to doe unto the same all such service and pleasure as might then lie in my smal power to do. But where of your infinite and inestimable goodnes, it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of Legation from such a Prince as my soveraigne Lorde is, unto the Emperour and French King, and next after to procure and obtayne mine advauncement to so honourable a promotion as the Byshoprike of Hereford: I must here knowledge the exceeding greatnes of your Lordshippes benefite, with mine own imbecillitie to recompence it. - - - &c (3).'

[*C*] *Being then Ambassador in France.*] But he was recalled from thence this year, at the desire of the King of France, to whom he had spoken a little too freely upon the following occasion. An English traitor skulking in France, King Henry ordered his Ambassador, Bonner, to demand him; but the King of France refused to deliver him up. Whereupon Bonner told that King, that in so doing he acted 'against God, against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the King of England, yea and against all together.' At which King Francis was so nettled, that he bid him write these three things to the King his master. '1. That his Ambassador was a great fool. 2. That he caused better justice to be done in his realm in one hour, than they did in England in a whole year. 3. That if it were not for the love of his master, he should have an hundred strokes with an halbert, &c.' And never rested 'till he had him recalled (4). At this time Bonner was greatly in the Lord Cromwell's favour, who was setting him up against Bishop Gardiner (5).

[*D*] *And concurred generally in the several steps taken to bring about a Reformation in this kingdom.*] J. Foxe assures us in general (6), that 'he was a great furtherer of King Henry's proceedings, and at first a favourer of Luther's doctrine.' — And as for particular instances of his concurring in the Reformation; we find, that, whilst he was Ambassador at Paris, he zealously promoted the printing of the English Bible there; and, after he was made Bishop of London, caused six of them to be set up in St Paul's cathedral (7). He was likewise one of those who subscribed to the Bishops book against the Pope (8). He put a Preface to Bishop Gardiner's book *De verâ Obedientiâ*, in which he very plainly speaks against the Pope's exactions, and his *false pretended Supremacy*. Finally, when he was made Bishop of London he took an oath, 'never to consent or agree that the Bishop of Rome should practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the King's dominions, but that he would resist the same at all times to the utmost of his power; and that from thenceforth he should accept, repute and take the King's Majesty to be the only supreme Head in earth of the Church of England; and, to the utmost of his power, observe and maintain all Acts and Statutes, made and to be made in extirpation and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome and his authority, and in corroboration of the King's supremacy, against all persons whatsoever; and repute any oath he had made in maintenance, or favour, of the Bishop of Rome, vain and annihilate (9).' Yet, not long after, he acted in a Commission for the due execution of the Six Articles, and prosecuted several persons upon the same. So complying was he with all changes, especially when they tended to promote Popery (10)!

(3) J. Foxe, ubi supra, p. 1088.

(4) Ibid. p. 1093.

(5) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 249.

(6) Ubi supra, p. 1088.

(7) Ibid. p. 1191, 1206.

(8) Ibid. p. 1064.

(9) Ibid. p. 1093.

(10) Ibid. p. 1292. and Burnet, ubi supra, p. 299.

[*E*] And

1547, not many months after the acceſſion of King Edward VI. he ſcrupled to take an oath, to renounce and deny the Biſhop of Rome, with his uſurped authority, and to ſwear obedience to the King, according to the ſtatute 31 Henry VIII, and entered a proteſtation [*E*] againſt the King's injunctions and homilies (*t*). For which he became ſo obnoxious, that he was committed to the Fleet [*F*], though he ſubmitted, and recanted his proteſtation (*u*). However, he was ſoon releaſed (*w*): From which time he complied outwardly with the ſeveral ſteps taken to advance the Reformation [*G*], but uſed privately all means in his power to obſtruct it. And yet he behaved ſo cautiouſly, that no legal advantage could be taken againſt him. But after the Lord Thomas Seymour's death, and the inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, he viſibly appeared remiſs in putting the court's orders in execution, particularly that relating to the uſe of the Common-Prayer-book, for which he was ſeverely reproved by the Privy-council [*H*]. He ſeemed thereupon to redouble his diligence: But, notwithſtanding, through his evil example, and eſpecially his ſlackneſs in preaching, and his connivance at the maſs in ſeveral places, many people in London, and elſewhere in his dioceſe, being obſerved to withdraw from the divine ſervice and communion; this was laid to his charge, as a neglect in the execution of the King's laws and injunctions. So, the Council writ to him, on the 23d of July, 1549, to ſee to the correcting of theſe things, and that he ſhould give good example himſelf. Upon which, on the 26th following, he ſent about a charge to have the order in this letter executed, which he ſaid he was moſt willing to do. Yet ſtill it was obſerved, that whatſoever obedience he gave, was againſt his will (*x*). Therefore he was convened before the Privy-council on the 11th of Auguſt, when, after a ſharp reproof of his negligence, he was enjoined to preach the Sunday three weeks after, at Paul's-croſs, on ſome articles then delivered to him [*I*]; and alſo to preach there once a quarter for the future,

(*t*) J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1309, 1310.

(*u*) His recantation is in Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1310. He firſt offered another, which being full of quiddities was rejected. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part ii. p. 36, 2d edit.

(*w*) Foxe, ibid.

(*x*) Burnet, ibid. p. 121, 122. and Foxe, as above, p. 1303, 1304.

[*E*] *And entered a proteſtation.*] Which was as follows: 'I do receive theſe Injunctions and Homilies, 'with this Proteſtation, that I will obſerve them, if 'they be not contrary and repugnant to God's Law, 'and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church.' And immediately added with an oath, that he had never read the ſaid Homilies and Injunctions (11).

[*F*] *That he was committed to the Fleet.*] Mr Rapin makes this judicious reflection upon that occaſion. 'The truth is, as ſeveral Acts in favour of the Reformation were intended to be paſſed in the enſuing Parliament, which was called for the 4th of November, 'the Reformers were very glad to free themſelves 'from the troubleſome oppoſition of this Prelate (12).' He was releaſed November 17 (13).

[*G*] *He complied outwardly with the ſeveral ſteps taken to advance the Reformation.*] For inſtance; he readily tranſmitted to the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, the Archbiſhop's Letter for omitting the carrying of Candles on Candlemas-day, and of Aſhes and Palms on Aſh-Wedneſday and Palm-Sunday; likewiſe another for aboliſhing of Images, and one to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's for ſuppreſſing private Maſſes in that cathedral (14). In a word, 'he executed every order 'that was ſent him ſo readily, (as Burnet obſerves) 'that there was not ſo much as ground for any complaint (15).'

[*H*] *For which he was ſeverely reproved by the Privy-Council*] In a letter they writ to him July 23, 1549; wherein, among other things, they tell him, — that 'one uniforme order for Common Prayer and 'adminiſtration of the Sacraments having been ſet 'forth, — whereby much idolatry, vayne ſuperſtition, 'and great and ſlanderous abuſes be taken away; it 'was no ſmall occaſion of ſorrow to them, to underſtand by the complaints of many, that the ſaid book 'remained, in many places of the realm, either not 'known at all, or not uſed, or at the leaſt very ſeldom, and in a light and irreverent manner. The 'fault whereof (add they) we muſt impute *to you*, and 'other of your vocation.' — In the concluſion they tell him — 'If we ſhall hereafter (theſe our letters 'and commandments notwithſtanding) have eftſoones 'complaint, and finde the like faults in your dioces, 'we ſhall have juſt cauſe to impute the fault thereof, 'and of all that enſue thereof, unto you; and conſequently be occaſioned therby to ſee otherwyſe to the 'redreſſe of theſe things, whereof we would be ſory. 'And therfore we do eftſoones charge and commaund 'you upon your allegiance, to loke well upon your 'duety herein, as ye tender our pleaſure, &c (16).'

[*I*] *On ſome articles then delivered to him.*] Being as follows. 1. That all ſuch as rebel againſt their Prince, get unto them damnation, and thoſe that reſiſt the higher power, reſiſt the ordinaunces of God, and he that dieth therfore in rebellion, by the woorde of God is utterly damned, and ſo looſeth bothe bodye and ſoule. And therefore thoſe Rebelles in Devonſhire and Cornewall, in Northfolke, or elſewhere, who taking upon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their King and Prince, againſt the lawes and ſtatutes of the realme, and goe about to ſubverte the ſtate and order of the commonwealth, not onely do deſerve death, as traytors and rebels, but do accumulate to themſelves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer the father and firſt author of pride, diſobedience and rebellion, what pretence ſoever they have, and what Maſſes or holye water ſoever they pretende, or go about to make among themſelves, as Chore, Dathan and Abiron, for rebellion againſt Moſes, were ſwalowed downe alive into hell, although they pretended to ſacrifice unto God. 2. Likewiſe in the order of the Churche and externe rites and ceremonies of divine ſervice, for ſo muche as God requireth humility of heart, innocencie of living, knowledge of him, charity and love to our neighbours, and obedience to his woorde, and to his Miniſters and ſuperioure powers, theſe we muſt bring to all our prayers, to all our ſervice, and this is the ſacrifice that Chriſte requireth, and theſe be thoſe that make all thynges pleaſaunt unto God. The externe rites and ceremonies be but exerciſes of our religion, and appointable by ſuperior powers, in choſing whereof we muſt obey the Magiſtrates; the whyche thinges alſo we do ſee ever hath bene and ſhal be (as the time and place is) divers, and yet al hath pleaſed God ſo long as theſe before-ſpoken inwarde things be there. If any man ſhall uſe the old rites, and thereby diſobey the ſuperior power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made nought by his diſobedience; ſo that, which els (ſo long as the lawe did ſo ſtand) myghte be good, by pride and diſobedience nowe is made noughte; as Saules ſacrifice, Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, and Aaron's two children were. But who that joineth to devotion obedience, hee winneth the garland. For elſe it is a zeale *ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam*, a wil, deſire, zeale and devotion, but not after wiſedome, that is a fooliſhe devotion, which can require no thankes or praiſe. And yet agayne, where ye obey, yee muſt have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings, and therfore who that taketh the communion, or ſayth or heareth the ſervice appoynted by the King's Majeſtie, muſt bring devotion and inward prayer with him, or els his praiers are but vaine, lacking that whyche God requireth, that is, the heart and minde to pray to him. 3. Further, yee ſhal for example on Sonday come ſeventh night after the aforeſayd date, celebrate the Communion at Paules church. 4. Ye ſhal alſo ſet foorth in your ſermon, that our authoritie of royal power (17) is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritie and force in this our young age, then is, or was of any of our predeceſſors, though the ſame were

(11) Foxe, ibid. p. 1309. and Burnet, ubi ſupra, in the Collection of Records. p. 112.

(12) Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. edit. 1733. p. 9.

(13) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 42.

(14) J. Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1299, 1300, 1302.

(15) Hiſt. of the Reformat. as above, Part ii p. 121.

(16) Foxe, as above, p. 1303.

(17) i. e. The King's.

future, and be present at every sermon made there, except hindered by sickness, or other reasonable cause: to celebrate the Communion in that church, on all the principal feasts: convene before him, and punish, such as did not come unto, and frequent the Common-Prayer, and service in the church, or did not come to God's board, and receive the Communion at least once a year: to search out and convene before him, more diligently than he had done, all adulterers: to keep the cathedral of St Paul's, and other churches in London, in due repair, and see that the tithes were duly paid to the respective incumbents: And, to abide and keep residence in his house in London, 'till he had licence from the Council to depart elsewhere (y). On the day appointed for his preaching, which was September 1, he made a sermon to a crouded audience (assembled on purpose to hear what he would say) on the points delivered to him. But he said not a word of the last, namely, 'of the King's royal power being of no less authority and force in his 'youth, than was that of any of his predecessors; and therefore that all his subjects were 'as much bound to obey him, as if he had been thirty or forty years old.' For this contempt, he was complained of to the King by John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and William Latimer, B. D. (z), whereupon Commissioners were appointed [K] to proceed summarily against him. He appeared before them September 10, 13, 16, 18, 20, 23, and October 1; and, after a long trial [L], was committed to the Marshalsey, and towards the end of October, deprived of his Bishopric (a). But he most severely revenged himself afterwards on his prosecutors. Not long after the accession of Queen Mary to the throne, he was restored to his Bishopric; namely, by a commission dated August 22, 1553 (b), which was read in St Paul's cathedral, the 5th of September following (c). In the Convocation which met in 1554, he was made Vicegerent, and President of the same [M], in the room of Archbishop Cranmer, newly committed to the tower (d). The same year, he visited his Diocese, in order to root up all the seeds of the Reformation (e), and was guilty of several furious and extravagant actions [N]. On the 25th of October, he sent an order to all parsons and curates within his Diocese, to put out such passages of scripture as had been painted on the church-walls, in the late King Edward's time (f): And set up the Mass again at St Paul's, before the act for restoring it was passed (g). The same year, he was in a commission to turn out some of the reformed Bishops (h). After he was reinstated in his see, he would not allow of several leases made by

(y) ... 1304, 1305. and Burnet, ubi supra, p. 121, 122.

(z) Foxe, ubi supra, p. 1311.

(a) Ibid. p. 1310—1320. Newcourt, ex Reg. Bonner, p. 210, says it was Octob. 1; but it appears from Foxe, that the sentence was pronounced after that day.

(b) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 247.

(c) Registr. Bonner, c.764. Immediately after he deprived all married Priests in his diocese of their livings, without staying for the Queen's order. Life of Archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype, fol. p. 328, 329.

(d) Foxe, ubi supra, p. 1426.

(e) Ibid. p. 1474.

(f) Ibid. p. 1475. Burnet, Part ii. p. 289, 290, 291.

(g) Nov. 29. Burnet, ibid. p. 276.

(h) Ibid. p. 274, and Collect.

were much elder, as may appeare by example of Josias, and other yong Kings in scripture; and therfore, all our subjectes to be no lesse bound to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty yeares of age (18).

[K] *Whereupon Commissioners were appointed.*] Being Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley; Sir William Petre, and Sir Thomas Smith, Secretaries of State; and William May, LL. D. and Dean of St Paul's. Their Commission was dated Sept. 8, 1549 (19).

[L] *And after a long trial.*] The matter laid to his charge was, 'Disobedience to the King's Majesty, 'in that he did not set forth in his sermon the King's 'royal power in his minority, according to the tenor 'of the article delivered to him for that purpose.' But he endeavoured to turn it off, and to make people think, that he was called to answer, not for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of religion; saying, that the cause of his trouble was not for the matter they pretended against him, but because he set forth in his sermon the true presence of the body and bloud of Jesus Christ to be in the Sacrament of the altar. And he strove to blacken his accusers, by representing them as evil, infamed, and notorious criminous persons, manifest and notable hereticks and seducers of the people, especially touching the Sacrament of the altar; consequently excommunicate, and therefore not to be admitted as witnesses. Particularly concerning Hooper he said, 'where I preached and affirmed 'the very true body and bloud of our Saviour Jesus 'Christ to be in the Sacrament of the altar, the selfe-'same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the 'crosse; he [Hooper] like an asse (as he is an asse in-'deed) falsely changed and turned the word *that* into '*as*, like an asse, saying that I had said, as it hanged, 'and as it was shed upon the crosse (20).' At another time he said to one of his accusers, that he spake like a goose; and to the other, that he spake like a woodcock. He likewise behaved with rudeness towards his judges, calling them pretended Commissioners, and the proceedings against him unjust and unlawful; and the people present daws, woodcocks, fools, &c. (21). The first day of his appearance he exhibited a protestation against the Commissioners jurisdiction (22), and the 20th of September appealed from them to the King, and sent a petition to the Privy-Council, dated the 7th of October, and another dated the 26th of the same month (23). But, notwithstanding all his endeavours, he was committed to the Marshalsey on the 20th of September, for not giving a full and perfect answer to the articles exhibited against him, and for refusing Secretary Smith to be his judge (24). And about the end of October was finally deprived (25). This sentence, we are told (26), was much censured, and by many thought over severe.

[M] *He was made Vicegerent and President of the same.*] And made in it an oration in praise of Priesthood, which shews *a great piece of his profound and deep learning*, as is well observed by Mr Foxe, who hath preserved this fragment of it (27). 'Wherefore 'it is to be known, that Priests and Elders be worthy 'of all men to be worshipped, for the dignity-sake 'which they have of God, as in Matth. xvi. *Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth*, &c. *And whatsoever 'you shall bind*, &c. For a Priest by some means is like 'Mary the Virgin, and is shewed by three points. 'As the blessed Virgin by five words did conceive 'Christ, as it is said Luke i. *Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*; i. e. Be it unto me according to thy 'word; so the Priest, by five words, doth make the 'very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the 'consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her womb; 'so immediately after the speaking of the words of 'consecration, the bread is transubstantiated into the 'very body of Christ. —— Therefore here is to be 'known, that the dignity of Priests by some means 'passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no 'power given to any of the angels to make the body 'of Christ; whereby the least Priest may do on earth, 'that the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot 'do. — Wherefore Priests are to be honoured before 'all Kings of the earth, Princes and Nobles. For a 'Priest is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, 'maker of his Creator,' &c. Horrible absurdities (28)!

[N] *And was guilty of several furious and extravagant actions.*] Particularly, at Hadham, he was excessively angry, because the bells did not ring at his coming, and the rood-loft was not decked, nor the Sacrament hanged up. So, swearing and fuming in the church at Dr Bricket the Rector, and calling him knave and heretick, he went to strike at him, but the blow fell upon Sir Thomas Joscelyn's ear, and almost stunned him (29).

(18) Foxe, as above, p. 1310, 1311.

(19) Rymer's Acta Regia, Vol. XV. p. 191.

(20) Foxe, as above, p. 1313.

(21) Ibid. p. 1312.

(22) Ibid. p. 1313.

(23) Ibid. p. 1325, 1328, 1330.

(24) Ibid. p. 1324—1326.

(25) Ibid. p. 1330.

(26) Burnet, ubi supra, Part ii. p. 127. and Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 281.

(27) Page 1426.

(28) See Foxe, ubi supra, p. 1426.

(29) Ibid. p. 1474.

by Bishop Ridley to his sister, and other persons, to their great injury (*i*); though Bonner's mother had been constantly entertained by that Bishop during his residence at Fulham, and treated as if she had been his own mother; besides his kindness to his other friends (*k*). In the years 1555, 1556, 1557, and 1558, he most inhumanly committed to the flames, and otherwise destroyed, hundreds of innocent persons [*O*], for their firm adherence to the Protestant Religion, and their refusing to embrace the gross errors of Popery (*l*). Being known to be fierce and cruel to the utmost degree, Bishop Gardiner, in 1555, left the condemning and burning of Hereticks wholly to him; who undertook it chearfully (*m*): But, soon after considering how odious was the employment, he complained that the execution of the laws was left entirely to him, while the rest looked on. Therefore, when the Justices and Sheriffs sent up Hereticks to him, he sent them back, and refused to meddle further. Upon which, the King and Queen writ to him on the 24th of May, admonishing him, that when persons who leaned to any erroneous and heretical opinions were brought unto him, he should endeavour to remove them from their errors, or else proceed against them according to the laws (*n*). On the 14th of February, 1555-6, he came to Oxford (with Thirlby, Bishop of Ely) to degrade Archbishop Cranmer; whom he used with his wonted insolence (*o*) [*P*]. The 29th of December following he was put into a commission to search and raze all registers and records, containing professions against the Pope, scrutinies taken in religious houses, &c (*p*). And the 8th of February, 1556-7, he was also put in another very unusual commission, or kind of Inquisition, for searching after, and punishing all Hereticks; that is, all persons that were of the Protestant Religion (*q*). Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, he had the confidence to go and meet her at High-gate, with the rest of the Bishops; but she looked on him as so much defiled with blood, that she could not show him any mark of her favour (*r*). For some months he remained unmolested (*s*), but being called before the Privy-Council, on the 30th of May 1559, he refused to take the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy then tendered to him (*t*): Upon which account he was deprived a second time of his Bishopric, the 29th of June following (*u*); and committed to the Marshalsey (*w*) [*Q*]. In pursuance of the statute 5 Eliz. chap. i. the oath of Supremacy being again tendered to him, he was, upon his refusing to take it, indicted of a *Præmunire* [*R*], but found means to come off (*x*). After having lived in his confinement some years, in a chearful condition, [which made some compare him to Dionysius the tyrant (*y*), that behaved better in adversity

(*i*) J. Foxe, ubi supra, p. 1768.

(*k*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 320.

(*l*) J. Foxe, Vol. II. Burnet, Part ii. Book ii.

(*m*) Burnet, ibid. p. 304.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 311. and Collect. B. ii. No. 20. p. 285. He was usually called the common Cut-throat, and general Slaughter-Slave to all the Bishops of England. Foxe, ubi supra, p. 1842.

(*o*) Foxe, as above, p. 1881, 1882.

(*p*) Burnet, as above, p. 341. and Collect. of Records, Book ii. No. 28, p. 301.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 347. and Collect. of Records, B. ii. No. 32. p. 311.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 374. She would not give him her hand to kiss. Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. 635.

(*s*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 3[illegible]6.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 160.

(*u*) Strype's Ann. as above, p. 141.

(*w*) Wood ubi supra. Under a very easy restraint. See Bishop Godwin, ubi supra, p. 251.

(*x*) Strype's Ann. as above, Vol. I. p. 378, &c. Dyer's Reports, fol. 237. Mich. 6 & 7 Eliz. plac. 15.

(*y*) Brife View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, 12*mo*. Lond. 1653, p. 16.

[*O*] *He most inhumanly committed to the flames, and otherwise destroyed, hundreds of innocent persons.*] The persons whom he is recorded to have sent to the flames, or to whose death he was otherwise accessary, were, in 1541, John Porter. In 1546, Anne Askew. In 1554, Laur. Saunders, at Coventry. In the beginning of 1555, John Rogers, and Bishop Hooper. March 16, 26, he caused two to be burnt in Smithfield; and on the 26th one at Raleigh, and one at Horndon on the hill; the 28th one at Braintree, and one at Maldon; the 29th one at Colchester, all in Essex. April 24, one at Westminster. May 30, two in Smithfield. June 10, one at Rochford, one at Raleigh; one at Coggeshall, one at Chelmsford. June 14, one at Colchester; the 15th, one at Manningtree, and one at Harwich, all in Essex. In July, John Bradford, and another, in Smithfield. July 22, one at Lewes; the 23d, one at Stenyng, and one at Chichester, all in Sussex. Aug. 2, one at Bury; Aug. 8, two at Uxbridge; the 26th, one at St Alban's; the 28th, one at Uxbridge; the 31st, one at Walden, and one at Stratford. And likewise, in the same month, one at Stratford, one at Ware, and one at Barnet. December 18, John Philpot. In 1556, January 27, seven in Smithfield. April 24, six in the same place; April 28, six at Colchester. May 25, two at Stratford; the 16th, four in Smithfield. June 6, four at Lewes in Sussex; June 27, thirteen at Stratford. In 1557, March 6, five in Smithfield. August 2, five men and five women at Colchester. September 17, four at Islington. November 18, three in Smithfield. December 22, two in the same place. In 1558, March 28, three in Smithfield. May 26, three at Colchester. June 27, seven in Smithfield (30). July 14, six at Brentford, &c (31). In a word, he is reported to have burnt no less than *two hundred* in three years (32), besides many imprisoned by him for their religion, who died in different gaols; and others whom he whipped, or caused to be cruelly tortured.

(30) When these were led out to be burnt, it was proclaimed in the Queen's name, that no man should pray for them, or speak to them, or say, *God help them*. Burnet, as above, Part ii. p. 364.

(31) See J. Foxe, Vol. II. throughout, and Burnet, as above, Part ii. Book ii.

(32) J. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 396; and J. Foxe, as above, p. 2043.

[*P*] *Whom he used with his wonted insolence.*] For, as he was degrading him, he insulted over him in the following manner. 'This is the man who hath ever 'despised the Pope's holiness, and now is to be judged 'by him. This is the man who hath pulled down so 'many churches, and now is come to be judged in a 'church. This is the man that contemned the blessed 'Sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be con'demned afore that blessed Sacrament hanging over 'the altar. This is the man, that like Lucifer, sat in 'the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and 'now is come before an altar to be judged himself '(33).' This last sentence alludes to the Archbishop's sitting at Bonner's trial, on a Scaffold erected for that purpose in St Paul's church, and it seems over one of the side-altars; but the Archbishop declares he knew it not.

(33) Foxe, as above, p. 1882.

[*Q*] *And committed to the Marshalsey.*] It shewed, as Dr Burnet observes (34), a great temper in the whole nation, that such a man as Bonner had been, was suffered to go about in safety, and was not made a sacrifice to the revenge of those who had lost their near friends by his means. — There were great complaints made against him, that he had in many things, in the prosecution of those that were presented for Heresy, exceeded what the Law allowed; so that it was much desired to have him made an example. But as the Queen was of her own nature merciful, so the reformed Divines had learned in the Gospel, not to render evil for evil.

(34) Ubi supra. Part ii. p. 396.

[*R*] *Indicted of a Præmunire.*] Of which the punishment is, to be out of the King's protection, forfeit lands and goods, and be imprisoned and ransomed at the King's pleasure; and if not to be found, outlawed (35). As he was going back from the place where the oath was tendered to him, to the Marshalsey, one of the multitude that stood gazing at him, said, 'The Lord confound, or else turn thy heart?' To whom he answered, 'The Lord send thee to keep 'thy breath to cool thy porridge.' To another saying, 'The Lord overthrow thee;' he said, 'The 'Lord make thee as wise as a woodcock.' And in his lodgings afterwards, a Minister endeavouring to persuade him by many arguments to yield, and acknowledge the Queen's supremacy, he answered him tauntingly, 'By God, you are well learned.' To whom the Minister said, 'Where learned you, Mr 'Bonner, to swear?' — 'I pray you, said he, did 'not Christ swear, *Amen, Amen, dico vobis*;' i. e. Verily, verily, I say unto you (36).

(35) Statut. 16. Ric. II. c. 5.

(36) Strype's Annals, ubi supra, p. 378, 379.

[S] *Addicted*

versity than prosperity] he died there September 5, 1569 (z). Three days after, he was buried, at midnight, in St George's church-yard in Southwark (a); attended with some of his Popish friends and relations: which was ordered to be done at that season of the night, and in that obscurity, to prevent any disturbances that might have been made by the citizens, who hated him extremely; for, having been the death of so many of their pastors, friends, and relations, if they should have seen him in the day-time carried with pomp and shew to his burial, as many of his acquaintance had intended to do. He stood excommunicate many years, and took no care for his absolution, and so might have been denied Christian burial; but the Bishop of London would not make use of that rigour (b). Such was the end of that bloody man, Bishop Bonner. He was, with respect to his character, a violent, furious, and passionate man, addicted to swearing [S]; and extremely cruel in his nature, as is but too manifest from his actions above related. He was generally looked upon as a person of no principle (c); but if so, 'tis a wonder he scrupled embracing the several alterations made in religion, in the reign of King Edward VI. He is likewise represented as an Atheist, and said to have believed, that there is neither heaven, nor hell, nor God, or devil (d): and indeed, his monstrous behaviour renders such an opinion but too probable. For, who that believes a God would burn people for speculative opinions? The Bishop, in his manner and conversation, was blustering and vehement (e); but withal satirical, and sometimes full of witty repartees [T]. As to his person, he was very fat and corpulent [U]; which made one say to him, that he was full of guts, but empty of bowels (f). He was a great master of the Canon Law, being excelled in that faculty by very few in his time; and also was well skilled in Politics (g): But he understood little of divinity (h). Accordingly, he made no figure in the learned world. However, several things were published under his name, which are mentioned below in the note [W]. One important service he did to his Bishopric, in that, through his

(z) J. Le Neve, Fasti, &c. as above, p. 180.

(a) 'Tis more probable that it was there, as the Marshalsey stands in St George's parish; than that it should be in Barking church-yard, as Bishop Godwin asserts, De Præsulibus, &c. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 251. *In loco humatus est latronum & sicariorum sepulturæ destinato, cœmeterio*, viz. Barkingensi.

(b) Strype's Annals, ubi supra, p. 573.

(c) Burnet, P. ii. p. 128.

(d) Foxe, p. 1843. Strype's Annals, ut supra, p. 573.

(e) See Foxe, throughout, and Burnet, ubi supra, Book ii. Part ii. of the Hist. of the Reformation.

(f) i. e. Compassion. Foxe, ubi supra, and Fuller's Hist. of Waltham Abbey, p. 18.

(g) Dr Heylyn's Hist. of the Reformation.

(h) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 128.

[S] *Addicted to swearing.*] See the note immediately before this. His usual oaths were, By God, Before God, By St Mary, By All the Saints, &c. (37). And in one of his letters he hath these shocking words, — 'If amongst you I have no puddings, then 'must I say, as Messer, our Priest of the Hospital, 'said to his mad horse, in our last journey from Hostia, '*Al diavolo, al diavolo, al tutti diavoli*; i. e. To the 'devil, to the devil, to all the devils.' This he writ from the Marshalsey (38).

[T] *And sometimes full of witty repartees.*] For instance; after his deprivation, as he was once walking with his tippet in the street, one begged it of him, in scoffe, to line a coat; 'No, (saith he) but thou 'shalt have a fool's head to line thy cap.' To another that bad him 'Good morrow Bishop (*) *quondam*.' He straight replied, 'Farewel, Knave *semper* (†).' And one shewing him his own picture in the Book of Martyrs, in the first edition, on purpose to vex him, he laughed at it, saying, 'A vengeance 'on the fool, how could he get my picture drawn so 'right?' And when one asked him, 'If he were 'not ashamed to whip a man with a beard?' He laughed, and told him, 'His beard was grown since; 'but (saith he) if thou hadst been in his case, thou 'wouldst have thought it a good commutation of pen'nance to have thy bum beaten, to save thy body from 'burning (39).

[U] *He was very fat and corpulent.*] Upon which account the following Epigram was made upon him (40).

Quæ nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid alvus,
  Pondera quid ventris crassitiesque velit?
Corpus amaxæum, distento abdomine pigrum
  Rides annes stupes, lector amice, magis?
Vasta quid ista velint, si nescis, pondera, dicam;
  Nam nihil hic mirum venter obesus habet.
Carnibus humanis & sanguine vestitur atro,
  Ducentos annis hauserat ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monstri est, recto vis nomine dicam?
  Nomen nec patris, nec gerit ille matris.
Qui patre Savago natus, falsoque Bonerus
  Dicitur: hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

The sense of which, in two words, is, that the reason of his being so fat was, because he so voraciously fed upon human flesh and blood. And that he devoured two hundred persons in three years, &c.

[W] *Several things were published under his name, which are mentioned*, &c.] Being as follow. I. Preface to the Oration of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, concerning True Obedience. Printed at London, in Latin, 1534, 1535, and at Hamburgh in 1536, 8vo. Translated into English by Michael Wood, a zealous Protestant, with a bitter Preface to the Reader, and a Postscript. Roan, 1553, 8vo. It is also inserted in J. Foxe's Book of Martyrs (41). In that Preface, Bonner speaks much in favour of King Henry VIIIth's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and against the Tyranny exercised by the Bishop of Rome in this kingdom. II. Several letters to the Lord Cromwell (42). III. A Declaration to the Lord Cromwell, describing to him the evil behaviour of Steven [Bishop of] Winchester, with special causes therein contained, wherefore, and why he misliked of him (43). IV. Letter of his about the Proceedings at Rome, concerning the King's Divorce from Katharine of Arragon (44). V. An Admonition and Advertisement given by the Bishop of London, to all Readers of the Bible in the English Tongue, 1540 (45). VI. Injunctions given by Bonner, Bishop of London, to his Clergie, [about preaching] with the names of Books prohibited, 1542 (46). VII. Letter to Mr Lechmore (47). VIII. *Responsum & Exhortatio.* Lond. 1553, 8vo; *i. e.* Answer and Exhortation to the Clergy in praise of Priesthood; spoken by our author in St Paul's Cathedral. London, 16 Octob. 1553, after a Sermon preached there before the Clergy, by John Harpesfield (48). IX. A Letter to Mr Lechmore, 6 Sept. 1553 (49). X. 'Articles to be en'quired of in the general Visitation of Edmund Bishop 'of London, exercised by him in the year 1554, in 'the City and Diocese of London, &c (50).' To ridicule them, John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, writ a book, intituled, 'A Declaration of Edmonde Bonner's 'Articles, concerning the Cleargye of London Dyo'cese, whereby that execrable Anty-Chryste is in his 'righte Colours reveled.' 1554 and 1561, 8vo. XI. A profitable and necessary Doctrine, containing an exposition on the Creed, Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, the Pater-noster, Ave Maria, and the Seven Sacraments; with certain Homilies adjoining thereunto, for the instruction and information of the Diocese of London. Lond. 1554, 1555, 4to. This Book was drawn up by his Chaplains John Harpesfield and Henry Pendleton; and the former part of it, which is a Catechism, is mostly taken out of the *Institution of a Cristen Man*, set out by King Henry VIII, only varied in some points (51). XII. Several Letters, Declarations, Arguings, Disputes, &c. of his, are extant in J. Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Vol. last. XIII. His Objections against the Processe of Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, who had tendred the Oath of Supremacy to him the second time, are preserved by Mr Strype in his Annals of the Reformation (52). As is likewise a Letter of his concerning King Henry the VIIIth's appeal to the Pope, by Bishop Burnet (53). But

(37) See Foxe, as above, p. 1191, 2014, and in many other places.

(38) Burnet's History of the Reformat. Part ii. Book i. Collect. Records, No. 37. p. 170.

(*) Sometime, or formerly.

(†) Always.

(39) Harrington, ubi supra.

(40) Alluding to the picture of him in Foxe, when whipping Thomas Hinshaw, p. 2043. After his deprivation, every ill-favoured fat fellow that went in the street was called *Bonner*. Harrington, ubi supra, p. 16.

(41) Edit. as above, p. 1060.

(42) Ib. p. 1088, 1089.

(43) Ibid. p. 1090.

(44) Burnet, as above, Part i. Collect. p. 111.

(45) Ibid. p. 251.

(46) Ib. p. 252.

(47) Ibid. Part ii. Collect. p. 170.

(48) Wood, Ath. ubi supra. See also above note [M].

(49) Burnet, ubi supra, Part ii. Collect. p. 248.

(50) Ib. p. 260, &c. and Part iii. Collect. p. 148.

(51) Wood, ubi supra; and Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol II. p. 382, 383.

(52) Vol. I. p. 379, &c.

(53) Hist. of the Reformat. P. iii. Collect. p. 37.

his great intereſt with Queen Mary I, he obtained from her ſeveral Manors and Advowſons to be united to the ſee of London [*X*].

But upon the whole it appears, how falſe and ill-grounded is the great Character given [of ſome of the Popiſh Biſhops, and] of *him* in particular, by Sanders; that they were ' all men excellent for their Learning ' and Gravity.' — *Omnes doctrina & gravitate præſtantes viri* — (54).

(54) De Schiſm. Anglic. edit. Col. 1631, 8vo, Agrip. p. 248.

[*X*] *Through his great intereſt with Queen* Mary I. *he obtained from her ſeveral Manors and Advowſons to be united to the See of* London.] Namely theſe following. St Alphage, St Anne Alderſgate, St Clement Eaſtcheap, St James Garlickhithe, St Catherine Coleman, St Magnus, St Martin's Ludgate, St Martin's in the Fields, St Matthew Friday-ſtreet, in London and Weſtminſter; Hanwell in Middleſex; Aſhwell and Sabridgeworth in Hertfordſhire; Creſhall, Fering, Patſwick, Packleſham, Tay Parva, and Wennington, in Eſſex. They were granted to him and his ſucceſſors by Letters Patent dated the 3d of March, 1553 (55).

(55) See Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſ. &c. under thoſe reſpective pariſhes.

BOOTH (Barton) one of the beſt and moſt applauded Actors, more eſpecially in Tragedy, that ever trod the Engliſh Stage. He deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family, originally ſeated (*a*) in the county palatine of Lancaſter, in which he was born, and ſince ſpread into Cheſhire and ſeveral other counties. His father, John Booth, Eſq; was a perſon of great worth and honour, though his fortune was not very conſiderable, and highly attentive to the education of his ſons, of whom Barton, the third, was born in 1681 (*b*). When he was about three years old, his father removed himſelf and his whole family to town, and ſettled in Weſtminſter. At the age of nine years, Barton was put under the tuition of the famous Dr Buſby, who was then at the head of Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he bred ſome of the ableſt men, that, in the laſt and preſent age, have done honour to this nation (*c*). The great pregnancy of Mr Booth's parts were very quickly diſcovered, he had a ſtrong paſſion for learning, and a peculiar turn for Latin poetry; he not only read it with attention, and ſtudied the beſt authors with diligence, but fixed many of the fineſt paſſages ſo firmly in his memory, that he was able to repeat them, not only with propriety and correctneſs, but with ſuch a graceful action, ſo fine a tone of voice, and ſuch peculiar emphaſis, that it was taken notice of by the whole ſchool (*d*). It was in conſequence of this, that when, according to the cuſtom of the ſchool, a Latin Play was to be acted, a conſiderable part therein was given to young Booth, who performed it with ſuch excellence, as gained him the notice of the Doctor, as well as the univerſal applauſe of all the ſpectators [*A*]. This gave him firſt an inclination for the Stage, to the great concern of his father, who intended him for the Church, and with that view had been particularly careful in his education. But as the paſſions firſt implanted in youth commonly act with violence, eſpecially when they meet with any reſtraint or contradiction; ſo when Mr Booth had reached the age of ſeventeen, and the time approached when he was to be ſent to the univerſity, he reſolved to run any riſk, rather than be obliged to enter upon a courſe of life, ſo inconſiſtent with the livelineſs of his temper, and the natural bent of his inclination. It happened that there was then here one Mr Aſhbury, who had been long Maſter of a company at Dublin, and was allowed to underſtand perfectly the management of a theatre, with whom young Booth became acquainted, and finding that under his direction there was no danger of his getting bread, he quitted all hopes and all pretenſions in another way, ſtole away from ſchool, and went over to Ireland

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 481.

(*b*) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq;

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 923.

(*d*) From the information of the Rev. Mr Knipe.

[*A*] *As well as the univerſal applauſe of all the ſpectators.*] There has been very few, if any, ſince the time of the famous Ben Johnſon, that have come upon the ſtage with ſo much true learning as Mr Booth, which probably was the reaſon that he became ſo ſoon, and ſo good an actor. He was ſtruck with the Roman Poets, when at Weſtminſter, to a degree of enthuſiaſm. He was charmed with the ſound and cadence of their verſes before he underſtood them; but his paſſion for harmony was ſo ſtrong, that Virgil and Terence were familiar to him when he had very little acquaintance with Salluſt or Livy. When he repeated his leſſons, he did it with ſuch propriety and force, and was himſelf ſo ſtrangely affected with them, that the under-maſters could not avoid taking notice of it; nor was it long before it reached Buſby's ears (1). One might naturally imagine, from the opinion commonly entertained of this famous perſon, that ſuch a report could not much recommend a lad to his notice; but the fact was otherwiſe. This propenſity to playing was Buſby's own foible. In his youth he had performed in a Play of Mr William Cartwright's, called the *Royal Slave*, with prodigious applauſe. He had always a prejudice in favour of this kind of eloquence, and thought nothing was ſo ſure a mark of genius as a reliſh for dramatick poetry (2). When he heard therefore of Booth's ſtrong inclination to this ſpecies of literature, he careſſed inſtead of correcting him, examined his proficiency, and aſſigned him a principal part in the Latin Play, which, according to a cuſtom introduced by this Dr Buſby, was annually performed by the ſcholars, and perhaps this might have ſome ſhare in quickening his diligence to get it up, which he did ſo well, that Dr Buſby himſelf praiſed him with ſuch warmth, as diſcovered ſufficiently, that tho' upwards of ninety, he had not forgot the pleaſure that equal praiſes gave him in like circumſtances. But Mr Booth's father, who had an invincible averſion to the ſtage, would ſometimes tell his ſon, alluding to this accident, *that the old man poiſoned him with his laſt breath.* This happened about three years before he left the ſchool, and choſe this for his profeſſion. How much the young people at Weſtminſter value themſelves upon Booth's coming from amongſt them, will appear from the following Prologue, ſpoke during his life-time before one of their annual performances (3).

Your antique actors, as we read,
No more than anticks were indeed;
With wide-mouth'd maſks their babes to fright,
They kept the countenance from ſight.
Now faces on the ſtage are ſhewn;
Nor ſpeak they with their tongues alone,
But in each look a force there lies,
That ſpeaks the paſſion to the eyes.
See then which beſt deſerves our praiſe,
The vizard, or the human face?
Old *Roſcius* to our *Booth* muſt bow;
'Twas then but art, 'tis nature now.

(1) From the informations mentioned in the text.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 923.

(3) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 142.

[*B*] *At*

Ireland with Mr Ashbury in 1698 (*e*). He very soon distinguished himself on the Stage at Dublin, where he had great natural advantages over most of his contemporaries, especially in Tragedy; he had a grave countenance, a good person, an air of dignity, a fine voice, and a very manly action. He spoke very justly, his pronunciation was very correct, and the cadence of his voice was extreamly grateful to the ear. In short, he gained in three seasons so high a reputation in that country, and was complimented so much, upon his theatrical talents, by the English gentlemen who saw him there, that he resolved to return home, and try how far it was possible for him to push his fortune here (*f*). He accordingly came back to England in 1701, and applied himself to Lord Fitzharding, who was of the Bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark, and was by him recommended to Mr Betterton, who very readily took him under his care, and gave him all the assistance, in every respect, that was in his power, which he was the more enabled to do, as he was then at the head of a company (*g*). There never were two men better met. The tutor had all imaginable kindness for his pupil, and the pupil all possible veneration for his tutor. The first Play in which he acted was the Tragedy of *Valentinian*, in which he performed the part of *Maximus*; Mr Verbruggen played *Valentinian*, Mr Betterton *Etius*, and Mrs Barry, *Lucina*. It was scarce possible for a young Actor to hope, or even to wish, a better reception than he met with, and the kindness of the town had a very happy effect upon this new candidate for theatrical fame, as it gave him a proper degree of confidence without vanity, and inspired him with a just passion for maintaining, by his future behaviour, the early reputation he had acquired (*h*). The *Ambitious Stepmother*, a new Tragedy that came soon after upon the Stage, in which he performed the character of *Artaban*, added to the character he had acquired, and raised him justly to the reputation, of being one of the most considerable Actors then upon the Stage (*i*). In the year 1704, he married Mrs Frances Barkham, daughter of Sir William Barkham of Norfolk, Baronet, who lived with him six years, and died then without issue (*k*). In all the theatrical revolutions that happened in those days, Mr Booth, notwithstanding his great capacity, and his standing so well as he did with the Town, had very little share. He adhered constantly to Mr Betterton, as long as that could be of any use to him; and when his tutor retired from the management of the Stage, he trusted to his merit, and to the justice of the Publick, in which he was not at all deceived; for though he did not force himself into the management of the Drury-Lane Theatre, and though he opposed those that did, yet he was very well received there, purely upon the score of his abilities, which, after the death of Betterton, placed him very clearly at the head of his profession, in Tragedy at least (*l*) [*B*]. But we must now come to that period of time, in which Mr Booth's sole merit raised him into a superior point of light, and procured for him that reward which he had long deserved. The Tragedy of *Cato*, which had been written in the year 1703, or at least the four first acts of it, was brought upon the Stage in 1712, chiefly on a political principle, and to support the cause of the Whigs. It was so long before Mr Addison could be prevailed upon to venture it, that the proper season was elapsed, and the benefits came on in the month of April when it was first acted (*m*). The part of *Cato* was given

(*e*) Hist. of the English Stage, p. 143.

(*f*) From the information of the late Mr. Elrington.

(*g*) Hist. of the English Stage, p. 143.

(*h*) Remarks on the British Theatre, p. 293.

(*i*) From a Letter to the late N. R. Esq; on the success of that Play.

(*k*) Life of Barton Booth, Esq;

(*l*) Remarks on the British Theatre, p. 297.

(*m*) See the article of ADDISON (JOSEPH.)

[*B*] *At the head of his profession, in Tragedy at least.*] It has been shewn in another place, that very soon after the Restoration the two companies, stiled the *King's* and *Duke's*, were formed of persons perfectly skilled in their profession, and that when these companies united they composed the most complete set of actors this nation ever saw. It was from the sight of these extraordinary persons in his youth, that Mr Booth caught the passion he had for the stage, and under them he received those instructions that were requisite to give him that high degree of perfection he attained. There were however various circumstances that in this respect were very favourable: He was in the prime of his life when they were in their decline, so that he had vigour enough to carry fully into execution those lights which he derived from his experience. He was always studious in his profession, and had a very strong desire to support it's reputation, as well as his own; and this made him take great pains in the parts he played, and also made him cautious of accepting any, but those he could perform to advantage. He was very willing to receive all the instructions that either authors who brought new Plays could give, the seniors in his own profession could afford, or that might be derived from the remarks of the many able criticks who flourished in those days, and shewed a peculiar regard for, and attention to, the entertainments of the theatre; such as Mr Manwaring, Mr Addison, Mr Steele, and many others. It was from his modesty and circumspection in all these points, and the gratitude he constantly expressed for any assistance that he received, his character came into general esteem, and he was reputed one of the ablest and most diligent of those that were then on the stage, when there yet remained several great and applauded actors. It is indeed true, that his taste for, and excellence in, Tragedy, rendered him a less general Player than some of his predecessors: But though this might in some respect make him less useful to the managers, yet it did not at all detract from his credit with the publick, more especially when it appeared, that in some of the parts he played in Comedy, he was extremely perfect, and gave them a gracefulness and propriety which few other actors could reach. In this point of light he stood, when, in compliance with the importunities of his friends, Mr Addison consented that Cato, which had been already perused and admired by the best judges, should be produced to the publick, and make it's appearance on the stage. The author himself and his friends were very sensible, that the success of this excellent Tragedy, would in a great measure depend on the manner in which the character was played, and therefore in putting it into the hands of Mr Booth, they might be said to rest in a great measure their expectations from that celebrated piece on his capacity and care. It is no less true, that from his first rehearsal of it they became in some measure confident of it's being received with applause; and it must be also allowed, that though Mr Booth did not excel himself in this character, for in that of Othello he was thought superior, yet he excelled all who have attempted that part ever since, and supported it with that dignity of behaviour, that captivated the minds of a well-judging audience, and rendered Cato as much admired and revered in Britain, as he ever had been in Rome. This might look like Panegyrick, if the world did not know, from the small interval of time since elapsed, that it is no more than naked truth.

given to Mr Booth without hesitation or dispute, the then managers, who were Players, being very well satisfied that no body else could perform it. To say that his action added in any degree to the character drawn by the Poet would be flattery, but to affirm that he entered fully into the spirit of his part, and came up to all that either the town or the author could expect, is barely doing justice to his memory, in support of which, we may depend upon the testimony of numberless living witnesses (*n*) who saw it. We may also take the liberty of affirming, that as party prejudices never ran higher than at that time, and the excellency of the Play was distinguished by the surprizing contest between both parties which should applaud it most; so the merit of the Actor received the same marks of approbation, both parties taking care to distinguish their satisfaction in that respect, by bestowing upon him (*o*) unusual and unprecedented rewards. But to enumerate the remarkable circumstances that attended our Actor's extraordinary display of his abilities upon this occasion, would too much interrupt the thread of our narration, and we have therefore given them a place in the notes [*C*]. The run of *Cato* being over at London, the Managers thought fit to remove to Oxford in the summer, where the Play met with so extraordinary a reception, that they were forced to open the doors at noon, and the house was quite full by one o'clock; the same respect was paid it for three days together; and tho' the universal applause this Play met with at London, surpassed every thing of that kind that had been remembered; yet the tribute of praise it received from this famous university, surpassed even that (*p*). The reputation Mr Booth was now in, seemed to entitle him very justly to as great advantages from the Theatre as any concerned therein enjoyed, which at that time was very considerable, the management, as we before observed, being in the hands of three capital Actors, *viz.* Cibber, Dogget, and Wilks (*q*); yet this perhaps he would never have obtained from the bare consideration of what he deserved, but the favour he was in with that powerful Minister, the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was so great,

(*n*) Remarks on the British Theatre, p. 299.

(*o*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 379.

(*p*) Remarks upon the late excellent Tragedy of Cato, p. 23.

(*q*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life.

[*C*] *Have therefore given them a place in the notes.*] The best way to come at all historical truths in general is, to have recourse to the most knowing and candid writers, because such will always take care to be well informed themselves, and be cautious how they deliver the facts they relate, that they may not misinform their readers. This rule is as necessary, and as essential towards instructing ones self well as to Theatrical History, as it is in respect to the History of the World, the same obstacles lying in the way of both, and thereby rendering the means equally difficult, though their ends are not of the same importance. This fully justifies taking the following copious and curious account from the very impartial Mr Cibber, who speaks thus (4): 'Although Cato seems plainly written upon what are 'called Whig principles, yet the Tories of that time 'had sense enough not to take it as the least reflection 'upon their administration, but, on the contrary, they 'seemed to brandish and vaunt their approbation of 'every sentiment in favour of liberty, which by a publick act of their generosity was carried so high, that 'one day while the Play was acting they collected fifty 'guineas in the boxes, and made a present of them to 'Booth, with this compliment—*For his honest opposition to a perpetual Dictator, and his dying so bravely in the cause of liberty.* What was insinuated by any 'part of these words is not my affair; but so publick 'a reward had the appearance of a laudable spirit, 'which only such a Play as Cato could have inspired. 'Nor could Booth be blamed, if, upon so particular a 'a distinction of his merit, he began himself to set more 'value upon it. How far he might carry it in making 'use of the favour he stood in, with a certain Noble-'man then in power at Court, was not difficult to penetrate, and indeed ought always to have been expected by the meanest actors; for which of them '(making the case every way his own) could with such 'advantages have contented himself in the humble 'station of an hired actor? But let us see how the ma-'nagers stood severally affected upon this occasion. 'Dogget, who expected, though he feared not the at-'tempt of what after happened, imagined he had 'thought of an expedient to prevent it; and to co-'ver his design with all the art of a statesman, he in-'sinuated to us (for he was a staunch Whig) that this 'present of fifty guineas was a sort of Tory triumph, 'which they had no pretence to, and that for his part 'he could not bear that so redoubted a champion for 'liberty as Cato, should be bought off to the cause of a 'contrary party. He therefore in the seeming zeal of 'his heart, proposed, that the managers themselves 'should make the same present to Booth which had 'been made from the boxes the day before. This, 'he said, would recommend the equity and liberal 'spirit of our management to the town, and might be 'a means to secure Booth more firmly in our interest, 'it never having been known that the skill of the best 'actor had received so round a reward or gratuity in one 'day before. Wilks, who wanted nothing but abilities 'to be as cunning as Dogget, was so charmed with the 'proposal, that he longed that moment to make Booth 'the present with his own hands, and though he knew 'he had no right to do it without my consent, had no 'patience to ask it. Upon which I turned to Dogget 'with a cold smile, and told him, that if Booth could 'be purchased at so cheap a rate, it would be one of 'the best proofs of his œconomy we had ever been beholden to. I therefore desired he might have a little 'patience, that our doing it too hastily might be only 'making sure of an occasion to throw away the fifty 'guineas; for if we should be obliged to do better for 'him, we could never expect that Booth would think 'himself bound in honour to refund them. This 'seemed so absurd an argument to Wilks, that he be-'gan with his usual freedom of speech to treat it as a 'pitiful evasion of their intended generosity. But Dog-'get, who was not so wide of my meaning, clapping 'his hand upon mine, said, with an air of security, 'Oh! don't trouble yourself, there must be two words 'to that bargain, let me alone to manage that matter. 'Wilks, upon this dark discourse, grew uneasy, as if 'there was some secret between us that he was to be 'left out of. Therefore, to avoid the shock of his in-'temperance, I was reduced to tell him, it was my 'opinion, that Booth would never be made easy by any 'thing we could do for him, 'till he had a share in the 'profits and management; and that as he did not want 'friends to assist him, whatever his merit might be be-'fore, every one would think, since his acting of Cato, 'he had now enough to back his pretensions to it. 'To which Dogget replied, that nobody would think 'his merit slighted by so handsome a present as fifty 'guineas and that for his farther pretensions, what-'ever the Licence might avail, our property of house, 'scenes, and cloaths, were our own, and not in the 'power of the Crown to dispose of. To conclude, 'my objections, that the money would be only thrown 'away, &c. were over-ruled, and the same night Booth 'had the fifty guineas, which he received with a 'thankfulness that made Wilks and Dogget perfect-'ly easy, insomuch that they seemed for some time to 'triumph in their conduct, and often endeavoured to 'laugh my jealousy out of countenance. But in the 'following winter the game happened to take a dif-'ferent turn, and then, if it had been a laughing mat-'ter, I had as strong an occasion to smile at their for-'mer security.'

(4) Apology for his own Life, p. 379.

[*D*] *May*

great, that in 1713, he procured a new licence, recalling all former licences, in which Mr Booth's name was added to those of the former Managers (r). They were none of them pleased with this act of justice done to Booth's merit, at the expence of what they call their property, but none of them carried it so high as Mr Dogget, who absolutely refused to accept of any consideration for his share in the scenes and cloaths, which had, however, no other effect, than depriving him, through his own obstinacy, of his share, which brought him in one thousand pounds a year, though the best judge of this matter now living informs us, that this was only a pretence, and that the true reason of his quitting, was his dislike to another of the Managers, whose humour was become insupportable to him (s). At the time he came to have this share in the management of the house, he was certainly in the best condition for making it turn to the entire satisfaction of the publick, and the emolument of his associates, as well as his particular benefit, for he was at that time in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the highest reputation as an Actor (t). He was extremely diligent both in his profession and in his office, so that his abilities in the former, and his integrity in the latter, joined to the respect paid him as a gentleman of family, set him altogether in as high a point of esteem, as any man had attained in his station. He enjoyed these singular advantages for many years unenvied and unequalled, and his fame, as a Player, instead of sinking by degrees, as sometimes has happened to those who have been most applauded, increased very perceptibly, and audiences, instead of growing thin from a satiety of seeing the same parts performed by the same man, became fuller from the fear of losing him (u). Some years after this, he married Mrs Santlowe, who from her first appearance as an Actress, in the character of the *Fair Quaker of Deal*, to the time she quitted the Stage, had always received the strongest marks of publick applause, which were repeated, when, after a retreat for some time, she appeared there again. By her prudence, in managing the advantages that arose to her from the figure she made upon the Stage, and her great diligence in her profession, she acquired a considerable fortune, which was very useful to Mr Booth, who, from the natural turn of his temper, though he had a strict regard to justice, was not much inclined to saving (w). This second marriage, however, does not seem to have been founded on interest, but rather in affection, and, during the few years they lived together, there was the greatest harmony between them. By degrees, the health of Mr Booth began to decline, so that it was impossible for him to continue to act with as much diligence as usual, which did not, however, lessen the favour of the Publick towards him, but, on the contrary, afforded room for fresh instances of their esteem, by the crowded audiences his appearance drew, whenever the intervals of his distemper permitted him to tread the Stage (x). But when once his constitution began to decline he broke very fast, and being attacked by a complication of diseases, he at length gave way to Fate, May 10, 1733. He shewed his great modesty, and contempt of that kind of fame that some people are so fond of after death, by directing that he should be interred with all imaginable privacy, in the parish church of Cowley, near Uxbridge, in Middlesex, the constant place of his retirement in the summer, which was complied with, and no monument raised to his memory, though he intended to have erected one for his revered tutor and admired friend Mr Betterton (y). He testified likewise his sincere love for, and entire satisfaction in the conduct of, his wife, to whom he left all his fortune, for reasons therein assigned, which he declared amounted to no more, than two thirds of what he had received with his wife upon the day of marriage (z). His character, as an Actor, has been celebrated by some of the best judges, and was never questioned by any. To say the truth, it was more criticised by himself than by any other, for he carried his own notions of Betterton's merit so high, that he always considered his performance as inimitable, and treated all attempts to flatter his own manner of acting as equal to his master's, not only with contempt but indignation. This some have imagined was carried too far, and that it was the effects only of the vigorous impressions made by Betterton's manner of playing on the youthful mind of Booth, which took the stamp so deeply, that no length of time could wear it out (a). But others have judged that in this he was not at all mistaken, and that, if we are to look for the equals of Betterton, or, if it was possible, for his superiors, it must be in the records of earlier times, there being a great probability, that parts are best played soon after they are first writ, and when it is possible for the Actor to receive the instructions of the author; but this, perhaps, may be no more than an opinion as well as the former [*D*]. Amongst those, who, out of respect to his great abilities, have done honour to

(r) Short History of the Theatre, addressed to H.G. T.D.O.N.L.C.

(s) Cibber's Apology for his own Life.

(t) Life of Barton Booth, Esq;

(u) Remarks on the British Theatre, p. 300.

(w) See a Copy of his Will in the London Magazine, for 1733, p. 126.

(x) History of the English Stage, p. 145.

(y) He had spoke of this very seriously; perhaps the state of his affairs hindered him from performing it.

(z) See his last Will, as before cited.

(a) Remarks upon the British Theatre, p. 99.

[*D*] *May be no more than an opinion as well as the former.*] It appears from the most authentick writers of those times, that the original actors in Shakespear's best Plays were almost idolized by the populace, who set up the signs of their heads while they were living, and paid them such respect and veneration as we can hardly conceive or credit (5). Richard Burbage, who played Richard the Third, was one of these remarkable persons, and John Lowen, who played Hamlet, another. This last must have lived and acted to a good old age, if there be any truth in what some have suggested, that Sir William D'Avenant had seen him act Henry the Eighth, and from thence gave Betterton those instructions which enabled him to shine in that character (6). It is however allowed, that Shakespear himself did not succeed in playing; but for all that he might be very capable of instructing others, and so very probable he was, since the remarks upon acting in his play of Hamlet are allowed to be very judicious. A great critick of the last age, makes no sort of scruple in assigning the merit of the actors, as the true cause of the great success of our most taking old plays. As for instance, thus he delivers himself upon the subject (7). 'Amongst those who will be objecting against the 'doctrine

(5) See Stowe's Annals, p. 698. Wood's Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 167.

(6) An Answer to Mr Pope's Preface to Shakespear, in a Letter to a Friend, p. 19.

(7) The Tragedies of the last Age, considered and examined in a Letter to Fleetwood Shepheard, Esq; by Thomas Rymer, Esq; p. 5.

to the memory of Mr Booth, Aaron Hill, Esq; a gentleman, who by the share he had in the management of the Play-House, could not but have sufficient opportunities of considering and becoming well acquainted with his merit, has given us a character of him at large, which, as it is every way worthy of the reader's notice, and is withal but short, we have placed in the notes (*b*) [*E*]. But the most perfect thing of it's kind that has appeared upon this subject, is the same character drawn by the hand of Mr Cibber, whose judgment and candour are equally commendable; since, in the History he has given us of the Theatre, there are a multitude of particulars, which shew how fit he was for the management of it, and all his accounts of contemporary Actors and Authors, are written with great justice and impartiality, so that it may be truly said, that he has taken freedom with no man's character but his own. What he says of Booth and Wilks is equally curious and entertaining, and we may be sure that he was very capable of entering deeply into their sentiments and tempers, whom he had known with intimacy for many years, and as Actors, during the course of their lives (*c*). He has given us their characters with much plainness and perspicuity, allowing their full share of merit to both, without lessening or concealing the failings of either, and thereby affords us more clear and certain light into the real advantages they had over other Actors, than could have been obtained any other way [*F*]. But it was not only in his profession, though it was chiefly in that, Mr Booth excelled.

(*b*) History of the English Stage, p. 147.

(*c*) Apology for Cibber's Life, p. 476.

'doctrine I lay down, may peradventure appear a sort 'of men who have remembered so and so, and value 'themselves upon their experience. I may write by the 'book (say they) what I have a mind, but they know 'what pleases. These are a sort of stage quacks and 'empericks in Poetry who have got a receipt to please, 'and no collegiate like them for purging the passions. 'These say (for instance) *A King and no King* pleases. 'I say the comical part pleases; I say that Mr Hart 'pleases, most of the business falls to his share, and 'what he delivers every one takes upon content, their 'eyes are prepossessed and charmed by his action, be- 'fore ought of the Poet's can approach their ears, and 'to the most wretched of characters he gives a lustre 'and brilliance which dazzle the sight, that the defor- 'mities in the poetry cannot be perceived; therefore 'a distinction is to be made between what pleaseth 'naturally in itself; and what pleases upon the account 'of machines, actors, dances, and circumstances which 'are merely accidental to the tragedy. Aristotle observes, 'that in his time there were some who (wanting the ta- 'lent to write what might please) made it their care that 'the actors should keep out where the Muses failed.' In another place, criticizing the Maid's Tragedy, he says (8), 'We may remember, (however we find Melan- 'thius and Amintor written in the book) that at the 'theatre we have a good scene acted, there is work 'cut out, and both our Æsopus and Roscius are on 'the stage together. Whatever defect may be in 'Amintor and Melanthius, Mr Hart and Mr Mohun 'are wanting in nothing. To these we owe for what 'is pleasing in the scene, and to this scene we may 'impute the success of *the Maid's* Tragedy.' But with all the deference due to so severe a judge, and so great a critick, may we not have leave to enquire, Whether this prodigious excellence of the actor arises entirely from himself, or whether it is not owing to his diligence and attention in studying his author, 'till he attains his full sense, and thereby acquires a capacity of expressing himself with so much force and vivacity? If there be any thing in this, as I believe every judicious reader will allow there is, then the actor is as much indebted to the poet, as the poet to the actor. This also affords us a solution of a question before-mentioned, which is, why the original actors are commonly superior to their successors? which may reasonably be supposed to arise from the opportunities they have of entering fully into the author's designs, and in which those who come after them must be deficient.

(8) Id. ibid. p. 138.

[*E*] *And is withal but short, we have placed in the notes.*] The author of this little piece is still living, and from time to time obliges the publick with very entertaining performances in verse and prose. He has been thought to understand the business of the stage as well as most people, as having a double advantage from genius and experience.

The character of Mr BOOTH.

'TWO advantages distinguished him in the 'strongest light from the rest of his fraternity, 'he had learning to understand perfectly whatever it 'was his part to speak, and judgment to know how 'far it agreed or disagreed with his character. Hence 'arose a peculiar grace, which was visible to every 'spectator, though few were at the pains of examining 'into the cause of their pleasure. He could soften 'and slide over with a kind of elegant negligence the 'improprieties in a part he acted, while on the con- 'trary he would dwell with energy upon the beauties, 'as if he exerted a latent spirit which had been kept 'back for such an occasion, that he might alarm, 'awaken, and transport in those places only, where the 'dignity of his own good sense could be supported by 'that of his author. A little reflection upon this re- 'markable quality, will teach us to account for that 'manifest languor which has sometimes been observed 'in his action, and which was generally, though I 'think falsly, imputed to the natural indolence of his 'temper. For the same reason, though in the custo- 'mary rounds of his business, he would condescend to 'some parts in Comedy, he seldom appeared in any 'of them with much advantage to his character. The 'passions which he found in Comedy were not strong 'enough to excite his fire, and what seemed want of 'qualification was only absence of impression. He 'had a talent at discovering the passions, where they 'lay hid in some celebrated parts, by the injudicious 'practice of other actors, when he had discovered he 'soon grew able to express them. And his secret for 'attaining this great lesson of the Theatre, was an 'adaption of his look to his voice, by which artful 'imitation of nature, the variations in the sound of 'his words gave propriety to every change in his 'countenance. So that it was Mr Booth's peculiar 'felicity to be heard and seen the same — whether as 'the *pleased*, the *grieved*, the *pitying*, the *reproachful*, 'or the *angry*. One would almost be tempted to 'borrow the aid of a very bold figure, and to express 'this excellence the more significantly, beg permission 'to affirm, that the blind might have seen him in his 'voice, and the deaf have heard him in his visage. 'His gesture, or, as it is commonly called his action, 'was but the result and necessary consequence of his do- 'minion over his voice and countenance; for having 'by a concurrence of two such causes, impressed his 'imagination with such a stamp and spirit of passion, 'he ever obeyed the impulse by a kind of natural de- 'pendency, and relaxed or braced successively into all 'that fine expressiveness with which he painted what 'he spoke without restraint or affectation.'

A. HILL.

It must be admitted, that with many signs of friendship and respect, this character carries in it sufficient marks of sincerity, and a just concern for truth. The author knew, that with great abilities Mr Booth had some failings, which he is far from concealing, though he attributes them to certain causes that do him no dishonour; and it falls out very happily, that in excusing him he does not violate probability in the least. All who knew Mr Booth must allow, that he has given a very fair account of his disposition, and very rightly ascribed to the temper of the man, those inequalities that were discovered in him as an actor; so that in this character he seems equally studious of doing justice to him and to the publick.

[*F*] *Than could have been obtained any other way.*] There are a great many passages in Mr Cibber's book which

excelled. He was a man of letters also, and an author in more languages than one. He had a taste for poetry, which discovered itself when he was very young, in translations from several Odes of Horace, and in his riper years, he wrote several songs and other original poems, which were very far from injuring his reputation. He was also the author of a masque or dramatick entertainment called *Dido and Æneas* (*d*), that was very well received upon the Stage, which, however, did not get the better so far of his indolence, as to produce any thing of the same kind afterwards. But his master-piece was a Latin inscription to the memory of a celebrated Actor, who died while he was young, Mr William Smith, one of the greatest men of his profession, and of whom Mr Booth always spoke in raptures. This short elogy has all the strength, beauty, and elegance, which is necessary to recommend a thing of that kind, without any mixture of that flattery, which so often vitiates inscriptions of this nature, and is therefore the properest specimen that can be offered to the reader's notice, of our author's genius and learning.

(*d*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 282.

which relate to Mr Booth, and which we should have collected, as the best account of him in his theatrical capacity, if we had not been afraid of tiring the reader. But what follows (9) is so much to the purpose, so just a criticism, and so fair a representation of his excellencies and defects, that to have omitted it must have injured the end aimed at in this article. 'Tho' the majority of publick auditors are but bad judges of theatrical action, and are often deceived into their approbation of what has no solid pretence to it; yet as there are no other appointed judges to appeal to, and as every single spectator has a right to be one of them, their sentence will be definitive, and the merit of an actor must in some degree be weighed by it. By this law then Wilks was pronounced an excellent actor, which if the few true judges did not allow him to be, they were at least too candid to slight or discourage him. Booth and he were actors so directly opposite in their manner, that if either of them could have borrowed a little of the other's fault, they would both have been improved by it. If Wilks had sometimes too violent a vivacity, Booth as often contented himself with too grave a dignity. The latter seemed too much to heave up his words, as the other to dart them to the ear with too quick and sharp a vehemence. Thus Wilks would too frequently break into the time and measure of the harmony by too many spirited accents in one line, and Booth, by too solemn a regard to harmony, would *as often lose the necessary spirit of it: So that (as I have observed) could we have sometimes raised the* one and sunk the other, they had both been nearer to the mark. Yet this could not be always objected to them, they had their intervals of unexceptionable excellence that more than ballanced their errors. The master-piece of Booth was *Othello*; there he was most in character, and seemed not more to animate or please himself in it than his spectators. 'Tis true he owed his last and highest advancement to his acting Cato; but it was the novelty and critical appearance of that character that chiefly swelled the torrent of his applause; for let the sentiments of a declaiming patriot have all the sublimity that poetry can raise them to, let them be delivered too with the utmost grace and dignity of elocution that can recommend them to the auditor, yet this is but one light wherein the excellence of an actor can shine, but in *Othello* we may see him in the variety of nature. There the actor is carried through the different accidents of domestick happiness and misery, occasionally torn and tortured by the most distracting passion that can raise terror or compassion in the spectator. Such are the characters that a master actor would delight in, and therefore in *Othello* I may safely aver, that Booth shewed himself thrice the actor that he could in Cato; and yet his merit in acting Cato need not be diminished by this comparison. Wilks often regretted, that in Tragedy he had not the full and strong voice of Booth to command and grace his periods with. But Booth used to say, that if his ear had been equal to it, Wilks had voice enough to have shewn himself a much better Tragedian. Now though there might be some truth in this, yet these two actors were of so mixed a merit, that even in Tragedy the superiority was not always on the same side. In sorrow, tenderness, or resignation, Wilks plainly had the advantage, and seemed more pathetically to feel, look, and express his calamity, But in the more turbulent transports of the heart, Booth again bore the palm, and left all competitors behind him. A fact perhaps will set this difference in a clearer light. I have formerly seen Wilks act *Othello*, and Booth the Earl of *Essex*, in which they both miscarried. Neither the exclamatory rage or jealousy of the one, or the plaintive distresses of the other, were happily executed, or became either of them, though in the contrary characters they were both excellent. When an actor becomes, and actually looks the character he stands in, I have often observed it to have had as fortunate an effect, and as much recommended him to the approbation of the common auditors, as the most correct or judicious utterance of the sentiments. This was strongly visible in the favourable reception Wilks met with in Hamlet, when I own the half of what he spoke was as painful to my ear, as every line that came from Betterton was charming, and yet it is not impossible, could they have come to a poll, but Wilks might have had a majority of admirers; however, such a division had been no proof that the preheminence had not still remained in Betterton; and if I should add that Booth too was behind Betterton in *Othello*, it would be saying no more than Booth himself had judgment and candour enough to know and confess. And if Booth and Wilks, are allowed in the two above-mentioned characters a second place to so great a master as *Betterton*, it will be a rank of praise that the best actors since my time might have been proud of.'

(9) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 476.

It has been before observed in speaking of BETTERTON, that his history included in a great measure that of the British theatre, from 1660 to 1710. We may with like justice assert in regard to BOOTH, that his article continues the same history twenty years lower, and therefore merited all the regard that has been paid to it. Some perhaps may imagine, that these characters are not of importance enough to deserve so great attention; but in a body of personal history, it is certainly right to have due regard to a point which has so necessary a connection with the representation of the times; and even the severest readers will find, that the history of the stage has it's uses, and that it would be no inconsiderable service done to the Republick of Letters, if due care was taken to furnish us with a compleat account of the characters of the principal performers before the Restoration, which perhaps we are not to expect in haste. As to the particulars of the behaviour of Mr Booth, considered in the light of a manager, it does not concern us so much, though it must be offered as an addition to his reputation, that during the twenty years he continued in this station the theatre was in the greatest credit, and that his illness, amongst other things, contributed not a little to it's declension. We have a very fair account of this matter from Mr Cibber, who, towards the end of his book, gives us the following detail of the ruin of their administration, by whose care the stage had been rendered equally beneficial to the managers, advantageous to those in their service, and satisfactory to the publick. A thing so much the more remarkable, as nothing like it ever happened before, or in all probability will happen again, at least in our times (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 487.

'During our four last years, says he, there happened so very little unlike what had been said, that I shall conclude with barely mentioning those unavoidable accidents that drew on our dissolution.

(e) History of the English Stage, p. 148.

ing (e) [G]. In his private life he had many virtues, mixed with a few, and those very pardonable, failings. He was very just, punctual, and sincere in all his dealings. He was not hasty in giving his word, because he never broke it. He had no envy in his composition, but, on the contrary, readily approved, and as readily rewarded, merit, as it was in his power. He was something rough in his manner, and a little hasty in his temper, but very open and free to speak his sentiments, which he always did with an air of sincerity, that procured him as much credit with people at first sight, as he had with those to whom he had been known ever so long. He was very kind to all the Players whose circumstances were but indifferent, and took care not to make them uneasy, either in point of salary or of usage. He was no great speaker in company, but when he did, it was in a grave lofty way, not at all unlike his pronunciation on the Stage. He had a great veneration for his parents while they were living; and was also very useful to his brother and sister after their decease. In a word, he discharged all the duties of private and publick life in a genteel and generous manner, so that his death was very much regretted, and as, in his judgment, the Town saw nothing equal to Betterton after he quitted the Stage, so many are persuaded, that since the death of Mr Booth, his parts have been performed by none with superior grace.

'The first that for some years had led the way to 'greater, was the continued ill state of health that 'rendered Booth incapable of appearing on the stage. 'The next was the death of Mrs Oldfield, which hap-'pened on the 23d of October, 1730. About the 'same time too Mrs Porter, then in her highest repu-'tation for Tragedy, was lost to us by the misfortune 'of a dislocated limb from the overturning of a chaise. 'And our last stroke was the death of Wilks, in Sep-'tember the year following, 1731.'

[G] *Our author's genius and learning.*] It is a misfortune to the reader that we can give him no tolerable account of the person this memorable inscription referred to, beyond or exclusive of what is contained therein. His name was William Smith, and it is reasonable to believe he was of a good family, since he was a Barrister at Law of Gray's-Inn, before he quitted the Bar for the Stage. There is good reason to think that he came as early upon it as Betterton, or at least that he was not much his junior, since we find that he was embarked with him in the design of procuring a conjunction of the two companies, so long ago as the year 1681. We have reason therefore to believe, that the following lines were penned by our author in the earlier part of his life, while he preserved in their full perfection those literary qualifications which he had acquired at Westminster-school, and that happy turn in writing the Roman language, which peculiarly distinguishes such as have paid their first vows to the Muses in those venerable cloysters. The sentiments expressed in these few lines sufficiently shew Mr Booth's notions of his profession (11).

(11) Hist. of the English Stage, p. 148.

Scenicus eximius,
Regnante Carolo Secundo:
Bettertono Coætaneus & Amicus,
nec non propemodum Æqualis.
Haud ignobili stirpe Oriundus,
Nec Literarum rudis humaniorum,
rem Scenicam
per multos feliciter annos administravit;
Justoque moderamine & morum suavitate;
Omnium intra Theatrum
Observantiam, extra Theatrum Laudem,
Ubique benevolentiam & amorem sibi conciliavit.

In English thus.

An Excellent Player
In the reign of Charles the Second:
The contemporary and friend of Betterton,
and almost his equal.
Descended of no ignoble family,
nor destitute of polite Learning.
The business of the stage
He for many years happily managed:
And by his just conduct and sweetness of manners
obtained
the respect of all within the Theatre,
the applause of those without,
and the good will and love of all mankind.

P

(a) Memoirs communicated by one who was most intimate with Dr Boulter from his youth to his death.

BOULTER (HUGH) D. D. Archbishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland, is one of those subjects that cannot be handled without panegyrick, the naked relation of his actions being such. He was born in or near London, of a reputable and estated family [A], and received his first rudiments of learning at Merchant-Taylor's school (a), in that great metropolis, where having with a quick proficiency got through Grammar learning, and such parts of knowledge as are usually taught in schools, he was admitted

[A] *Born of a reputable and estated family.*] His father had an estate near Oxford, and in houses and ground-rents in the Minories and Cripplegate, London; as also in Bermondsey in Southwark, and in Kensington in Middlesex; all which Dr Boulter enjoyed to the time of his death, subject to a few small incumbrances left on them by his father: And he by his own Will, dated the 19th of November, 1729 (1), directed, that on the contingency of the death of his wife without issue by him, the said several estates (specially named in the Will) should be sold, and the money arising by such sale he ordered to be disposed of as follows; namely, First, to his brother Charles Savage he devised one hundred pounds; to Dr Robert Welsted one hundred pounds, or, if he were dead, one hundred pounds to his eldest surviving son; and the overplus of the money arising from such sale, together with the remainder of the money he had in the stocks, he directed should be remitted to his trustees in Ireland, to be laid out in manner following; namely, that out of the money they returned, and the overplus of his effects undisposed in Ireland, his trustees should build four houses for the widows of such Clergymen as had been Curates at least ten years in the diocese of Armagh; and that an estate of fifty pounds a year should be bought by his trustees, to be equally divided among the said four widows, after deducting for necessary repairs; and that the said widows be nominated by his successors, and be subject to their order and visitation. And as to what should remain of such funds, he directed it to be paid to his successors, to be employed in augmenting poor livings, and buying glebes, according to the directions of the trustees of the first-fruits. And for doing the more service with such money, he ordered, that whatever purchase was made with it in tythes or land, that the same should not be made over to any incumbent absolutely 'till such tythes or land should repay half the purchase-money without interest. And this he did in order to make the fund more considerable for the purposes intended.

(1) Prerog. Office of Ireland.

[B] Remembered

admitted from thence a Commoner (*b*) in Christ-church in Oxford, some time before the Revolution. His merit became so conspicuous there, that immediately after that great event, he was elected a Demy (*c*) of Magdalen-college, together with the late Mr Addison, and Dr Joseph Wilcox, the present Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster. Dr Hough, who was then restored to the Presidentship of that college (from which he had been unwarrantably ejected in the reign of King James the II.) used to call this election by the name of the *golden election* (*d*), from the merit and learning of the persons who were chosen; and the same respectful appellation was long after made use of in common conversation in the college. He was afterwards made Fellow (*e*) of Magdalen-college, for which, as well as for Christ-church, he always retained sentiments of respect and gratitude, and, as a proof thereof, he afterwards remembred them both in his Will [*B*]. He continued in the university 'till he was called to London, by the invitation of Sir Charles Hedges, Principal Secretary of State in the year 1700 (*f*), who made him his Chaplain; and some time after he was preferred to the same honour (*g*) by Dr Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury. In these stations he was under a necessity of appearing often at Court, where his merit and virtues fell under the notice of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, by whose influence and interest he was advanced to his first promotions in the Church, namely, to the parsonage of St Olave in Southwark, and to the archdeaconry of Surrey (*h*). The parish of St Olave was very populous, and for the most part poor, under which circumstances it required a vigilant Pastor, and in this particular Dr Boulter was by no means deficient (*i*), applying himself in season and out of season, to their instruction, correction, and reproof; nor was his purse wanting to help the necessitous, according to his abilities and their emergencies. When King George I. passed over to Hanover in the year 1719, Dr Boulter was recommended to attend him in quality of his Chaplain (*k*). During his abode there he took a good deal of pains to learn the German language; in which, nevertheless, he did not arrive to any great perfection (*l*). He also, at the King's instance, took Prince Frederick under his care, to instruct him in the English tongue; and for that purpose drew up for his use, *A Set of Instructions in writing*, which, together with his great moderation and sweetness of temper, riveted him in the King's favour, and caused his Majesty to lay hold of the earliest opportunity of promoting him in the Church, which soon happened (*m*). For, during his abode at Hanover, the bishoprick of Bristol, and deanery of Christ-church, Oxford, became vacant by the death of Dr George Smalridge, on the twenty-seventh of September 1719 (*n*), and the news thereof arriving at Hanover, the King of his meer motion granted to him that See and deanery, and he was consecrated (*o*) Bishop of Bristol, on the fifteenth of November following. In this last station he was more than ordinarily assiduous (*p*), in the visitation of his diocese, and the discharge of his pastoral duty, well knowing how much the interest of the Church depended upon a strict reformation of the lives and morals of the clergy, and a faithful and diligent execution of the trust committed to them. While he was employed in the business of one of these visitations, he received a letter (*q*) by a Messenger from the Secretary of State, acquainting him, that his Majesty had nominated him to the archbishoprick of Armagh, and primacy of Ireland, then vacant by the death of Dr Thomas Lindsay, on the 13th of July, 1724 (*r*), and desiring him to repair to London as soon as possible, to kiss the King's hand for his promotion. What would have given joy to another, to this good Bishop afforded only matter of grief; and we have heard it affirmed by indisputable testimony, that he never appeared more disconcerted in his life, than upon receiving the news of the King's pleasure. He consulted with his own thoughts for a few hours, and advised with such of his friends as were present, how he should conduct himself on this grand occasion. At length he called for a pen and ink, and sent an answer by the messenger, refusing (*s*) the honour the King intended him, and requesting the Secretary to use his good offices with his Majesty, in making his excuse. Whither his refusal was owing to an unwillingness in him to quit his native country, where he stood so fair in the King's favour, as to hope for high advancements, or to a timorousness of accepting a charge, that his great modesty judged was too weighty for him to support, must be left a doubt to posterity; but thus much may be affirmed with certainty, that the people of Ireland were upon the point of losing a *man*, for whom they will for ever have reason to be thankful to *God*. The Messenger was dispatched (*t*) back to him by the Secretary, with the King's absolute commands that he should

(*b*) Memoirs communicated, &c.
(*c*) Memoirs, &c.
(*d*) Memoirs, &c.
(*e*) Memoirs, &c.
(*f*) Memoirs, &c.
(*g*) Memoirs, &c.
(*h*) Memoirs, &c.
(*i*) Memoirs &c.
(*k*) Memoirs, &c.
(*l*) Memoirs, &c.
(*m*) Memoirs, &c.
(*n*) Court Register, p. 70.
(*o*) Court Register, p. 79.
(*p*) Memoirs, &c.
(*q*) Memoirs, &c.
(*r*) Bishops of Ireland, p. 132.
(*s*) Memoirs, &c.
(*t*) Memoirs, &c.

[*B*] *Remembered Magdalen-college and Christ-Church in his Will.*] Upon the contingency of his wife's death without issue by him, he bequeathed (*z*) five hundred pounds to Magdalen-college in Oxford, to be applied towards rebuilding the same; and on the like contingency he bequeathed a thousand pounds to Christ-Church in the same university, to be applied to the purchase of an estate for founding five exhibitions of equal value, to be distributed among five of the poorest and most deserving of the Commoners of that college, to be enjoyed by them for four years from the time of their election; and directed, that no Commoner of above three years standing should be elected into the said exhibitions. He vested the said election in the Dean and Canons of that house, and directed that the exhibitioners should be chose upon a publick examination in the hall, and recommended the sons of Clergymen to be in the first place, *cæteris paribus*, considered. He also bequeathed the further sum of five hundred pounds to the last mentioned college to buy an estate, to be distributed in equal exhibitions to five Servitors of the said college, of whom none were to be capable of election who were of above two years standing, nor to enjoy the exhibition longer than for three years; and he vested the right of election in the Dean and Chapter.

(*z*) Prerog. Office of Ireland.

[C] *Ireland*

should accept of the post. He submitted to his Majesty's pleasure, though not without some reluctance, and soon after addressed himself to his journey to Court. Ireland was at that juncture not a little inflamed, by a ruinous project set on foot by one Wood [C], and it was thought by the King and Ministry, that the judgment, moderation, and wisdom of the Bishop of Bristol, would tend much to bring back matters to a calm there. He arrived in Ireland on the third of November, 1724, and had no sooner passed patent (u) for the primacy, than he set about studying the real and solid interest of that kingdom, in which his lot was cast for life, and which all his actions shewed, he ever after considered as his own. He appeared at all boards of publick concernment, and gave a weight and vigour to them; and in every respect, was indefatigable in promoting the good and real happiness of the people. It would tire the reader to be over minute in relating all the good actions of his Grace, nor would it be an easy task to do so, since they are branched out into such a multiplicity of parts; and more especially, as he rather studied to do good, than desire to have it published. Yet some things must not be passed over in silence, and it were to be wished that proper dates of facts could be ascertained, in order to carry on a thread of a relation, which now must be mentioned as they occur to memory, without observing any order of time.—— In seasons of great scarcity in Ireland, he was more than once, under God, instrumental in averting a pestilence and famine, which threatened the nation [D]. When the scheme was set on foot for making a navigation, by a canal to be drawn from Lough-Neagh to Newry, not only for bringing coal to Dublin, but to carry on more effectually an inland trade in the several counties in the north of Ireland, through which it was intended to be carried, he greatly encouraged and promoted the design [E], not only with his counsel but his purse, to the vast benefit of the kingdom at present, and much more in expectation when the scheme is fully compleated.

(u) Rolls Office Ireland, Pat. 31 Aug. 1724.

Droghedah

[C] *Ireland inflamed by a ruinous project of one Wood.*] This project was a patent Wood had obtained from the Crown, by false suggestions, for coining three hundred and sixty tons of copper into halfpence and farthings, to be issued in Ireland, of which he sent over great quantities struck in a base metal, and under weight. All ranks and degrees of people murmured at this proceeding. The Parliament, the Lords Justices and Council, and the County and City of Dublin, addressed his Majesty upon the occasion; the Press groaned with pamphlets written in opposition to the scheme, and some in particular were admirably well done by Dr Swift, Dean of St Patrick's Dublin, under the fictitious name of *Letters from a Drapier*, as if written by a tradesman to incite people against receiving this base coin, which the patent left at the liberty of the subject whether to receive or reject.

[D] *Instrumental in averting a pestilence and famine which threatned the nation.*] In the winter of 1728, and the summer following, bread, corn, and all other esculents, bore and excessive high rate in Ireland, the middle price of wheat being then from 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* to 1 *l.* 5 *s.* *per* Bristol barrel. The poor were thereby reduced to a miserable condition, and the nation not only threatened with a famine, but with the consequences of it, a pestilence. The Primate could not bear to see his fellow-creatures perish while he had abilities to relieve them, and accordingly he distributed vast quantities of corn for the relief of the poor through several parts of the kingdom, which, it is verily believed, was a great means of averting the threatened evil. The House of Commons was so sensible of the services he did upon this occasion, that they passed a vote of publick thanks to him, and ordered it to be entered in their Journals, and directed all the vagrant poor that crowded the streets of the city of Dublin to be received into the poor-house, where they were maintained at the private expence of this Prelate, 'till the following harvest brought relief. — In the latter end of the year 1740, and the spring, and part of the summer of 1741, Ireland was again afflicted with a great scarcity. Upon this occasion the Primate's charity was very extensive and remarkable, though conducted with more regularity than before. The poor were fed in the workhouse twice every day, according to tickets issued by people intrusted, of which, from January to August, the number of tickets amounted to seven hundred and thirty-two thousand three hundred and fourteen. The accounts of the distribution of this charity is kept in the workhouse in Dublin, and it is estimated thereby, that two thousand five hundred souls were fed there every morning, and as many every evening, mostly at the primate's expence, though some few others contributed to the good work. As a grateful memorial of his Grace's overflowing charity in relieving so many distressed families upon this occasion, in the year 1741, a few lay-gentlemen, at their private expence, erected, in the hall of the poor-house, a grand noble portrait of the Primate at full length, designed by Mr Bindon, an eminent Painter, attended with a lively group of proper objects of different ages and sexes, all waiting for food supplied by his bountiful hand.

[E] *Encouraged and promoted the scheme for drawing a Canal from Lough-Neagh to Newry.*] Lough-Neagh is a large navigable meer of water, about twenty English miles long, and from ten to twelve miles broad, surrounded by the counties of Down, Londonderry, Antrim, Tirone, and Armagh; and Newry is a considerable trading town, seated on the Newry water, in the south of the county of Down, not far from the opening of Carlingford bay. A great fund of valuable coals being discovered on lands in the county of Tirone, bordering the said lake, it was judged by some gentlemen, who wished well to the wealth and trade of their country, that if a navigation was made by a canal from the lake to Newry, a great saving would arise to the kingdom by bringing coals through the said lake and canal to Newry, and from thence by a free good navigation by sea to Dublin. When the scheme for opening this navigation was proposed in Parliament, in the year 1729, the Primate patronized it with all his interest, and after passing the bill, and that the work was set about the year following, his Grace was very instrumental in carrying it on with effect. The colliery stood on the See-lands of Armagh, which were then in lease to a tenant. The Primate fearing that the lessee might be exorbitant in his conditions in suffering coals to be raised out of his lands, purchased in the lease at a large expence in order to accommodate the publick. He also gave timber out of his woods to carry on the work; and often, when the fund established by Act of Parliament for cutting the canal did not readily come in, his Grace advanced his own proper money for the occasion without interest, that no interruption might from thence arise to the design. See a description and account of this canal in a little treatise published in Dublin in the year 1744, intitled, *The Antient and present State of the County of Down*, chap. 4. The importance of this navigation, besides the article of coals, (of which the benefit is not yet fully felt) and the opening a trade by water-carriage among the northern counties, has appeared this present year 1745. For the wetness of the preceding harvest having occasioned a great dearth of corn, and scarcity of fodder in those parts, most of the carriage-horses in that country were destroyed; and when a relief of corn came to Newry from England, it would have been impossible to have distributed it seasonably through the country, if it had not been for the advantages of this navigation, by which it was laid down in the neighbourhood of most of the inhabitants of the said counties.

[F] After

Droghedah is a large and populous town within the diocese of Armagh, and his Grace finding that the ecclesiastical appointments were not sufficient to support two clergymen there, and the cure over burthensome for one effectually to discharge, he allotted out of his own pocket a maintenance for a second Curate, whom he obliged to give publick service every Sunday in the afternoon, and prayers twice every day. He had great compassion for the poor clergy of his diocese, who were disabled from giving their children a proper education, and he maintained several of the sons of such in the university, in order to qualify them for future preferment. He erected four houses at Droghedah for the reception of clergymens widows, and purchased an estate for the endowment of them, after the model of Primate Marsh's charity [*F*]; which model, nevertheless, he enlarged in one particular; for as the estate he purchased for the maintenance of the widows, amounted to twenty-four pounds a year more than he had set apart for that use, he appointed that the surplus should be a fund for setting out the children of such widows apprentices, or otherwise to be disposed of for the benefit of such children, as his Trustees should think proper. He also by his Will directed (*w*), that four houses should be built for clergymens widows at Armagh, and endowed with fifty pounds a year; which building has been finished, and the endowment made since his death. During his life, he contracted for the building of a stately market-house at Armagh, which has been since finished by his executors, at upwards of eight hundred pounds expence. He was a benefactor also to Dr Stevens's Hospital in the city of Dublin [*G*], erected for the maintenance and cure of the poor. His charities for augmenting small livings, and buying of glebes, (particularly mentioned in the remark *A*) amounted to upwards of thirty thousand pounds, besides what he devised by his Will for the like purposes in England [*H*]. The wisdom of man could not contrive a more effectual method for the instruction of the poor Popish natives of Ireland in the principles of Christianity, and for inuring them to industry and labour, than the institution of the incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant working schools in that country. Though the original projection of this scheme cannot be imputed to Primate Boulter [*I*], yet he was a zealous and active, and the

(*w*) See for this particular under remark [*A*].

[*F*] *After the model of Primate Marsh's charity.*] Primate Marsh built and endowed alms-houses at Droghedah for the reception of twelve widows of decayed Clergymen, to whom he allotted a lodging, and twenty pounds a year for a maintenance; and he appointed that the widows intitled to the provision should be such whose husbands served cures in the diocese of Armagh, or, for want of such, in the diocese of Meath; and, if numbers did not offer to take up the charity in both these dioceses, then it was to go the widows of Clergymen who served cures in the province of Armagh at large. Primate Boulter founded his charity upon the same model.

[*G*] *Was a benefactor to Dr Stevens's hospital.*] Dr Stevens, a Physician of eminence in the city of Dublin, bequeathed by his Will an estate of about six hundred pounds a year to his sister Mrs Grizel Stevens during her life, and, after her deceafe, to build and maintain an hospital for the cure of wounded and diseased poor people, who should be judged to be curable. The Lady, from a principle of charity and goodness, set about the work, and finished the best half of the shell of the house, in which she has reserved an apartment for her own habitation, where she now resides; and she has allotted almost the whole estate for the support and maintenance of her brother's design. After the house was finished, several well disposed persons became contributors towards fitting up and furnishing the wards; and, among others, Primate Boulter subscribed fifty pounds, and also at a considerable expence furnished one of the wards for the reception of patients, and subscribed fifty pounds a year towards the charity, to continue during pleasure, which lasted during his life.

[*H*] *Besides what he devised by his Will for the like purposes in England.*] Upon certain contingencies mentioned in his Will (3), he appointed one thousand pounds to be disposed of by his English Trustees, towards augmenting ten poor livings in England, on condition that some other person for each hundred pound so advanced should pay in one hundred pounds more, in order to obtain from the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, two hundred pounds towards the augmenting such poor livings; and he left it to his Trustees what livings should be so augmented.

(3) Prerog. Office in Ireland.

[*I*] *The original projection of the scheme for Charter working schools not to be imputed to Primate Boulter.*] The first rise of this scheme was thus effected, and from small and inconsiderable beginnings. — In the year 1717 Dr Henry Maule, late Bishop of Cloyne, afterwards of Dromore, and now the present Bishop of Meath, being at that time only a beneficed Clergyman, promoted a private society in Dublin for the encouragement of the English common charity-schools, for teaching poor children to read and write, and instructing them in the principles of religion and virtue. Many good Clergymen and well disposed laymen joined in the design, and the late Archbishop of Tuam, Dr Synge, came among them, and gave a countenance to the undertaking. The members subscribed only half a crown a quarter. They had anniversary sermons, some of which were printed and spread abroad, and by their influence many charity-schools were erected in town and country. In 1730 a proposal was drawn up by Dr Maule, being then Bishop of Cloyne, and Mr Dawson, a Clergyman, who was at that time Curate of St Michan's, intitled, *An Humble Proposal for obtaining his Majesty's Royal Charter to incorporate a Society for promoting Christian Knowledge amongst the poor Natives of the Kingdom of Ireland.* Printed, Dublin, 1730. What gave a foundation to this proposal was, the observations the Society had made on the great success of a legally established charter for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, and that Scotland had grafted on the same model, and obtained a charter to enable them to receive two thousand pounds a year in land, and money to any sum, for promoting the like design. This proposal made it's way into the Court of St James's by the means of the late Marquis of Montandre, Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, and was well relished by his Majesty. The same year many Bishops and gentlemen of distinction met together at the Lord Primate's, to concert means for forwarding a petition to the King upon the occasion, which was then drawn up and signed in the Parliament-House a few days after, and, being laid before his Majesty, was graciously received; and, after the usual references, a charter was passed on the 24th of October, 1733, constituting the Duke of Dorset, then Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord Primate, all the Archbishops and Bishops, the Judges of the several Courts, the Prime Serjeant, Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and most of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the kingdom, into a Corporation and Body Politick to endure for ever, by the name *of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English-Protestant Schools in Ireland.* The Charter was opened with solemnity in the Council-Chamber on the 6th of February, 1733. The Lord-Lieutenant was elected President, and the Lord Primate Vice-President and Treasurer. A subscription was immediately set on foot, to which the late Earl of Kildare contributed five hundred pounds, and many others less sums. The Lord

the chief instrument in forwarding the undertaking, which he lived to see carried into execution with considerable success. These are a part, and only a part, of the Primate's publick charities, which have come to our knowledge; as to his private ones, they were so secretly conducted, that it is impossible to give any particular account of them; in general it may be confidently asserted, that they were very great, and suitable to his noble mind; and we have it affirmed by those who were in trust about him, that he never suffered an object to leave his house unsupplied, and he often sent them away with considerable sums, according to the judgment he made of their merits and necessities.—— In relation to his political virtues, and the arts of government, when his health would permit him he was constant in his attendance at the Council-Table, and it is well known what weight and dignity he gave to the debates of that Board. As he always studied the true interest of Ireland, so he judged, that the diminishing the value of the gold coin would be a means of increasing silver in the country, a thing very much wanted; in order to effect which, he espoused and supported a scheme at the Council-Table, which raised the clamours of unthinking people against him [K]: But experience has demonstrated the wisdom of his proceedings. He was ten times one of the Lords-Justices, or Chief Governors of Ireland [L]; which office he administered oftener than any other Chief Governor since the commencement of the English power in Ireland. He embarked for England on the second of June 1742, and after two days illness died at his house in St James's Place, on the twenty-eighth of September following, to the inestimable loss of Ireland, leaving to his successors an example that is scarce imitable. He was buried in Westminster-Abbey, where a stately monument is erected to his memory.—— His character results from the relation given of him; yet we must add a few particulars more, which have not fallen under any of the heads before-mentioned. His deportment was stayed and grave, his aspect venerable, and his temper meek and humble. He was always open and easy of access both to rich and poor. He was steady to the principles of liberty both in Religion and Politicks. His learning was universal, yet more in substance than shew; nor would his modesty permit him to make any ostentation of it. He always preserved such an equal temper of mind that hardly any thing could ruffle; and I have heard a gentleman of great worth and integrity, and at this day in high station, (who had lived fourteen years in his family as his domestick Chaplain) affirm, that in all that time he never saw him discomposed but once, and that upon a very provoking occasion; yet that he recovered his usual serenity and good humour in less than three minutes. He always maintained a steady resolution of serving his country, *i. e.* Ireland, which he often called by that name; and he readily embraced every thing proposed for the good of it, though by persons remarkable for their opposition to him: and when the most publick-spirited schemes were introduced by him, and did not meet with the reception they deserved, yet he never took offence at the partial proceedings of some few, who liked nothing that came from him; but was glad when any part of his advice for the publick good was pursued, and was always willing to drop some point, that he might not lose them all; often saying 'he would do 'all the good to Ireland he could, though they did not suffer him to do all he would.' His life was mostly spent in action, and therefore it is not to be expected that he should have left many remains of his learning behind him; nor do we know of any thing he hath written, except a few Charges to his clergy at his visitations, which are grave, solid, and

Lord Primate was the main instrument of forwarding this good work, not only by his advice and counsel, but by his money. He paid all the fees for passing the Charter through the several offices out of his own purse, subscribed twenty-three pounds a year, afterwards paid upwards of four hundred pounds towards the building of a working-school on the lands of Santry near Dublin. Besides all this, the Society were often obliged to his Grace for their necessary support, who, to his annual and occasional benefactions, frequently added that of being their constant resource upon all emergencies, by answering the draughts made on him as Treasurer, when he had no cash of the Society's in his hands, which amounted to considerable sums. It was unhappy for the Society that his Grace made his Will in 1729 before the erection of the Charter, and was taken off with so short a warning, that he had not the power of altering it. For undoubtedly he would have been a noble benefactor to a scheme, which in his life-time he had so much at heart.

[K] *Espoused a scheme that raised the clamours of unthinking people.*] The scarcity of silver coin in Ireland was excessive great for some years preceding that of 1737, occasioned by the sinking of the current value of gold coin in England some years before, the same having been reduced there six-pence in each guinea, which made it more advantageous to dealers to send over silver than gold in payment of the ballance of trade which lay against Ireland. To remedy this inconvenience, the Primate supported a scheme introduced at the Council-table to reduce the value of gold coin in Ireland three-pence in each guinea, and other pieces in proportion, in order to bring silver and gold nearer a par in value, and by that means to put a stop to the practice of sending silver abroad. This scheme was carried into execution by proclamation on the 10th of September, 1737, and experience has shewed that it had the intended effect, both by making silver more plentiful in the kingdom, and keeping down exchange to a more certain and moderate rate. Few people are capable of making a just judgment of the springs and motives of the actions of government, nor does it belong to any to do so, but to those who are placed by his Majesty at the head of affairs. The populace, encouraged by some dealers in exchange, who were the only losers by the alteration, grew clamorous, and laid the ruin of their country (as they ignorantly or maliciously called it) at the Primate's door. Many libels and bitter invectives were written against him upon the occasion, as if he were the auther of woes, which were only felt in imagination. Conscious of his own intregrity he despised the foolish noise, the people in a short time recovered their senses, and the Primate has left an example, perhaps unparallelled in history, of a person, who, from a state of distaste and odium, recovered as high a degree of popularity, as has fallen to the share of any subject.

[L] *He was ten times one of the Lords-Justices or chief Governors of Ireland.*] He enjoyed that office in 1726 with the Lord Chancellor West, and William Conolly,

and instructive. It has been said indeed, that in his younger days he was the author of four or five occasional papers in the Free-thinkers, published for the encouragement of loyalty, virtue, and religion; but we cannot affirm this particular with any degree of certainty. In short, his constant business in this world was to do good to mankind.

Conolly, Esq; In 1728 with the Lord Chancellor Windham, and the said Mr Conolly. In 1730 with the said Chancellor, and Sir Ralph Gore, Bart. Speaker of the House of Commons. In 1732 with the same. In 1733 with the Lord Chancellor Windham. In 1734 with the Lord Chancellor Windham, and Henry Boyle, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons. In 1736 with the same. In 1738 with the same. In 1740 with the Lord Chancellor Joceline, and Mr Boyle; and in 1741 with the same. D

BOURCHIER or BOWSCHYRE (*a*) or BOWCER (*b*) (THOMAS), Archbishop of Canterbury in the successive reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, and Henry VII, was son of William Bourchier Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Countess of Stafford [*A*], and brother of Henry Earl of Essex (*c*). He had his education at Oxford, and was Chancellor of that university three years, *viz.* from 1434 to 1437. His first dignity in the Church was that of Dean of St Martin's in London; from which, on the ninth of March 1434, he was advanced, by Pope Eugenius IV, to the See of Worcester [*B*]; but his consecration was deferred to the twentieth of April, 1435, by reason (as is supposed) of a defect in age. He had not sat a full year, before he was elected by the Monks of Ely Bishop of that See, and confirmed therein by the Pope: but, the King refusing his consent, Bourchier did not dare to comply with the election, for fear of incurring the censure of the laws, which forbad, under very severe penalties, the receiving the Pope's Bull without the King's leave. Nevertheless, seven or eight years after, the See of Ely still continuing vacant, and the King consenting, he was translated thither, the twentieth of December 1443 (*d*). The author of the *Historia Eliensis* (*e*) speaks very disadvantageously of him during his residence on that See [*C*], which was ten years, twenty-three weeks, and five days. At last he mounted to the pinacle of Church preferment, being elected Archbishop of Canterbury, in the room of John Kemp, the twenty-third of April 1454. This election was the more remarkable, in that the Monks were left entirely to their liberty of choice, without any interposition either from the Crown or the Papal Chair. On the contrary, Pope Nicolas Vth's concurrence being readily obtained, the Archbishop was installed with great solemnity. In the month of December following, he received the red hat from Rome, being created Cardinal-Priest of St *Cyriacus in Thermis* (*f*). The next year, he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England, but resigned that office in October the year following (*g*). Soon after his advancement to the See of Canterbury, he began a visitation in Kent, and made several regulations for the government of his diocese [*D*]. He likewise published a constitution for restraining the excessive abuse of Papal Provisions [*E*]. This Archbishop deserved highly of the learned

(*a*) Dies Obituales Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 63.

(*b*) Historia Eliensis, *apud* Wharton. ibid. Vol. I. p. 671.

(*c*) Hist. Eliensis, ibid.

(*d*) Continuatio Hist. de Episc. Wigorn. *apud* Wharton, ubi supra, p. 537.

(*e*) Ubi supra.

(*f*) Canonicus Lichfeldens. de Successione Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton. Vol. I. p. 123.

(*g*) Wharton, ib. p. 795.

[*A*] *He was son of William Bourchier, Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Countess of Stafford.*] If this genealogy be right, Bishop Godwin must be mistaken in saying he was the son of Henry Earl of Essex. *Patre is natus est Henrico Bourchier Essexiæ Comite* (1). Fuller tells us, this Prelate's father Sir William Bourchier was created Earl of Ewe in Normandy by King Henry V, and that it is supposed the Archbishop was born at Hawsted in Essex, one of the family-seats of the Bourchiers (2), or Bourgchiers, of whom Robert Bourchier was Chancellor of England in the time of Edward III, from whom, Camden tells us (3), an honourable series of Earls and Lords are descended.

[*B*] *He was advanced by Pope Eugenius IV. to the See of Worcester.*] The author of the *Continuation of the History of the Bishops of Worcester* (4) informs us, that, upon the death of Thomas Polton, Bishop of Worcester, Pope Eugenius, then sitting in the Council of Basil, conferred that Bishoprick, by right of Provision, on Thomas Brouns, Dean of Salisbury, and wrote letters to King Henry, desiring his approbation thereof. The King, on the contrary, sent letters to Thomas Brouns, commanding him to renounce the Provision, otherwise he would never suffer him to obtain any Bishoprick in England, much less that of Worcester. At the same time he wrote to the Pope, absolutely refusing his consent to the Provision, and offering this compromise, that if his Holiness would advance Bourchier, who was his kinsman, to the See of Worcester, he consented that Thomas Brouns might be promoted to that of Rochester. The Pope, not daring to oppose the King of England during the sitting of a General Council, complied with the proposition; and by this means Bourchier obtained the Bishoprick of Worcester.

[*C*] *The author of the* Historia Eliensis *speaks very disadvantageously of him during his residence on that See.*] He tells us, this Bishop of Ely cruelly oppressed the Church in collecting the rents of his Bishoprick; that he falsely imprisoned several of their tenants, and refused to deliver them up by indenture to their bailiff, according to the form and custom of their lands; that, by the advice of John Hay his Seneschal, he amerced the Prior and several of the Monks in large fines; and that, excepting the day of his installation, he never once celebrated Mass or Divine Service in his cathedral church (5). What credit is to be given to this author, who was himself a Monk at that time in that very church, and how far he may have aggravated the truth, must be left to the reader's judgment.

[*D*] *He made several regulations for the government of his diocese.*] To mention the most material; he decreed, First, 'that those Religious, who threw 'off the habit of the Cloister, and entered upon Parochial Cures, should be punished as revolters from 'their order.' Secondly, 'that benefices should not 'be let to farm without consent of the Bishop.' And Thirdly, 'that marriages should not be celebrated, 'nor Wills made, without two witnesses at the least.' These, with some other constitutions for the reformation of the Clergy and Laity, he ordered to be published at Paul's-Cross (6).

[*E*] *He passed a constitution for restraining the excessive abuse of Papal Provisions.*] The avarice and partiality of the Court of Rome, in conferring benefices, were at this time carried to an extravagant height. For if men brought money and strong recommendations, that Court usually overlooked the considerations of probity and merit. The weight of these grievances put the university of Oxford upon addressing the Archbishop of Canterbury to step in to their relief, who made a Synodical Constitution, 'that for 'the future, no person should be admitted to Holy Or-'ders, without a testimonial from the Archdeacon of 'the place, or the Chancellor of the university, or 'his deputy.' This expedient, though at first it gave some

(1) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. an. 1454.

(2) Worthies of England, Essex, p. 324.

(3) Britannia, by Bishop Gibson, last edit. col. 421.

(4) *Apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 537.

(5) Historia Eliensis, *apud* Wharton. ibid. p. 671, 672.

(6) Council. T. XIII. col. 1394. ap. Collier, Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. p. 674.

learned world, for being the principal instrument in introducing the noble art of Printing into England [*F*]. He was strangely imposed upon by the specious pretences of Richard Duke of Gloucester, when he undertook to persuade the Queen to deliver up the Duke of York, her son, into the Protector's hands [*G*]. He presided over the Church thirty-two years [*H*], in the most troublesome times of the English government [*I*]. He gave the the church of Canterbury a fine image or representation of the Trinity, of solid gold, adorned with precious stones, and a complete set of sacerdotal vestments (*h*); to his successor two thousand marks, to compensate for dilapidations; to the churh of Worcester an image of the Virgin Mary, of silver gilt, to the value of sixty-nine pounds (*i*); to the church of Ely two hundred marks for repairing the steeple (*k*); and to the university of Cambridge 180 pounds [*K*]. This great Prelate performed the marriage ceremony between Henry VII and the

(*h*) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cantuar. ubi supra.

(*i*) Wharton, ubi supra.

(*k*) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cant. an. 1454.

some hopes of reformation, proved insignificant through the mercenary disposition of the Bishop's officers, who were generally too much in haste for their fees to wait for any testimonials of this kind (7).

[*F*] *He was the principal instrument in introducing the noble art of Printing into England.*] This discovery being so beneficial to learning, and it's introduction among us reflecting so much honour on this Prelate's name, a short account of it may not be unacceptable in this place. You are to know then, that the Archbishop of Canterbury being informed that the inventor, Tossan, *alias* John Guthenberg, had set up a Press at Harlem, was extremely desirous that the English should be made masters of so beneficial an art. To this purpose he persuaded King Henry VI. to dispatch one Robert Tournour, belonging to the wardrobe, privately to Harlem. This man, furnished with a thousand marks, of which the Archbishop supplied three hundred, embarked for Holland, and, to disguise the matter, went in company with one Caxton, a merchant of London, pretending himself to be of the same profession. Thus concealing his name and his business, he went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, and at last settled at Harlem; where having spent a great deal of time and money, he sent to the King for a fresh supply, giving his Highness to understand, that he had almost compassed the enterprize. In short, he persuaded Frederic Corselli, one of the Compositors, to carry off a Set of Letters, and embark with him in the night for London. When they arrived, the Archbishop, thinking Oxford a more convenient place for printing than London, sent Corselli down thither. And, lest he should slip away before he had discovered the whole secret, a guard was set upon the Press. And thus the Mystery of Printing appeared ten years sooner in the university of Oxford than at any other place in Europe, Harlem and Mentz excepted. Not long after there were presses set up at Westminster, St Alban's, Worcester, and other monasteries of note. After this manner Printing was introduced into England, by the care of Archbishop Bourchier, in the year of Christ 1464, and the third of King Edward IV (8).

[*G*] *He undertook to persuade the Queen to deliver up the Duke of York into the Protector's hands.*] Richard Duke of Gloucester, who, upon the death of his brother King Edward IV, had been appointed by the Council Protector of the realm, and secretly aspired to the Crown, having got into his power the young King Edward V, endeavoured likewise to secure the Duke of York his brother, whom Queen Elizabeth their mother, jealous of Richard's treacherous designs, had lodged for sanctuary in Westminster-Abbey. The Protector, to gain his point, made a speech to the Council, charging the Queen with sinister intentions in flying with her son to a sanctuary, and representing, that it was highly fitting the young Prince should be lodged and educated in the King his brother's Court; and therefore he moved, that some person of distinction and interest with the Queen, might be sent to persuade her to put the Duke of York into their hands. The Council approving the motion, the Archbishop of Canterbury was pitched upon as the properest person to undertake the business. This Prelate, suspecting no foul practices, waited upon the Queen, and did his utmost to prevail with her to deliver up her son, assuring her, that nothing was intended in the whole affair but what was honourabe and just. But the Queen, whose fears were alarmed by her affection, and who seems to have dived farther into the Protector's designs, was by no means satisfied with the Archbishop's reasons for her parting with her son. She expressed her fears and apprehensions in the strongest terms, and declared she had not courage to put the young Duke into Richard's hands, who was already possessed of his brother, and who, if both the children should miscarry, might probably lay claim to the Crown. The Archbishop, perceiving the Queen's distrust of the Protector, and aversion to a compliance, thought it best to put the matter upon a short issue. He told her, that if she pleased to trust her son with himself, or any other Lord of the Council, he would pawn both body and soul for his security; but if she was unalterably resolved to the contrary, he would forbear solliciting, and give her Highness no farther trouble; adding withal, that he thought the Queen had a mean opinion of the honesty or understanding of himself and the rest of the Council; and that her suspicion amounted to a charge of treachery or want of common-sense. The Queen, seeing the Arbhbishop disconcerted, and ready to take his leave, and considering that it was impracticable to remove her son to any other place, concluded it more advisable to comply, than submit to force; for by voluntarily delivering up the young Duke, and committing him to their trust, she thought the honour and inclination of the Lords would be faster engaged for his preservation (9). The behaviour of Archbishop Bourchier on this occasion shews plainly, that he was too credulous, and that he was perfectly over-reached by the Protector.

[*H*] *He governed the Church thirty two years.*] Godwin tells us, this was three years longer than Archbishop Chichley sat, and that Bourchier had enjoyed the prelacy fifty-one years from the time of his first consecration; a longer term (he observes) than was to be found in the history of any other English Bishop. *Diuturnitate præsidendi Chichleium tres annos supergressus, sedit archiepiscopus annos 32, vixit autem post primam consecrationem annum unum supra quinquaginta. Inter Anglos nostros non reperiri quenquam, qui unquam episcopatum tam diu gesserit* (10).

[*I*] ——— *in the most troublesome times of the English government.*] Namely, those of Henry VI, and Edward IV; the former of whom, though accounted a most religious Prince, yet, through an inactivity unworthy of a monarch, ingloriously lost the kingdom of France, which his father had conquered; and Edward, by his attempts to dethrone Henry, plunged his country in a civil war, which lasted many years, nor had an end, 'till, a little before the death of this Prelate, by the happy marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward, the factions of York and Lancaster were extinguished, and a solid peace restored. *Majora præstiturum Bourchierum facile crediderim, nisi in tempora incidisset turbulentissima, Henrici nimirum sexti et Edwardi quarti, quorum ille, ob pietatem vir habitus sanctissimus, ob inertiam tamen inter pessimos reges numerandus (nam Galliam a patre subactam amisit turpiter, ac postea deinde Angliæ etiam regno excidit) Edwardus vero paterque ejus, Henricum evertere satagentes, intestino bello multos per annos patriam gravissimè afflixerunt. Neque id finem habuit, priusquam, paulo ante obitum hujusce præsulis, felicissimo connubio Henrico Richmundano cum Elizabetha Edwardi filia primogenita conjuncto, Lancastrensium et Eboracensium factiones extinctæ, ac pax tandem solida et diu exoptata coaluit* (11).

[*K*] *He gave to the university of Cambridge* 120 *pounds.*] This sum, together with 100 pounds given by one Billingworth, were laid up in a particular chest (called from thence *Bourchier's and Billingworth's chest*) to be lent, as occasion required, to poor scholars (12). Wharton tells us (13), it was thirty years after the Archbishop's death, before the university of Cambridge could recover this legacy of his executors.

[*L*] He

(7) Wood's Hist. & Antiq. of the University of Oxford, B. i. p. 224.

(8) Wood, ibid. p. 226, 227.

(9) See Sir Tho. More's Life and Reign of Edw. V. *apud* Complete Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 486—491. See also Collier's Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain, B. vii. Vol. I. p. 685.

(10) Godwin, ubi supra.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Angl. Sacra. Vol. I. p. 795.

the daughter of Edward IV; so that, as Dr Fuller observes (*l*), *his hand first held that sweet posie, wherein the white and red roses were tied together*. And he had the happiness to be contemporary with many Prelates of the most distinguished birth in the English History [*L*]. He was certainly a man of good learning [*M*]; though nothing written by him has come down to us, if we except a few Synodical Decrees (*m*). Dart tells us (*n*), he founded a Chantry, which was afterwards surrendered to King Henry VIII. Archbishop Bourchier died at his palace of Knowle, on Thursday the thirtieth of March 1486 (*o*), and was buried on the north side of the choir, by the high altar, in a tomb of marble (*p*), on which is an inscription mentioned below [*N*].

(*l*) Worthies of England, Essex, p. 324.

(*m*) Pits. de Illustr. Angl. Script. in Append. p. 914.

(*n*) History of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, p. 162.

(*o*) Wharton, ubi supra.

(*p*) Godwin, ubi supra.

[*L*] *He was contemporary with many Prelates of the noblest birth in the English history.*] This observation belongs to the author of the *Worthies of England*, who has enumerated those Prelates. Take it in his own words. 'I know not what generous planet had 'then influence on the Court of Rome; this I know, 'that England never saw such a concurrence of noble 'Prelates, who, as they were Peers by their places, 'were little less by their descent. I behold their birth 'a good buttress of episcopacy in that age, able in 'Parliament to check and crush any anti-prelatical pro'ject by their own relations. But let us count how 'many were contemporaries with Thomas Bourchier, 'from his first consecration of Worcester to the day of 'his death; John Stafford, son to the Earl of Stafford, 'Archbishop of Canterbury; Robert Fitz-Hugh —— 'Bishop of London; Henry Beaufort, son to John 'Duke of Lancaster, Bishop of Winchester; William 'Gray, son to the Lord Gray of Codnor, Bishop of 'Ely; Marmaduke Lumley, extracted from the Lord 'Lumley, Bishop of Lincoln; Richard Beauchamp, 'brother to the Lord Saint Amand, Bishop of Sarum; 'Lionel Woodvile, son to the Earl Rivers, Bishop 'of Sarum; Peter Courtney, extracted from the Earl 'of Devon, Bishop of Exeter; Richard Courtney, 'of the same extraction, Bishop of Norwich; John 'Zouch, descended of the Lord Zouch, Bishop of Lan'daff; George Nevile, brother to the Make-King Earl 'of Warwick, Archbishop of York; William Dudley, 'son to the Lord Dudley, Bishop of Durham; and 'William Piercy, son to the Earl of Northumberland, 'Bishop of Carlisle (14).'

(14) Fuller, ubi supra.

[*M*] *He was a man of good learning.*] Pits informs us, that this Prelate was more than once intrusted with an enquiry into Heresies, and that he wrote his opinion about these things to the Pope and the Court of Rome; that *Johannes Buriensis* dedicated to him his work against Reginald Peacock; and that it appears from Polydore Virgil and Onuphrius Panvinius, that he wrote several pieces; but what they were, excepting some Synodical Constitutions, neither he nor they could find. From all which this author collects, that Bourchier was a learned man. *Doctrinam hominis ex eo colligimus, quod examen hæreticorum non semel illi fuerit contreditum, et quod super his rebus ad summum pontificem et curiam Romanam suam sententiam in scriptis miserit. Item quod Joannes Buriensis suum opus contra Reginaldum Pæcoccum seu Pavonem ei nuncupaverit. Cæterum ex Polydoro Virgilio et Onuphrio Panvinio colligi potest, eum multa scripta edidisse, sed quænam illa fuerint, præter decreta quædam Synodalia, et me latet, et illos* (15).

(15) Pits. de Illustr. Angl. Script. in Append. p. 914.

[*N*] *The inscription on his tomb.*] It is as follows (16). *Hic jacet Reverendissimus in Christo pater et Dominus, D. Thomas Bourchier, quondam Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et S. Cyriaci in Thermis Cardinalis, et Archiepiscopus hujus Ecclesiæ, qui obiit trigesima die Martii, 1486, cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.* Which inscription is in old text characters, and engraved round the verge of the monument; in English thus. 'Here lies the most Reverend Father in Christ and 'Lord, the Lord Thomas Bourchier, some time Cardi'nal of the holy Roman Church, and of *St Cyriacus in Thermis*, and Archbishop of this Church, who 'died the thirtieth day of March, in the year of our 'Lord 1486, on whose soul God have mercy. Amen.'

(16) Dart's Hist. of the Cathedral of Canterbury, p. 162.

T

BOYDE, the name of a very antient, noble, and once the most flourishing family in Scotland, the genealogy of which we shall give in the note [*A*], and begin this article with the first nobleman thereof, ROBERT BOYDE, whose great abilities raised him

[*A*] *The genealogy of which we shall give in the notes.*] With regard to the antiquity of this family, the Scotch genealogist, Mr Crawfurd, (1) observes, that the common bearing of the Boydes and Stewarts, (2) has given ground to a conjecture that they are branched from the Royal Family of Stewart; long before the name of Stewart was used by the younger sons of that illustrious family; but upon what occasion they assumed this name, he does not take upon him to say. The first who assumed the sirname of Boyde, is said to be Robert the son of Simon, third son of Allan, Lord high-steward of Scotland, in the year 1111 (3); and in right of this Robert, from whom the Kilmarnock family is lineally descended, this branch of the name of Boyde claims to be chief, and acted as such when chieftainship was in repute in that part of the country; but for more than a century and an half, chiefs in that part of Scotland neither have nor claim any other advantage than that of precedency.

Historians have left a blank in the genealogy of the family, from the last mentioned Robert Boyde, in the year 1111, to a descendant of his, called Sir Robert Boyde, who, *in the year* 1263, gave signal proofs of his valour and military skill, in that famous battle of the Largs, fought between the Scots and Norwegians who had made a descent in that part of the country; for which he obtained a grant from the crown of several lands in the shire of Cunningham (4). He was succeeded by another Sir Robert, who added no small lustre to the family, by his loyalty, exercising his valour, like his predecessor, in defence of his King and country; and, like him, happening to live in an age when virtue was the only way to preferment, he received as a reward of his services and signal merit, the lands of *Kilmarnock*, from Robert the first, then King of Scotland, to whom he most faithfully adhered in all the vicissitudes of fortune that befel him. (5) These lands have continued ever since in the family, and given the title of Earl to four of them, the last of whom, was the unfortunate Lord who so lately suffered death for treason and rebellion to his King and Country.—To this Sir Robert succeeded his son Sir Thomas (6), a man eminent for learning and piety, and who discharged several employments of great trust and honour, to the satisfaction both of his King and Country; and was succeeded by his son Sir Thomas, who inherited his father's virtues as well as his wealth; he married one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Gifford of Yester, in the shire of Tweedale, by which marriage Sir Thomas got a third part of the barony of Yester (7); and was succeeded by Thomas his son, who held places of great trust under the crown, and was esteemed a man of such weight in his country, that he was received by the English as one of the hostages for the ransom of King James the first (8). He married Jane, a daughter of the family of Montgomery, and dying in 1432 was buried at Kilmarnock, where the portraiture of himself and his Lady are to be seen in stone, as big as the life, and an inscription, only shewing when they died (9). Sir Thomas was succeeded by a son of his own name, who did not long survive his father, for he was killed at Craignaught-hill, by Sir Alexander Stewart, in 1439, in revenge for the Lord Darnley's death, whom Sir Thomas Boyde had killed (Buchanan says treacherously) (10) in a feud, some time before. Historians make no other mention of this Sir Thomas, than that he was the father of the great *Robert Boyde*, the Lord Chamberlain, who is the principal subject of this article.

(1) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 242.

(2) The arms of the Boydes are; Sapphire, a Fess, Checque, Pearl, and Ruby: and those of the Stewarts; Topaz, a Fess, Checque, Pearl, and Sapphire. There is no doubt but the Boydes are a branch of the family of Stewart; and Mr Nisbet says expresly they are, though they never took the sirname of Stewart. Nisbet, Vol. I. p. 54.

(3) British Compendium, Vol. III. p. 315. Crawfurd's Hist. of Remfrew, p. 55.

(4) Crawfurd, ubi supra.

(5) Charta Penes Comitem de Kilmarnock. Nisbert's System of Heraldry, in the Remarks on Ragman Roll, p. 33.

(6) Charta in Rot. Rob. II. ad ann. 1374, per Tho. Fleming of Fulwood.

(7) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 242. Charta Penes Marchionem de Tweedale.

(8) British Compendium, p. 315.

(9) Historical Collection by Mr Timothy Pont, in the hands of Sir Robert Sibbald, M. D. MS.

(10) Buchanan, Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 7.

him to the highest pitch of grandeur, and whose life and actions therefore deserve particular notice. How, or where, he passed the first years of his life, or what age he was at the time of his father's death, is uncertain; but towards the end of the reign of King James II. of Scotland, he began to make a considerable figure in the world. He was a man of great penetration and sound judgment, knew mankind as well as any one of his time, was courteous and affable in his behaviour, by which means he acquired the esteem and confidence of all ranks of people, as well as of his Prince, by whose favour he was created a Baron, and called to Parliament, by the name and title of Lord Boyde of Kilmarnock. What added to his grandeur, was his alliance with many other great and noble families, and the large additions he had made to his own paternal inheritance. The first time we find his Lordship engaged in any publick employment, was in the year 1459, when he was, with several Prelates, Lords, and Barons, sent to Newcastle with the character of Plenipotentiaries, to prolong the truce with England, just then expired, which they did for nine years *(a)*. Upon the unhappy death of King James II. in 1460, the Lord Boyde was made Justiciary *(b)*, and named one of the Lords of the Regency, in whose hands the administration of affairs was lodged during the minority of the young King *(c)*. Buchanan is mistaken in saying, that the Lord Boyde was at this time Lord Chancellor of Scotland, for that office was then held by the Lord Evandale, as appears plainly by a charter still extant, under the great seal of King James III, dated 23 Jan. 1461, which is witnessed by *Andrea Domino Evandale Cancellario Nostro (d)*. Nor was the Lord Boyde ever in the post of Chancellor. His Lordship had a younger brother who had received the honour of knighthood, and was stiled Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, a man in great credit and favour with the King, whom he was appointed to teach the rudiments of military discipline, in the knowledge of which he was reckoned to exceed all others. As the Lord Boyde had a large share in the administration of publick affairs, by virtue of his office, so his brother Sir Alexander, by his constant access to the King's person, had a great influence over his youthful inclinations, insomuch, that the two brothers found means to engross most of the places and preferments about Court, to their own family and friends. Sir Alexander began to instil into the young King, then twelve years old, notions of manhood and liberty, insinuating that he was now capable of governing without the help of guardians and tutors, and that he might free himself from their restraint. This advice was readily listened to, and the King resolved to take upon himself the government, which, however, was no other than transferring the whole power, from the other Regents, to the Boydes. The King was at this time at Linlithgow, where the Lord Kennedy, another of the Regents, had a watchful eye over him; so it was necessary to remove his Majesty to Edinburgh, to take upon him the Regal Government. This the Boydes effected, partly by force and partly by stratagem, as the reader may see in the note [*B*]; and having got the King to Edinburgh, the Lord Boyde began to provide for his own safety, and to avert the danger which threatened him and his friends, for what they had done in the face of an Act of Parliament; and accordingly prevailed upon the King to call a Parliament at Edinburgh, in October 1466, which having then met, the Lord Boyde fell down upon his knees before the throne, where the King sat, and in a long and elaborate harangue, complained of the hard construction put upon the King's removal from Linlithgow, and how ill his service to the King in bringing him to Edinburgh was interpreted by his enemies, who threatened that the advisers of that affair should one day suffer punishment for the same; humbly beseeching his Majesty to declare his own sense and pleasure thereupon, and that if he conceived any ill-will or disgust against him for that journey, that he would openly declare it, that so the calumnies of his detractors might be prevented *(e)*. The King, after advising a little with the Lords, made answer *(f)*, that the Lord Boyde was not his adviser, but rather his companion in that journey, and therefore that he was more worthy of a reward for his courtesy, than of punishment for his obsequiousness or compliance therein, and this he was willing to declare in a publick Decree of the Estates, and thereby to silence his enemies; and in the same Decree provision should be made, that this matter should never be prejudicial to the Lord Boyde or his companions. His Lordship then desired, that this Decree might be registered in the Acts of the Assembly, and confirmed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. This was also complied with, and the Declaration was recorded in the books of Parliament, and an instrument

(a) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. Tom. II. p. 423.

(b) Charta Penes Comitem de Wigton.

(c) Crawfurd's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 313. Buchanan and Scott's Hist. of Scotland.

(d) Charta Penes Ducem de Montross.

(e) Records of Parliament.

(f) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 66, 8vo.

[*B*] *Partly by stratagem, and partly by force, as the reader will see in the notes.*] It was in this manner: The Boydes having ordered an hunting match for the King, on the 10th of July, 1466, they, with some other friends, instead of pursuing the chase, turned into the road leading to Edinburgh, in which they had not gone far, before the Lord Kennedy, who suspected this to be a game of state, came up with them, and laying his hands upon the bridle of the King's horse, requested him to return again to Linlithgow, and bid him beware of those guides who thus treasonably attempted to carry him away; for by a late statute it was declared high-treason to seize upon or carry away the person of the King, without the express consent of the Estates assembled in Parliament. But the Boydes thought the King's person would guard them from the penalty of the law, and that an after-statute, which they doubted not of obtaining, would cancel the former. With this assurance, Sir Alexander Boyde, as if he meant to resent the insolence offered the King, after some angry words, gave the Lord Kennedy a blow with his hunting staff, who thereupon went off, and left them to pursue their journey to Edinburgh (11). By this affair, not altogether justifiable on the part of the Boydes, the seeds of enmity were sown between the two families, which grew up to the great detriment of the nation; and at last, to the total ruin and destruction of one of them.

(11) Crawfurd's Lives of the Chancellors, p. 314. Buchanan, Scott, &c. Act of Approbation to the Lord Boyde, &c. in the Records of Parliament.

instrument importing the same thing, was granted to his Lordship under the Broad Seal, and still extant in the King's archives at Edinburgh. The Act of Approbation to the Lord Boyde and his friends, is also published in the Appendix to Mr Crawfurd's Lives of the great officers of State in Scotland. At the same time also, the King, by advice of his Council, gave him Letters Patent, whereby he was constituted sole Regent, and had the safety of the King, his brothers, sisters, towns, castles, and all the jurisdiction over his subjects, committed to him, 'till the King himself arrived to the age of twenty-one years *(g)*. And the Nobles then present solemnly promised to be assistant to the Lord Boyde, and also to his brother, in all their publick actions, and that they would be liable to punishment, if they did not carefully, and with faithfulness, perform what they then promised. To this stipulation, or promise, the King also subscribed *(h)*. Mr Crawfurd observes upon this occasion, that though the Lord Boyde was vested with such great powers, yet, in justice to the memory of so great a man, he acknowledges *(i)*, (what, he says, no authors have done before him, because they did not look into the Records) that his Lordship's nomination to this great dignity and trust, was not done by a private *junto*, nor unduly or unfairly obtained, but openly and in full Parliament, and as the King himself declares, *ex Consensu cæterorum Dominorum nostri Concilii (k)*. Great as his Lordship was, he had not, however, yet arrived to the summit of his glory; the honours he had already received only paved the way to still greater; for having now the whole administration in his hands, it was not long before he had an opportunity of getting into one of the greatest offices in the kingdom, which was that of Lord Great-Chamberlain of Scotland, now vacant by the death of the Lord Livingstone. The Lord Boyd's commission for this great office *(l)*, (which Mr Crawfurd has seen in the hands of the Earl of Kilmarnock) was *pro vita*, and passed the Great Seal, upon the twenty-fifth of August, 1467. It is necessary to observe, that though the Lord Boyde, now Lord Chamberlain, seemed to have the sole power and management of every thing himself; yet the Parliament had referred some particular matters which were of the highest concern and importance to the State *(m)*, such as the marriage of the King, his sister, and his brothers, the Duke of Albany, and Earl of Mar, to the joint determination of the Lord Boyde, and others named and authorized by the Parliament for that purpose. This, however, did not hinder the Lord Chamberlain from making a very bold step, still farther to aggrandize his family; this was no less than the procuring the Lady Mary Stewart, the late King's eldest daughter, in marriage for his son Sir Thomas Boyde, and which, by his interest and address with the King, he found means to accomplish, notwithstanding the care and precaution of the Parliament. The Lord Boyde's son was a most accomplished gentleman, and this match and near alliance to the Crown, added to his own distinguished merit, raised him to a nearer place in the affection as well as confidence of his Sovereign, by whom he was soon after created Earl of Arran *(n)*, perhaps to render the match more equal in point of rank with his royal bride, with whom he also obtained many lands *(o)*, and, says Mr Crawfurd *(p)*, was himself considered as the fountain from whence all honours and preferments must flow. The Lord Chamberlain, by this great accession of honour to his family, now seemed to have arrived at the highest pinnacle of power and grandeur, and this, in appearance, raised upon so firm a basis as not to be easily shaken. The King, we have seen, was his declared friend and patron; great part of the Nobility in league with him; the administration of the whole government in his hands; his brother in no less esteem and favour with the King; and the future greatness of his posterity secured by his son's marriage into the royal family: But such is the instability of human affairs, and of so deceitful are the smiles of fortune, that what seemed to be a prop and establishment of the power and greatness of this family, proved the very means of it's overthrow, by stirring up it's most bitter enemies to seek and determine it's destruction. About this time, a marriage having been concluded, by Embassadors sent into Denmark for that purpose, between the young King of Scotland, and Margaret, a daughter of the King of Denmark; the young Earl of Arran was pitched upon, as a Nobleman every way qualified for so honourable and magnificent an embassy, to go over to Denmark, to espouse the Danish Princess in the King his brother-in-law's name, and to conduct her to Scotland. The Earl of Arran, judging all things safe at home, willingly accepted this honour, and in the beginning of the autumn of the year 1469, set sail for Denmark with a proper convoy, and a noble train of friends and followers *(q)*. This was a fatal step to the downfal of this illustrious family, for the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl's father, being now much absent from the Court in the necessary discharge of his office, as well as through age and infirmities, the case also of his brother Sir Alexander Boyde; the Earl of Arran had no sooner set out on his embassy, than those enemies, which envy alone, that inseparable attendant on power and greatness, had raised him, set about contriving his ruin, and that of his family. The seeds of enmity, long since sown between the Kennedies and the Boydes, though hitherto unproductive of any bad consequences, now began to shoot out with greater vigour. Every art that malice could suggest was tried to alienate the King's affection from the Boydes. Every publick miscarriage was laid at their door; and the Kennedies industriously spread abroad reports, to inflame the people likewise against them. They represented to the King, that the Lord Boyde had abused his power during his Majesty's minority; that his matching his son, the Earl of Arran, with the Princess Mary, was

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(g) Charta in Rotulis Jacobi III.

(h) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 67, 8vo.

(i) Lives of the Lords Great Chamberlains of Scotland, p. 314.

(k) Records of Parliament.

(l) Charta Penes Comitem de Kilmarnock.

(m) Black Acts of Parliament.

(n) Chart. in Rot. Jac. III. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 243.

(o) Charta in pub. Archives.

(p) Lives of the Lords Chamberlains, ut supra.

(q) Buchan. Scott, &c. British Compendium, p. 315.

staining the royal blood of Scotland, was an indignity to the Crown (r), and the prelude to the execution of a plot they had contrived of usurping even the sovereignty itself; for they represented the Lord Chamberlain as an ambitious, aspiring man, guilty of the highest offences, and capable of contriving and executing the worst of villanies (s): with what justice, History does not inform us. Buchanan (t) is the only one that says the Boydes were the occasion of the King's degeneracy into all manner of licentiousness, by their indulgence of his pleasures. The King, however, young, weak, credulous, and wavering, and naturally prone to jealousy, began to be alarmed, gave way to the importunities of his new counsellors, and being besides flattered by them with the prospect of filling his coffers out of the unhappy victim's confiscated estates, the consequence of their conviction, he quickly became the tool of the lowest revenge, and was prevailed on to sacrifice, not only the Earl of Arran, but all his family, to the malice and resentment of their enemies, notwithstanding their own and their ancestors great services to the Crown, and in spite of the ties of blood which united them so closely. At the request of the adverse faction, the King sommoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the twentieth of November 1469 (u), before which the Lord Boyde, the Earl of Arran, though in Denmark, and Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, were summoned to appear, to give an account of their adminstration, and answer such charges as should be exhibited against them. The Lord Boyde was astonished at this sudden blow, against which he had made no provision, and betook himself to arms (w), at least appeared with such attendance of armed men, as obliged the government to draw some forces together for it's own defence; but the match being so unequal, the weaker party thought fit to disband, and his Lordship finding it impossible to stem the torrent, and having no confidence in the Parliament, which he knew his enemies found ways and means to model for their own mischievous purposes, and despairing of safety, took an opportunity to make his escape into England; but his brother, Sir Alexander, being then sick, and trusting to his own integrity, was brought before the Parliament, where he, the Lord Boyde, and his son the Earl of Arran, were, at his Majesty's instance, indicted of high-treason, for having laid hands on the King, and carried him, against an Act of Parliament, and contrary to the King's own will, from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, in the year 1466. Sir Alexander alledged in his defence, that they had not only obtained the King's pardon for that offence in a publick Convention, but it was even declared a good service by a subsequent Act of Parliament (x), and he desired that a copy of that pardon might be transcribed out of the Parliament rolls, but this was denied him, and no regard was had to it, because it was obtained by the Boydes when in power, and masters of the King's person (y). That the record only expressed that the King forgave him his personal resentment, which did not exempt them from the punishment of the law (z). Upon the whole, the crime being proved against them, they were found guilty by a jury of very noble Lords and Barons (a), and sentence of condemnation pronounced against them as in cases of high-treason: Sir Alexander Boyde, being present, was condemned to lose his head on the Castle-Hill of Edinburgh, which sentence was executed accordingly. The Lord Boyde had without doubt undergone the same fate, if he had not made his escape into England, as before related, where, however, he did not long survive his great reverse of fortune, which he might well lay to heart in his old age. He died at Alnwick in the year 1470. The Earl of Arran, though absent, and that upon the King's and the publick business, was declared a publick enemy, without being granted a hearing, or allowed the privilege which every man has a right to, of defending himself; and all their estates were confiscated (b). Things were in this unhappy situation, when the Earl of Arran arrived from Denmark, with the espoused Queen, in the Frith of Forth. Before he landed he had received intelligence of the wreck and ruin of his family, for his Lady, upon the first news of the approach of the Danish fleet, made immediately to her beloved Lord, and informed him there was no hopes of re-admission to the King's favour, his enemies having stopped all passages thereto (c). When he found it was not safe to set foot on his native shore, he resolved to retire into Denmark, and without staying to attend the ceremonial of the Queen's landing, or to trouble his weak and ungrateful master and brother, with the account of his embassy, he took the opportunity of one of the Danish ships which convoyed the Queen, and were under his command, and embarking his Lady, set sail for Denmark, where arriving, he met with a noble reception, suitable to his high birth and real merit. From thence he travelled through Germany into France, where he prevailed, according to Mr Crawford (d), with Lewis XI, to endeavour his reconciliation with King James, but in vain. Buchanan says (e), he could not obtain the French King's mediation at all; however this be, 'tis certain he left the French Court, and went to pay a visit to Charles Duke of Burgundy, who received him most graciously, and being then at war with his rebellious subjects, the unfortunate Lord offered him his service, which the Duke readily accepted, and finding him to be a brave and wise man, he honoured and supported him and his Lady, in a manner becoming their rank. But the measure of their afflictions was not yet full; the King their brother not yet satisfied with the miseries of their family, wrote over to Flanders to re-call his sister home, but knowing the great love she bore her husband, and fearing she would not be induced to leave him, he caused others to write to her, and give her hopes that his anger towards her husband might be appeased, and that

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(r) Abercromby from Ferrerius, p. 387.

(s) Crawford's Lives of the Chamberlains, p. 316.

(t) Hist. Vol. II. p. 69—93.

(u) Crawfurd's Lives, &c. p. 316.

(w) Crawfurd, ubi supra.

(x) Act of Parliament still extant in the Records.

(y) Extract of the whole Tryal copied from the Records by Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkall.

(z) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 70, &c.

(a) Extract of the Tryal, ut supra.

(b) Buchanan, ubi supra.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Lives of the Chancellors, &c. p. 317.

(e) Ubi supra.

if she would come over and plead for him in person, there was no doubt but she might prevail with her brother to pardon him, and restore him again to his favour (*f*). The Countess of Arran, flattered with these fair hopes, resolved to try if her presence and intreaties could not move her brother to compassion; she returned, and was no sooner arrived in Scotland, than the faithless King began to urge her to a divorce from her husband, cruelly detained her from going back to him, and caused publick citations, attested by witnesses, to be fixed up at Kilmarnock, the capital seat of the Boydes before their fall, wherein Thomas Earl of Arran was commanded to appear in sixty days, which he not doing, his marriage with the King's sister was declared null and void, and a divorce made, (according to Buchanan) the Earl still absent and unheard, and the Lady Mary was compelled, by the King, to marry James Lord Hamilton, a man much inferior to her former husband both in point of birth and fortune. This transaction was in the year 1474, and the Earl of Arran, now in the last stage of his miseries, and borne down with the heavy load of his misfortunes, soon after died at Antwerp [*C*], and was honourably interred there, at the expence of the Duke of Burgundy, who likewise erected a superb monument to his memory, with an inscription suitable to the great character he left behind him (*g*). The Lord Chamberlain Boyde, father of the Earl of Arran, by Marion his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, had also issue, two other sons, Alexander and Archibald, and a daughter who married the Earl of Angus, Chancellor to King James IV. But after the fall of the Boydes, the Barony and Lordship of Kilmarnock fell to the Crown, and there continued 'till the year 1482, when the King, taking compassion upon the innocent children of the late Earl of Arran, and out of the love he bore his sister the Countess, restored James her son to the barony of Kilmarnock, and the other lands of his ancestors, and to the title of Lord Boyde (*h*), but he dying without issue (Boëthius (*i*) says he was killed by the Lord Montgomery) the lordship of Kilmarnock returned again to the Crown, and the line was carried on by Alexander Boyde, second son of the Lord Chamberlain Boyde, and brother of the late Earl of Arran [*D*]. This Alexander, through the interest of the Earl of Angus his brother-in-law, and for his own dutiful behaviour, was, by King James IV, made Baily and Chamberlain of Kilmarnock for the Crown (*k*), was restored to part of that lordship, and had also a grant of the lands of Bordland (*l*). Robert, his eldest son, succeeded, and was a person in great favour with King James V, whom he faithfully served both at home and abroad (*m*), wherefore that Prince bestowed on him the whole lordship of Kilmarnock, the twentieth of May, 1536 (*n*). He afterwards had, by grant of the Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland during the minority of Queen Mary, many other lands that had formerly belonged to his ancestors, and at the same time is retoured heir to James Boyde of Kilmarnock, his father's brother's son (*o*). In the person of his son Robert, the next generation saw the honour of the family revive; he was a nobleman of great parts, and possessed in an eminent degree, all those hereditary qualifications which had rendered his family illustrious. The troubles of the times during the unhappy reign of that unfortunate

(*f*) Buchanan, ut supra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 243.

(*i*) Hector Boëthius's Hist. of Scotland, translated by Bellandine, Book xii. C. v. edit. 1536.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. ad annum 1505.

(*l*) Black Acts of Parliament. Charta in pub. Archives, ad ann. 1494. Charta in Rot. Jac. IV.

(*m*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 244.

(*n*) Chart. in pub. Arch. Jac. V.

(*o*) Charta Penes Com. de Kilmarnock, dat. 23 Oct. 1544.

[*C*] *This was transacted in the year 1474, and the Earl of Arran died soon after.*] We have related this story of Lady Arran's divorce, from Buchanan, because he is very particular in his relation of it, and the thing itself is very probable, tho' far from certain; for Boëthius (12) says, that the daughter of King James the second, after the death of Lord Boyde, (meaning the Earl of Arran) married the Lord Hamilton; and Mr Bellandine the translator of Boëthius was actually living at the very time; and Buchanan did not write 'till a century after; and possibly he might frame this story on purpose to ingratiate himself with his patron the Earl of Murray, who was a great enemy to the Hamiltons, and might be pleased to have it recorded of that family, that it's greatness, and alliance with the Blood Royal, was founded in adultery. The historian Mr Scott (13), (who in general copies Buchanan) concerning this affair, only says, that the King detained the Countess of Arran from returning to her husband, and urged her to sue for a divorce, to which she would not consent; but says nothing of her being compelled to marry Lord Hamilton; and adds, that Lord Arran finding himself bereft of his Lady, contracted great grief and died; and she remained a widow 'till the year 1474, which expression implies, that her husband had been dead some time before; but this is not probable, if we consider, that the Earl of Arran did not arrive in Scotland from his Danish embassy, 'till the year 1470, after which he retired to Denmark, from thence travelled thro' Germany into France, at both of which courts he might stay a considerable time; and at last went to the Duke of Burgundy's court, where he served in the wars, and his Lady bare him a son and a daughter there, and at length returned to Scotland; all which could not well be brought about much sooner than the year 1474, so that the Countess of Arran must have married Lord Hamilton not long after her arrival in Scotland; and as it is certain, Lord Arran did not die 'till after she came there, and was refused leave to return back, it must have been very soon after (if not before) the Earl's death, that she married Hamilton; and as she was an affectionate wife to her first husband, it was perhaps rather by compulsion than choice, that she married a second so soon; or probably, a divorce was intended and actually begun by the King her brother, tho' not compleated before Lord Arran's death; for the fact is very agreeable to the character of that prince, who was very unforgiving, and retentive of injuries, and to be sure would never cease persecuting the unhappy Earl of Arran, as long as he lived. The author of the British Compendium (14), places the Earl's death in 1470, but this appears from the above account, to be a great error.

(12) Hector Boëthius's Hist. of Scotland, translated by Bellandine, printed in 1536. Book xii. chap. v.

(13) History of Scotland.

(14) Page 71.

[*D*] *The line was carried on by Alexander Boyde, second son of the Lord Chamberlain.*] Mr Crawfurd, in his Peerage of Scotland (15), and from him other writers, are mistaken in saying, that upon the death of Lord Arran's son without issue, the line was continued by Sir Alexander, son of Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, brother of the Lord Chamberlain, and that from him are descended the Earls of Kilmarnock; for the Lord Chamberlain left two other sons besides Lord Arran, who, according to the order of succession, had a right of precedency before the son of Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, who was only the younger brother of the Lord Chamberlain; and it appears beyond doubt, that Alexander, the second son of the Lord Chamberlain, continued the line; for in a grant which he afterwards had of the lands of Bordland, he is stiled *Filius Roberti quondam Domini Boyd* (16). Mr Crawfurd has acknowledged this himself in his lives of the Chancellors (17).

(15) Page 243.

(16) Charta in pub. Archives, ad ann. 1494.

(17) Page 317, in the notes.

unfortunate Princess, Queen Mary, gave him a sufficient opportunity of exerting his great talents. That Princess, in the year 1549, had been graciously pleased to recognize his title to the honour of Lord Boyde, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal (*p*), and he continued to be greatly trusted by her, to whom he faithfully adhered, and preserved his loyalty in the worst of times, and 'till the almost total suppression of her interest, assisting her with his counsels, and risking his life in her defence as often as he had an opportunity, though he condemned the imprudent measures which involved the Queen in the disasters of her reign, as well as the violent measures pursued by the subjects against her; and upon her marriage with Bothwell, in 1567, he had actually entered into an association with other Lords, to punish the King's murderers, and dissolve the Queen's marriage, according to Rapin (*q*); but Scott says, to defend the infant Prince her son, from his mother and step-father (*r*), yet this was only on account of her religion, in which he differed from her, and was one of those who advised her to issue a proclamation, to declare all tolerations formerly granted to Roman Catholicks null and void, and to grant no further freedom to them than private worship. However, he continued to serve her, and was made one of the Lords of her Privy-Council the same year, 1567 (*s*), and was pitched upon by the Queen to treat with the rebel Lords about composing their differences, but they refused to treat with her. The Lord Boyde commanded a part of the Queen's army at the battle of Langside, where she was defeated in 1568. Upon the Queen's retiring into England, and Commissioners being appointed by Queen Elizabeth, and the Lord Murray Regent of Scotland, to hear and determine the controversy between the Queen of Scots and her subjects, Lord Boyde was appointed one of the Queen's Commissioners, to meet and vindicate her character. His Lordship was also employed in the fatal affair of the intended marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with Queen Mary, and was one of her Commissioners upon all occasions, and in all meetings with her opponents, 'till the year 1571, when, according to the Historian before cited (*t*), the Earl of Morton, at that time Regent, found means to tempt the Lord Boyde, together with the Earl of Argyle, to desert the Queen's party; for Morton having then several church-lands in his gift, offered a large share thereof to be divided between those Lords, which they accepted of, and joined the King's party. At the same time the Earl of Argyle was divorced from his Lady, and married to the Lord Boyde's daughter. If this account of Mr Scott's be true, it may very well be urged in Lord Boyde's defence, that the Queen's affairs were at this time so desperate, that it was scarce in the power of her most loyal subjects to do her any service, and that his Lordship was amongst the last of her friends, who submitted to the Regency during her son's minority, and in so doing, he only made a virtue of necessity, by complying with the times and humour of the people, who had set her infant son upon the throne without any regard to the mother's title. After this, his Lordship acted as one of the Regent's Commissioners in the treaty of Perth, and was one of the Lords that subscribed the articles of that treaty. In 1578, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to treat with the English about suppressing the incursions of the borderers (*u*). In 1581, he, with some other Lords, having joined in a confederacy to remove the Duke of Lenox, who was a Papist, from Court; in order to this, they seized the King and confined him at Ruthven House, where they in a manner compelled him to banish the Duke; but Lord Boyde had liked afterwards to have lost his life for this, and was obliged to go over to France (*w*), from whence returning in 1585, he was pardoned, and was the same year, with the Earl of Bothwell and another, sent Ambassador into England to conclude a league in defence of the Protestant religion (*x*), and for a firm and lasting peace between the two realms, which they concluded and signed (*y*) [*E*]. This Nobleman died in 1589, aged 72, and was interred with his ancestors in the church of Kilmarnock, under a fair tomb, with the following strange verses by way of epitaph, as in note [*F*], which, however, shew the great service and importance he was of to his country. He married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of George Colqhuone of Glins, by which he made a considerable addition to his paternal inheritance. By her he had issue several daughters, one of whom married the Earl of Eglington; and a son named Thomas, who succeeded him (*z*). He married Marion, the daughter of Matthew Campbel of Loudon, ancestor to the Earl of that name, by whom he had issue a daughter, who married James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn, and a son named Robert, who marrying the daughter of Mark Ker, Earl of Lothian, and died before his father, but left two sons,

(*p*) Charta Penes Com. de Kilmarnock, ad ann. 1549.

(*q*) Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. VIII. p. 359, 8*vo*.

(*r*) Scott's Hist. of Scotland, p. 408.

(*s*) Scott, ibid.

(*t*) Scott's Hist. of Scotland, p. 449.

(*u*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 244.

(*w*) Scott, p. 489.

(*x*) Scott, p. 496.

(*y*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

(*z*) British Compendium, p. 316.

[*E*] *Which league they concluded and signed.*] The occasion of this league was this; The Pope, Kings of France and Spain, and other Potentates of the Church of Rome, had entered into a league to extirpate the Protestant Religion; upon which Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Wotton her Ambassador to Scotland, to propose a league offensive and defensive with the King, in the cause of Religion; upon which King James having convened the Estates of the Kingdom at St Andrews, the same was agreed to, and Ambassadors appointed to go to Berwick and meet those from the Queen, who mutually ratified and signed the same (18), consisting of thirteen articles.

(18) Scott's Hist. of Scotland, p. 493.

[*F*] *As in note* [*F*].

Here lies yat godly, noble, wise, Lord Boyd,
Who Kirk and King, and Commons, all ecor'd,
Which were, while they this jewel all enjoy'd,
Maintain'd, govern'd, and council'd by that Lord.

His antient House so of't peril'd, he restor'd,
Twice six, and sixty years he liv'd; and fine,
By death the third of January devor'd,
In anno thrice five hundred, eighty nine (19).

(19) Monumental Inscriptions in the church of Kilmarnock.

sons, Robert, who succeeded his grandfather; and James, who afterwards also came to the estate. This Robert married Christian, daughter to Thomas Hamilton Earl of Haddingtoun, by whom he had issue Robert who succeeded him, and was a nobleman of great hopes and parts, and died without issue much regretted, in 1640 (*a*). He was succeeded by James his uncle, who, dying in 1654, was succeeded by William his son (*b*), who gave early proofs of his abilities, and that he inherited all the shining qualities of his progenitors. He was esteemed a man of wit and learning, which recommended him to the gay Court of King Charles II. He was remarkably active in the interest of that Monarch, when there was the least prospect of his Restoration; for which, and some services he did the Crown afterwards, he was created Earl of Kilmarnock, by Letters Patent, bearing date August 7, 1661 (*c*). He married Janet, daughter to William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, and died in the year 1692. He was succeeded by his eldest son William, who survived his father but a few months, leaving issue William, the third Earl of Kilmarnock, and Thomas Boyde, a gentleman eminent in the profession of the Civil and Municipal Law of Scotland, who, for his distinguished merit, was promoted to the honour of Lord Advocate. William, the third Earl of Kilmarnock, was no less distinguished for his abilities than the rest of his predecessors: he was remarkably zealous in the Parliament of Scotland, for the famous Act called the Act of Security. He was somewhat wavering in his conduct with regard to the Union; and affected, in the beginning of that affair, to join the party headed by the Marquis of Tweedale, who were distinguished by the name of the *Squadrone Volante*, on account of their pretending to join neither of the parties, but to cast the ballance between them; but the Earl at last left that party, and joined those who promoted the Union. In the rebellion 1715, he was very active in the service of the Government. He died in November 1716, leaving issue by Euphene his wife, daughter to William Lord Ross, William, the fourth and last Earl of Kilmarnock (*d*), the unfortunate Nobleman, who, by deviating from the steps of his illustrious ancestors, so lately fell a sacrifice to the justice of his country. We shall not long detain the reader with this Nobleman's History, as there is nothing remarkable recorded of him, 'till the last unhappy period of his life, having, 'till then, lived rather in a private station, without publickly concerning himself either with civil or military affairs. His Lordship was but thirteen years old when his father died, and discovered betimes a genius not unequal to his birth. He found the family estate pretty much encumbered, and great part of the patrimony alienated, and by no means answerable to his Lordship's generous and noble disposition. It was his Lordship's misfortune, to be too soon let loose among the gaities and pleasures of life; as he grew up, instead of applying himself to the dry amusements of study, he launched out into the world in pursuit of pleasures which were more expensive than his fortune could support, and by this means considerably reduced his estate, which, from the most probable conjecture, was the true reason of his taking up arms against the King. And indeed, his Lordship himself owns in his confession to Mr Foster (*e*), (while under sentence) that his rebellion was a kind of desperate scheme, proceeding originally from his vices, to extricate himself from the distress of his circumstances: for he says, 'the true root of all was his careless and dissolute life, by which he had reduced himself to great and perplexing difficulties; that the exigency of his affairs was in particular very pressing at the time of the rebellion; and that, besides the general hope he had of mending his fortune by the success of it, he was also tempted by another prospect of retrieving his circumstances, by following the Pretender's standard.' It does not appear that his Lordship was in the original design of the rebellion; on the contrary, he declares both in his speech at the Bar of the House of Lords, and in his petition to the King after sentence (*f*), that it was not 'till after the battle of Preston Pans that he became a party in it (*g*), having, 'till then, neither influenced his tenants or followers to assist or abet the rebellion, but, on the contrary, influenced the inhabitants of the town of Kilmarnock, and the neighbouring boroughs, to rise in arms for his Majesty's service, which had so good an effect, that two hundred men from Kilmarnock very soon appeared in arms, and remained so all the winter at Glasgow and other places. It is said, that when the Earl joined the Pretender's standard, he was received by him with great marks of esteem and distinction; was declared of his Privy-Council, made Colonel of the Guards, and promoted to the degree of a General (though his Lordship himself says, he was far from being a person of any consequence among them). How he behaved in these stations, (quite new to him, and foreign from his former manner of life) we cannot determine; but common fame says, he behaved with courage and resolution 'till the fatal battle of Culloden, when the Earl was taken, or rather surrendered himself, prisoner, to the King's troops, though involuntarily, and with a design to have facilitated his escape; for his Lordship acknowledged to Mr Foster (*h*), whilst under sentence, that when he saw the King's dragoons, and made towards them, he thought they had been Fitz-James's horse, and that if he could have reached them by mounting behind one of the dragoons, his escape would have been more certain, than when he was on foot. This it was proper to mention, because his Lordship, in his speech to the House of Lords (*i*), had made a merit of having surrendered himself, at a time when he said he could easily have made his escape, and in which he owned, when in a state of repentance, he had falsified. His Lordship was, after he had been taken some time, brought to the Tower, and on Monday the twenty-eighth of July,

1746,

(*a*) Balfour's Annals.

(*b*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 245. Charta in Cancellaria, S. D. N. Regis.

(*c*) Charta in Rot. Carol. II. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 245.

(*d*) British Compendium, p. 317.

(*e*) See Mr Foster's Account of the Behaviour of Lord Kilmarnock, p. 10, 11.

(*f*) Appendix to Mr Foster's Account, &c. No. 3. p. 45.

(*g*) Proceedings in the House of Peers against Lord Kilmarnock, &c. p. 31.

(*h*) Mr Foster's Account, ut supra.

(*i*) See the Proceedings in the House of Peers, &c. ut supra.

1746, was, together with the Earl of Cromertie, and Lord Balmerino, conducted to Westminster-Hall, and at the bar of the Lord High-Steward's court, there erected for that purpose, arraigned, and pleaded guilty to his indictment, submitting himself to his Majesty's mercy and clemency. On the Wednesday following, the three Lords were again brought from the Tower to receive sentence, when the Lord Kilmarnock being asked by the Lord High-Steward, if he had any thing to offer why sentence of death should not be passed upon him? his Lordship, addressing himself to his Grace and the whole august Assembly, then consisting of an hundred and thirty-six Peers, delivered an eloquent speech (*k*), after which, sentence of death was pronounced upon him, and he returned to the Tower. After this, he presented petitions to the King, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cumberland (*l*), wherein he set forth his family's constant attachment to the Revolution interest, and that of the illustrious House of Hanover; his father's zeal and activity in support of both in the rebellion in 1715, and his own appearing in arms (though then but young) under his father, and the whole tenor of his conduct ever since that time. But the services of his forefathers could not satisfy the publick demand for justice, nor avail him so far as to procure him pardon. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, August 18, 1746, and was interred in the Tower church, with this inscription upon his coffin, viz. *Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollat. 18 Augusti, 1746, ætat. suæ 42.* His Lordship's whole deportment, from the time he was condemned 'till his execution, was exceedingly becoming and suitable to one in his unhappy circumstances; and as he gave the most lively marks of a sincere humiliation and repentance for all his miscarriages, so his behaviour in the hour of death was resigned, but strictly decent and awful, free from an extreme dejectedness, yet not eager and rapid to meet death; it may therefore be said, that he died with a *becoming resolution*; for, as his Lordship himself observed with as much truth as goodness, that for a man who had led a dissolute life, and yet believed the consequences of death, to put on an air of daringness and absolute intrepidity, must argue him either to be very stupid or very impious (*m*). He was a nobleman of fine address and polite behaviour; his person was tall and graceful; his countenance mild, but his complexion pale; and he had abilities, which, if they had been properly applied, might have rendered him capable of bringing an increase of honour to his family, instead of ruin and disgrace. His Lordship lived and died in the publick profession of the Church of Scotland, and left behind him a widow (who was the Lady Anne Livingston, daughter of James Earl of Linlithgow and Callander, attainted in 1715, with whom he had a considerable fortune) and three sons, the eldest of whom his Lordship had educated in the principles of duty and loyalty to his Majesty, and in whose service he now bears a commission; another son was in the rebellion with his father, and escaped somewhere abroad; and the third is in the sea service. With this dismal catastrophe of the last unhappy Earl of Kilmarnock, we are to close our memoirs of this illustrious family, having followed it through several centuries, from the earliest account of it to the present time. We have traced it from it's first rise or dawn, to it's meridian height of glory; we have then seen it the sport of fortune, sink into obscurity, emerge out of it again, and by degrees resume it's antient splendor; and glad should we have been, to have stopped at this happy period, and not have seen the lustre of so great a family sullied by so foul a crime as that of rebellion; to have seen, in one fatal day, the richest blood contaminated, and which for ages has ran untainted in an illustrious chanel; to have seen a Nobleman, who could boast a train of ancestors, as long and as noble as most families, and amongst whom were men singularly eminent for their loyalty, and conspicuous for their virtue, thus degenerate from their noble principles, and fatally pursue measures that involved himself and family in ruin. H

(*k*) In the Proceedings of the House of Peers, &c. published by S. Billingsley.

(*l*) In the Appendix to Mr Foster's Account, &c. No. 3, 4, 5.

(*m*) Mr Foster's Account, &c.

BOYLE (RICHARD) one of the ablest Statesmen in the last century, who not only raised himself to the highest offices, and to the dignity of the peerage in Ireland, by his personal merit, but obtained also a very unusual addition to these honours, being generally stiled the *great Earl* of Cork. He was descended from an antient and honourable family, that had been long seated in Herefordshire, some think before the Conquest (*a*) [*A*]. But

(*a*) Letter from Dr John Beale to Mr Samuel Hartlib.

[*A*] *Seated in Herefordshire, as some think before the Conquest.*] It has been a common opinion, and as such is laid down in some Memoirs, that the noble Family of Boyle sprung from Sir Philip Boyle a knight of the Kingdom of Arragon in Spain (1), who came over to England, and signalized himself in a tournament held in the reign of King Henry VI. Thus much of truth there is in that notion, that the Family of Boyle is of great antiquity in Spain (2), and that this Sir Philip was of that family, yet no ancestor of the Earl of Cork, whose line may be traced much higher with great certainty. It is thought that this sirname was antiently written Biuvile, and by degrees was changed or corrupted into Boyle. The first account we have of them is, that they were seated at Pixely Court near Leadbury in the County of Hereford, of which Humphry de Biuvile was Lord, as is recorded in Dooms-day Book, tit. 28. *Terra Humfridi de Biuvile in Radelau Hund. Humfridus de Biuvile tenet de rege Pichelei Austil tenuit.* These words *Austil tenuit*, in the general construction of Antiquaries, import that it was in the time of Edward the Confessor (3). Lodowick Boyle, who lived in the reign of King Henry III, was father of John Boyle, and he of James, who had issue Lodowick, whose son was succeeded by James his son and heir, father of Lodowick Boyle of Bidney, and of the Friers in the city of Hereford, in the reign of King Henry VI (4). This Lodowick married Elizabeth, daughter of William Russel, Esq; and had issue a daughter, Eleanor, married to Watkin Russel; and two sons, John Boyle, Esq; who had the estate in Herefordshire, and Roger Boyle second son (5); this Roger married Jane, daugter of Thomas Pattishall of the County of Hereford, and had issue John Boyle of Hereford, Roger

(1) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 2.

(2) Herera, Histor. de las Indias Occidentales, Decad. i. lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 68.

(3) Letter from Dr John Beale to Mr Samuel Hartlib.

(4) Visat. Com. Hereford. in Bibl. Harleian. 90 A. p. 72, 73. Seager's Baron. MS. in Bibl. Cot.

(5) Genealogies of Families omitted in the Baronage, MS. p. 131.

But his father, Roger Boyle, being a younger brother, and marrying Joan, the daughter of Robert Naylor of Canterbury, Esq; settled in Kent, where his second son Richard was born, October 3, 1566 (*b*). He was educated first at Canterbury, then sent to Cambridge by the care of his mother, having lost his father before he was ten years of age; studied there for some time in Bennet-college, thence he removed to the Middle Temple, proposing to have made the Law his profession (*c*). But his mother dying, and having little or no dependance, he, in some measure, dropped that design, and entered into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer. He did not remain long in that station, for finding he should rise very slowly thereby, he resolved to travel in order to better his fortune, which, as himself tells us, was very slender, when he left England (*d*) [*B*]. He landed at Dublin, June 23, 1588, and having good recommendations, was very soon brought into business, acting sometimes in one part of the country, sometimes in another, but residing chiefly in Dublin, where he was held in very great esteem by the principal persons employed in the Government, and was very serviceable to many of them, in penning memorials, cases, and answers, which gave him vast opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the kingdom, and of the state of publick affairs (*e*), of which he very well knew how to make a right use. In 1595 he married Joan, the daughter and coheiress of William Ansley, of Pulborough, in the county of Sussex, Esq; with whom he had five hundred pounds *per annum* in land, which was the beginning of his fortunes (*f*). As he was of a very frugal disposition, and had a head very well turned for making an establishment in a country where land was cheap, and he had money to lay out, he quickly laid the foundation of an estate, but interfering in some of his purchases with powerful men there, they began to insinuate things to his prejudice at home, which forced him to go over to England, where he not only got over all the difficulties they had thrown in his way, but returned with fresh credit, and much greater honour, into Ireland (*g*) [*C*]. Sir George Carew (afterwards Earl of Totness) being appointed

(*b*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(*c*) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies, MS.

(*d*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(*e*) Historical Reflections, by R. Vowel, p. 191.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 359.

(*g*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

Roger second son, and Michael Boyle of London, third son, who left a numerous issue; whereof Richard his second son was Bishop of Cork and Ross; being allowed also to keep the See of Cloyne in Commendam, was afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, and died March 19, 1644 (6). He left issue, Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died aged 93, in the year 1702, and was father to Murrough Boyle, created Lord Viscount Blessington (7); Michael, another son of the said Roger, was Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; and Sir George Boyle his fourth son died without issue (8); Roger Boyle, the second son, married Jean, daughter of John Naylor, of Kenvile in the county of Kent, and had issue John Boyle, Bishop of Cork and Ross, in Ireland; Richard Boyle second son, Earl of Cork, of whom I am to treat; Hugh Boyle third son, who died without issue; and a daughter, married to Sir Pierce Power of Ireland, Knt. (9), a numerous and fortunate line.

(6) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 622.

(7) Baronag. Hibern. p. 291.

(8) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

(9) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 358, 359.

[*B*] *Was very slender when he left England.*] This great man, when in the height of his prosperity, took pleasure to look back upon his slender beginnings, and that they might be truly known to posterity, he thought fit on the 23d of June 1632, to commit the most memorable circumstances of his life to writing, under the title of *True Remembrances* (10), and it is from these we have many particulars that otherwise would have escaped notice, and amongst them, this that follows in his own words.

(10) The MS. of this short piece was formerly in the hands of Mr Smith, Apothecary, in the Strand, who lived long with the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq;

'When first I arrived at Dublin in Ireland, the 23d of June, 1588, all my wealth then was twenty-seven pounds three shillings in money, and two tokens which my mother had given me, viz. a Diamond Ring, which I have ever since, and still do wear; and a Bracelet of gold worth about ten pounds; a Taffety Doublet cut with and upon Taffety, a pair of Black Velvet Breeches laced; a new Milan Fustian suit, laced and cut upon Taffety; two Cloaks, competent Linnen, and necessaries; with my Rapier and Dagger; and since the Blessing of God, whose heavenly Providence guided me hither, hath enriched my weak estate in the beginning with such a fortune, as I need not envy any of my neighbours, and added no care or burthen to my conscience thereunto.'

[*C*] *Much greater honour into Ireland.*] We have various accounts of this transaction, which, tho' it may seem private in it's nature, yet has been very justly accounted a very remarkeble proof of Queen Elizabeth's wisdom, as well as a singular instance of the true genius and spirit of her government (11); it may not be amiss to observe, that in none of the accounts I have seen, the year in which it happened has been fixed; but from the circumstances mentioned in the following relation taken from the noble person's own Remembrances beforementioned, it appears clearly to have been in the spring of the year 1598.

(11) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies, p. 93.

'When God had blessed me, says he (12), with a reasonable fortune and estate, Sir Henry Wallop of Wayers, Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner of Connaught, being displeased for some purchases I had made in the province; they all, joined together by their lies, complaining against me to Queen Elizabeth, expressing that I came over a young man without any estate or fortune, and that I had made so many purchases as it was not possible to do, without some foreign Prince's purse to supply me with money; that I had acquired divers castles and abbies upon the sea-side, fit to receive and entertain Spaniards, that I kept in my abbies fraternities and convents of Friers in their habits, who said Mass continually, and that I was suspected in my religion, with divers other malicious suggestions; whereof having some secret notice, I resolved to go into Munster, and so into England, to justify myself; but before I could take shipping the general rebellion in Munster broke out, all my lands were wasted, as I could say, that I had not one penny of certain revenue left me, to the unspeakable danger and hazard of my life; yet God preserved me, as I recovered Dingle and got shipping there, which transported me to Bristol, from whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the Middle Temple, intending to renew my studies in the Law, 'till the rebellion were passed over. Then Robert Earl of Essex was designed for the government of this kingdom, into whose service I was recommended by Mr Anthony Bacon; Whereupon his Lordship very nobly received me, and used me with favour and grace, in employing me in the issuing out his Patent and Commission for the government of Ireland; whereof Sir Henry Wallop having notice, and being conscious in his own heart that I had sundry papers and collections of Michael Kettlewell's, his late Under-Treasurer, which might discover a great deal of wrong and abuse done to the Queen in his late accounts, and suspecting if I were countenanced by the Earl of Essex, that I might bring these things to light, which might much prejudice or ruin his reputation or estate; altho' I vow to God, until I was provoked, I had no thought of it: Yet he, utterly to suppress me, renewed his former complaints against me to the Queen's Majesty. Whereupon, by her Majesty's special directions, I was suddenly attacked and conveyed close prisoner to the Gate-house; all my papers seized and searched; and altho' nothing could appear to my

(12) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

appointed Resident of Munster, Mr Boyle was, by the Queen, sent over with him as Clerk of the Council in that province, and the President knowing how well he stood with her Majesty, was remarkably kind to him (*b*). He was very soon made Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum, through the whole province, constantly attended the active Lord President in all his expeditions, and by intercepting Florence Mac Carthy's letters, written to promote rebellion, while entertained in the President's house, did the State eminent service, and justified the confidence reposed in him (*i*). On December 14, 1599, died his first Lady in child-bed of a still-born son, to his great grief, but he preserved the estate she brought him (*k*). The war against the Irish continued all this time, and as they were now openly assisted by the Spaniards, seemed more dangerous than ever, but by the prudence, vigilance, and skill of the Lord Deputy (Blount) Montjoy, and Sir George Carew, they were hindered from atchieving any thing of consequence, and at last, upon the 24th of December, 1601, the Irish and their Spanish auxiliaries were totally routed near Kinsale, with the loss of 1200 killed, and 800 wounded (*l*). The President of Munster, knowing how welcome this news would be to Queen Elizabeth, dispatched Mr Boyle therewith to England, who performed his business with almost incredible expedition (*m*) [*D*]. Upon his return into Ireland, which was in the month of June following, he found the Lord President ready to attack the strong castle of Donboy near Beerhaven, which he accordingly performed on the eighteenth, took it by storm, and put all the garrison, consisting of one hundred and forty-three chosen men out of the whole Irish army, to the sword. He afterwards reduced the western part of the province, and leaving proper garrisons in them, set out on his return to Cork (*n*). As they were on the road together, the Lord President told Mr Boyle, it was his intention to send him over again into England, in order to procure the Queen's leave for his return; and, that their business might go on together, he advised Mr Boyle to purchase all Sir Walter Ralegh's estate in that island, promising him, if he approved this proposal, to do him all the service therein which lay in his power (*o*). Mr Boyle accepted the commission readily, and embraced the advice thankfully, came over speedily, and transacted his affairs very successfully [*E*]. He made no long stay in England, but having procured a licence for the Lord

(*b*) See that noble Person's account of his own administration, intituled, *Hibernia Pacata*.

(*i*) Cox's History of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 432.

(*k*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(*l*) Pacata Hibernia, p. 233.

(*m*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 15.

(*n*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 450.

(*o*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

'my prejudice, yet my close restraint was continued 'till the Earl of Essex was gone to Ireland, and two months afterwards; at which time, with much suit, I obtained the favour of her Sacred Majesty, to be present at my answers, where I so fully answered and cleared all their objections, and delivered such full and evident justifications for my own acquittal, as it pleased the Queen to use these words, viz. *By God's death, these are but inventions against this young man, and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and those complaints urged to forestal him therein: But we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop and his adherents shall know, that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither shall Wallop be our Treasurer any longer.* Thereupon she directed her speech to her Lords in Council there present, and commanded them presently to give her the name of six men out of which she might chuse one to be Treasurer of Ireland, her election falling upon Sir George Carew of Cockington. And then the Queen arose from Council, and gave orders not only for my present enlargement, but also discharged all my charges and fees during my restraint, and gave me her royal hand to kiss, which I did heartily, humbly thanking God for that deliverance.'

[*D*] *With almost incredible expedition.*] This decisive battle was fought upon a Thursday, which was Christmas Eve, some more Spaniards were landed a day or two after in Ireland, but finding their friends were beaten, thought fit to retire (13). This and the President's return to Cork, might probably hinder Mr Boyle from setting out 'till the twenty-eighth. The account he gives us of his journey, and of the consequences of it, are very singular and entertaining, and at the same time it is but necessary, to shew how expresly it is laid down in his own words, in order to be fatisfied as to the fact, which, as Mr Budgell observed, nothing but the Earl of Cork's authority could make one believe (14).

'I attended the Lord President in all his employments, and waited upon him all the whole siege of Kinsale, and was employed by his Lordship to her Majesty, with the news of that happy victory, in which employment I made a speedy expedition to the Court; for I left my Lord President at Shannon Castle, near Cork, on Monday morning about two of the clock, and the next day being Tuesday, I delivered my Packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil (being then Principal Secretary of State) at his house in the Strand; who after supper held me in discourse 'till two of the clock in the morning, and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the Court, where he presented me to her Majesty in her Bed-chamber; who remembered me, (calling me by my name, and giving me her hand to kiss) telling me she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of that glorious victory; and after her Majesty had interrogated with me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she again gave me her hand to kiss, and recommended my dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour.'

[*E*] *Came over speedily and transacted his affairs very successfully.*] It must have been in the winter of 1602 that Mr Boyle returned into England, bringing with him two letters from the Lord President, one addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, (then Secretary, afterwards Earl of Salisbury) in which his merit and abilities were much magnified, together with a request that he would assist in forwarding the proposed bargain with Sir Walter Ralegh; the other to Sir Walter himself, recommending Mr Boyle as a fit purchaser, and advising him to part with a concern, which, though it made a large sound, was so far from producing any thing, that, to his, the Lord President's knowledge, it cost Sir Walter two hundred pounds a year to support his titles (15). These letters produced a meeting between Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Ralegh, and Mr Boyle, in which, by the mediation of the former, the purchase was concluded, and the assurances perfected. *This*, says our Noble Author, *was the third addition and rise to my estate* (16). A great augmentation it must have been, for, according to the lowest computation, Sir Walter Ralegh's estate consisted of twelve thousand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford (17), which, from the foregoing account, it is evident enough that he bought at a very low rate, and living upon the spot being already a rich man, having a head the best turned that ever man had for such improvements, and coming immediately after into great power, there is no doubt that he very soon made those lands highly valuable; indeed there is direct and full proofs of the matter of fact, and that within the compass of a very few years. This estate was not only well tenanted, but the best settled, and absolutely in the most thriving condition (18) of any estate in Ireland. He might therefore well call it the third addition to his fortune, accounting what he acquired by marriage, the first; and his preferment in Munster, the second; though probably this purchase was more profitable than both.

[*F*] *Though*

(13) Pacata Hiberni, p. 233.

(14) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(15) This was conferred on him by Queen Elizabeth for his services in Ireland.

(16) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(17) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 352. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 29.

(18) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. in the Preface.

Lord President to return, he carried it to him in Munster, and then accompanied him back to Dublin, where he was to embark for England. In their journey thither, the Lord President took notice to him, that having now acquired so considerable an establishment, it would be prudent for him to think of another marriage (p), by which he might have issue to inherit it. This proposal also was readily embraced, and the Lady who was the daughter of Sir Geoffery Fenton, being likewise mentioned, the Lord President undertook the negociation with her father, and prosecuted it so effectually, that they were contracted in his presence, March 9, 1602, to the great satisfaction of all parties (q). The marriage, however, was not immediately solemnized, which perhaps might be occasioned by the great change that in a few days happened, as well to them in their respective stations, as to the nation in general, by the death of Queen Elizabeth. His friend and patron, Sir George Carew, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; his father-in-law was continued in his place of Secretary of State; and himself received from his patron's hand the honour of knighthood, July 23, 1603, the very day he celebrated his second marriage (r). He assures us himself, that interest had no share in this marriage, and that he never so much as thought of a fortune; but, however, Sir Geoffery Fenton, the Lady's father, gave him that very day, of his own motive, one thousand pounds in gold (s). We have another very singular circumstance in relation to this marriage, mentioned on the authority of the Countess of Warwick, his Lordship's daughter, which, though attended with many difficulties, may possibly be, and probably is, true (t) [F]. His fortune now began to proceed more briskly than before, and almost every day produced new accessions, either of dignity or estate. He owed the basis and foundation of his greatness to the kindness of Queen Elizabeth; but all the superstructure was raised under King James. Thus, in 1606, he was sworn at the Council-Board at Dublin a Privy-Counsellor for Munster, but the then Lord-President Dunkard refused to admit him to that office notwithstanding, but was at last forced to submit (u). He was, by this promotion, put into a condition of consulting his own and the publick interest at the same time, as he had a vast property in this province. He was very industrious in settling and improving his estates, taking due care to let his lands to English Protestants only, and to erect, as occasion required, several towns and boroughs, nay, and some castles too, for their security (w). Intending the promotion of the affairs of that kingdom, as well as his own private concerns, he thought proper to make a journey over the best part of that province, in

(p) Id. ibid.

(q) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(r) Catalogue of Honours conferred in Ireland, by W. St Leger.

(s) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(t) Birch's Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, prefixed to his Works, p. 3.

(u) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(w) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, in the Introduction to the second Volume. See also what is said in note [G].

[F] *Though attended with many difficulties very probably may be, and possibly is, true.*] We have this story in a sermon, where the preacher positively asserts, that he had it from the mouth of the lady at whose funeral he delivered this discourse; his relation runs thus (19). ' Mr Boyle (after Earl of Cork) who was then a widower, came one morning to wait upon Sir Geoffery Fenton, at that time a great officer of state in the kingdom of Ireland; who being engaged in business, and not knowing who it was that desired to speak with him, a while delayed him access; which time he spent pleasantly with his young daughter in her nurse's arms. But when Sir Geoffery came and saw whom he had made stay somewhat long, he civilly excused it; But Mr Boyle replied, he had been very civilly entertained, and spent his time much to his satisfaction in courting his daughter, if he might obtain the honour to be accepted for his son-in-law. At which Sir Geoffery, smiling to hear one who had been formerly married, move for a wife carried in arms and under two years old, asked him if he would stay for her? to which he frankly answered him he would, and Sir Geoffery as generously promised him he should then have his full consent; and they both kept their words honourably; and by this virtuous lady he had thirteen children.' We have, besides this, another direct evidence to the material part of the fact, viz. the ingenious and judicious John Evelyn, Esq; who, in a private letter to a friend of his, expresses himself thus (20). ' That Mr Boyle coming to advise with Sir Geoffery Fenton, now knighted, finding him engaged with another client, and seeing a pretty child in the nurse's arms, entertained himself with them 'till Sir Geoffery came to him, making his excuse for causing him to wait so long; Mr Boyle pleasantly told him, he had been courting a young lady for his wife; and so it fortuned, that sixteen years after Mr Boyle made his addresses in good earnest, and married the young lady.' The observation made upon this by the Rev. Dr Birch, is very pertinent and judicious (21). ' Both these accounts, says he, are attended with very great difficulties; especially that of Dr Walker, which is absolutely irreconcilable with the Earl of Cork's own narrative, from which it appears that his first Lady died on the 14th of December 1599; and that he married his second, Sir Geoffery Fenton's daughter, the 25th of July, 1603; so that it is impossible that while he was a widower, he should enter into any engagements for the latter, while she was in her nurse's arms, and under two years old; since there was only an interval of three years and eight months between the death of his first wife, and his marriage with the second.' As to Dr Walker, he was a man of a very lively and fertile imagination, and therefore I lay no stress at all upon the circumstances with which he tells the story; and which, as they are manifestly false and absurd, so I see no reason to charge them on the Countess of Warwick, who very probably told the naked truth of this story, viz. *That the Earl of* Cork, *her father, courted the Lady by whom he had all his children, in her nurse's arms*, and this might be very true. As to what Mr Evelyn says, it is also very agreeable to the Earl of Cork's short notes of his own life; for as he went over in 1588, and did not marry this lady 'till the Summer of the year 1603, this admits of between 15 and 16 years from the time he might first see the lady he afterwards married; and if she was then a little more than two years old, she might be near eighteen when he married her; neither was there any great disproportion between their ages, since he was then in his *thirty seventh* year. Besides it is not at all improbable, that his old master, the Lord Chief Baron Manwood, might recommend him when he went to Ireland to Sir Geoffery Fenton; and if so, this interview might happen within a short time after his coming to Dublin; and thus all the difficulties relating to the principal matter of fact are clearly removed, and the story, as it is told by Mr Evelyn, shewn to be both possible and probable. But it may be objected, that at least this rests upon supposition, and that if the lady was older at the time of her marriage, all that I have laid down falls to the ground. But then this objection also is as much founded upon supposition, for I think it is impossible to prove that this lady was older. The inscription upon the fine tomb that was erected for her in St Patrick's Church, at Dublin, might have cleared up this, if any mention had been made therein of the lady's age (22); but as there is not, we can come at no greater certainty in this respect, than what arises from the foregoing conjectures.

(19) Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mary Countess of Warwick, by Dr Anthony Walker, p. 45, 46.

(20) John Evelyn, Esq; to Dr William Wotton, dated Sept. 10, 1703, from Wotton in Surrey, formerly in the custody of Mr. Smith.

(21) Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; prefixed to his Works, p. 3.

(22) See Borlase's History of the Reduction of Ireland, p. 210.

in which he was a Counsellor, and then made a journey to Dublin for the instructions of the then Governors, after which he embarked for England, and having given a very satisfactory account to his Majesty of the state of things in Ireland, he returned thither in the month of February 1612, and was on the fifteenth of the said month sworn a Privy-Counsellor of State for the kingdom of Ireland, by the Lord Deputy Chichester, in Chichester house, by the King's express command, as a reward for his good service in giving so clear and perfect a relation of the state of the publick (x). He continued the same diligence and activity in his station, and thereby so conciliated the affections of all ranks of people, and was of so great assistance to those entrusted with the Goverment, that his Majesty thought fit to raise him to the dignity of the Peerage, which he accordingly did, September 29, 1616, by the stile of Baron of Youghall in the county of Cork (y), and four years after, as a further mark of royal favour, he was created, Oct. 6, 1620, Viscount Dungarvan and Earl of Cork (z). His credit with two Sovereigns, appeared to be rather increased than diminished under a third; for Charles I. had not sat long upon the throne, before he manifested his kindness and regard for this noble Peer, in a manner very unusual and extraordinary, by conferring titles of honour on his younger sons, even in their infancy (a), not only in tacit consideration of the Earl's great services rendered to the Crown, and his acting like a good patriot in that island, but so expressed, as the royal motives to those singular marks of distinction [G]. He persisted still in the same

(x) Remarks on the principal events of the reign of King James.

(y) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 370.

(z) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(a) Collins, ubi supra, p. 363.

[G] *As the royal motives to these singular marks of distinction.*] The case of these honours stood thus: The Lord Falkland being Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the Earl of Cork's great friend, here presented his services to the Crown and Nation in so fair a light, that King Charles was pleased to send his letter to the Deputy, dated the 30th of November, 1627 (23), in the third year of his reign, directing him to confer the honours of Baron and Viscount upon the Earl's second surviving son Lewis, tho' he was then only eight years old. This letter ran thus: 'Having taken in our gracious consideration the many eminent virtues and abilities of our right well beloved cousin Richard Earl of Cork, and his singular good deserving, as well in planting those remote parts of our dominions with several English colonies, in settling true religion, and introducing civility and government there, where he found barbarism and superstition, and in the erecting of several churches, towers, castles, and other buildings, at his own charge, for the perpetual security of those countries, and our good subjects inhabiting in them; as also in zealously pursuing all good causes tending to the advancement of our most important services there; and understanding that he hath many younger sons, whom he bred in true religion and virtuous discipline, thereby making them worthy and profitable members of that state. We are pleased, for his and their encouragement to bestow extraordinary marks of our favour upon them, and by that effect (by these our letters) to confer upon his second son Lewis Boyle, Esq; the honour, dignity, stile and title of a Baron and Viscount of that our kingdom, requiring and authorising you thereby, forthwith to cause our Letters Patent to be passed unto him, in consideration of his services done, and to be done, unto us and our crown; thereby to create, constitute, and ordain him Baron of *Bandon-Bridge*, and Viscount Boyle of *Kinalmeaky* in the County of *Cork*, to hold and enjoy to him and his heirs male of his body, and for default of such issue male, the said honours to be and remain to the heirs male successively of the body of the said Richard Earl of Cork, begotten, or to be begotten, and to the heirs male of their bodies, and for default of such heirs male descending of the body of the said Earl, then the same to be and remain to the heirs male of him the said Richard Earl of Cork, for ever; and it is our further pleasure, that you forthwith confer upon the said Lewis Boyle the honour of Knighthood.'

(23) Transcribed from the original, and communicated by a person of great worth and learning at Dublin.

The Lord Deputy, by whose interest and intercession this favour was obtained, as well for his own justification, as in regard to the honour of this noble Earl, takes care, to enumerate the many and great services by him performed in his Fiat, dated the 28th of February 1627, which in English runs thus (24). 'We taking notice of the excellent virtues and high faculties of Richard Earl of Cork, in advancing our affairs in Ireland, not only in Council, but in the government of the province of Munster, in which he has shewed himself to be a person of high abilities, but also in many other works of great moment, viz. in building towns, and fortifying them with fair walls and towers, and filling them with English colonies, building churches, and reducing the people to civil obedience in establishing religion, extirpating superstition, defending the passes of that country with castles, building many bridges for the convenience of the publick, guarding the ports and maritime places of the said province, against foreign enemies, in first introducing manufactures and mechanick arts into the province, and afterwards establishing them by guilds and fraternities of artificers, to the plentiful increase of riches and civility, by planting and continually supporting leaders and other men experienced in arms from England, to the number at least of fifteen hundred, and to the perpetual security and defence of those parts, and all this he did at his own expence, and by his own industry; all which tends not only to the present utility and ornament of those parts, but to the perpetual security and defence of them really indeed excellent, and which it is difficult to say, whether the like were ever undertaken by any other subject in times past. In contemplation of which, our Father adorned the said Richard with many titles of honour, and placed him in the highest degree of nobility in Ireland, so that we have scarce any thing left us to heap upon our said cousin, unless we derive honours to his sons, and posterity of his name to the perpetual elogy of his memory. And we being informed that our said cousin has had a second son named Lewis, a youth of great hopes, the true image of his father's genius, and in whom is easy to be seen a branch of that tree from whence he is sprung. We also to shew our good disposition to the said Earl, and to give him some token of our favour, which may remain to posterity in an indelible character, have thought proper to place the said Lewis, (for the sake of his father) though in his tender years, among the nobles of this kingdom; and therefore by the advice of the Lord Deputy Faulkland, and according to the tenor of our Privy-Seal, dated at Westminster, the 30th of November, in the third year of our reign, have and do advance the said Lewis Boyle to the state, title, and honour, of Baron of Bandon-Bridge, &c.'

(24) Translated, transcribed, and communicated, by the same worthy person.

At the same time by virtue of the King's letters the Lord Deputy by his Fiat of the same date, conferred the title of a Baron on Roger the Earl's fifth son, by the stile and title of Lord Boyle of Broghill; and as this young Lord was only between six and seven years old, a few lines from that instrument (shewing the reason of that creation) may not be improper (25). 'We considering the many acceptable services done not only unto us and to our Father, but to all Ireland, (especially in Munster) by Richard Earl of Cork, respecting also in him the nobility of his family, as being long made hereditary Lords, Viscounts, and his daughters married into many noble families, and having received an account from our said cousin, that he hath been blessed with another son called Roger, from whose genius and disposition great things are to be hoped, and willing to grant more ample favours to our said cousin, We, for the sake of his father, have taken the said Roger, (as it were out of the cradle) to place him in a rank of honour, as a Baron of Ireland.' It was the more necessary to take notice of this, because of a very

(25) Communicated by the same hand.

ſame courſe, omitted nothing that could contribute to the ſecurity or improvement of the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that iſland, and therefore it was thought proper, as well as conducive to the publick ſatisfaction, on the departure of the Lord-Deputy Falkland, to make him, in conjunction with the Lord Viſcount Loftus of Ely, one of the Lords-Juſtices, and he was accordingly ſo conſtituted, Octob. 6, 1629 (*b*), and held that high office ſeveral years. The ſplendour of his publick character, could not, however, defend him from a ſevere ſtroke of fortune in his private capacity, for on the ſixteenth of February he loſt his Counteſs, by whom he had been the father of fifteen children, and for whom he had the moſt tender and ſincere affection (*c*). He cauſed her body to be interred with great ſplendour and magnificence in the cathedral church of St Patrick's in Dublin, where he erected a moſt pompous monument to her memory, which, long afterwards, he was, to his great ſorrow and mortification, obliged to pull down and remove (*d*) [*H*]. As yet, however, his favour was ſo entire, that he procured a patent for the high office of Lord-Treaſurer of Ireland, into which he was ſworn, November 9, 1631, and by a felicity peculiar to himſelf, for which there was no precedent, and which has proved no precedent to any thing of a like kind, he had intereſt enough to obtain this high poſt ſhould be made hereditary in his family, as it has ever ſince continued (*e*). As this was the greateſt, ſo it was one of the laſt honours he received, for in July 1633 (*f*), Thomas Lord Wentworth was declared Deputy of Ireland, and ſoon after went over into that iſland, and took upon him the government. While the Earl held the poſt of one of the Lords-Juſtices, he promoted, amongſt other things, the procuring Proteſtants to come over and ſettle there from England, with zeal and ſucceſs. He, from the ſame principle, contributed alſo to ſet the frauds of the Popiſh Prieſts in their true light, by cauſing St Patrick's purgatory, a deluſion which a long belief had rendered venerable, to be expoſed as a trick and an impoſture, as it really was, to all the world (*g*). He laboured alſo to ſuppreſs the inſolency of that faction, by diſpoſſeſſing them of ſome new maſs-houſes which they had opened in Dublin, without, and indeed againſt, law; and by other methods, which raiſed ſome clamour againſt him, but as plainly appears, from a letter written to him by Lord-Keeper Coventry, his ſervices were well received, and he was encouraged to proceed in the ſame courſe, as indeed he did, ſo long as he remained in poſſeſſion of authority (*h*). This letter therefore (as hitherto unpubliſhed) we have thought expedient to place in the notes, for the information and ſatisfaction of the reader

(*b*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 53.

(*c*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

(*d*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 298.

(*e*) Catalogue of Honours conferred in Ireland.

(*f*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 55.

(*g*) Id. Ibid. p. 54.

(*h*) Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 210.

very ſtrange and groundleſs miſtake in Mr Budgell's memoirs of this family, who ſays, that this young gentleman, after his return from his travels, was made a Captain of horſe by the Earl of Northumberland, and Baron of Broghill by the intereſt of the Earl of Strafford, who had a mind to gain him to his party (26): Whereas it is very plain, that he had been raiſed to the Peerage very near ſix years before the Earl of Strafford went firſt to Ireland, who was ſo far from favouring any branch of the Cork family, that it is certain, he looked with an evil eye upon theſe very creations (27).

[*H*] *He was to his great ſorrow and mortification obliged to pull down and remove.*] This Lady was privately interred on the 27th of February, 1629-30, but her funeral was publickly ſolemnized on the 11th of March following, ſoon after which, the Earl of Cork purchaſed from the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's church, the inheritance of the upper part of the chancel where the vault was, in which the bodies of her grandfather by the mother's ſide, the Lord Chancellor Weſton, and of her father Sir Geoffery Fenton were laid, over which the Earl her huſband cauſed a fine marble tomb to be erected (28); this preſently gave offence to ſome people, who ſuggeſted that it ſtood where the altar ought to ſtand, of which they complained to the King, who mentioned it to Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London; who after the Lord Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and himſelf Archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved him that it might be enquired into, as it was, and this affair made afterwards a very great noiſe. The Earl of Cork procured a letter from Dr Uſher, then Lord Primate of Ireland, and alſo from Dr Launcelot Bulkeley, then Archbiſhop of Dublin, juſtifying, that the tomb did not ſtand in the place of the altar, and that inſtead of being an inconvenience, it was a great ornament to the church; which letters Archbiſhop Laud tranſmitted to the Lord Deputy, and at the ſame time acquainted him that they did not give himſelf any ſatisfaction. The poſtſcript to this letter, dated Lambeth, March 11, 1634, is very remarkable, and ſhews both the riſe and the falſhood of the common opinion, as if it was the Lord Deputy, afterwards Earl of Strafford, ſet this matter on foot out of prejudice to the Earl of Cork, and being very ſhort, I ſhall tranſcribe it (29). 'I had almoſt forgot to tell 'you, that all this buſineſs about demoliſhing my Lord 'of Cork's tomb, is charged upon you, as if it were 'done only becauſe he will not marry his ſon to my 'Lord Clifford's daughter, and that I do it to join 'with you; whereas the complaint came againſt it to 'me out of Ireland, and was preſented by me to the 'King before I knew that your Lordſhip was named 'for Deputy there. But jealouſies know no end.' The Archbiſhop afterwards wrote in very ſtrong terms to the Earl of Cork himſelf, in which he affirms the ſame thing, and deals very roundly with his Lordſhip upon that and other ſubjects, adviſing him to leave the whole to the Lord Deputy and the Archbiſhops. As to the iſſue of the affair, it appears clearly from a letter of the Lord Deputy Wentworth's, dated Auguſt 23d, 1634, to the Archbiſhop, in which he delivers himſelf thus (30). 'I have iſſued a commiſſion according 'to my warrant, for viewing the Earl of Cork's tomb, 'the two Archbiſhops and himſelf, with four Biſhops, 'and the two Deans and Chapters were preſent when 'we met, and made them all ſo aſhamed, that the Earl 'deſires he may have leave to pull it down without 'reporting further into England; ſo as I am content if 'the miracle be done tho' Mohammed do it, and there 'is an end of the tomb before it come to be entombed in-'deed.—And for me that my Lord Treaſurer do what 'he pleaſe; I ſhall ever wiſh his ways may be thoſe of 'honour to himſelf, and diſpatch to my maſter's affairs; 'but go it as it ſhall pleaſe God with me, believe me, 'my Lord, I will be ſtill *thorow* and *thorowout* one and 'the ſame, and with comfort be it ſpoken by myſelf, 'and your Grace's commendations.' I have placed all theſe facts together, becauſe they relate to the ſame ſubject, and though they happened at different times, they could not well be divided without rendering them dark and obſcure, whereas they are perfectly clear and well connected as they now ſtand, and fully explain a point, of which there are many hints, but no diſtinct account in any of the hiſtories of thoſe times; it may not be amiſs to add, that tho' the tomb has been taken away above a century, yet the inſcription that was upon it is ſtill extant; but as we have given the ſubſtance of it already, it may ſuffice if we inform the reader where it is to be found at large (31).

[*I*] *In*

(26) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 34, 35.

(27) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 240.

(28) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*. Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 210. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 263.

(29) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 211.

(30) Ibid. p. 298.

(31) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 263.

reader [*I*]. But this was far from being the only material ſervice that he rendered the State, during the time he was at the head of it. He was very inſtrumental in putting the army, which was of prodigious conſequence in that country, upon a right foot, and ſecuring for it a regular and competent ſubſiſtence, and in tranſplanting a multitude of barbarous Iriſh *Septs* or *Clans*, out of the fruitful and well cultivated province of Leinſter, into the wilds and deſarts of the county of Kerry (*i*). He was alſo diligent and active in his office as Lord-High-Treaſurer, and was at great pains in endeavouring to procure a mint to be ſettled in that kingdom, his reaſons for which, that they may be preſerved, which, may perhaps be a means of procuring them their due weight, as they were never printed before, appear in the notes (*k*) [*K*]. On the coming over of the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, though ſome civilities paſſed between them, and they ſoon after engaged in a family-treaty for the marriage of the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan with the daughter of Lord Clifford of Laneſborough (*l*), to whom the Deputy was nearly related, yet a coldneſs quickly

(*i*) Letter from the Lords-Juſtices to the Lord-Deputy, containing the State of Ireland, dated Dublin-Caſtle, Feb. 26, 1631.

(*k*) See the new Tranſlation of Sir J. Ware's Works, Vol. II. c. xxxii.

(*l*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 74.

[*I*] *In the notes, for the information and ſatisfaction of the reader.*] As ſoon as this noble Peer found himſelf at the head of the government in Ireland, he reſolved to put the laws in execution againſt Papiſts, as being ſenſible, that good laws were of very little importance, by being made, if they were not alſo carried into effect; and therefore he directed that the ſtatute in the 2d of Queen Elizabeth for proſecuting ſuch Papiſts as did not come to church, ſhould be given in charge at all the aſſizes, and he alſo thought fit to direct ſome maſs-houſes to be ſhut up, and ſome prieſts that had taken great liberties to be impriſoned; and of theſe proceedings, at the ſame time that he gave notice, as the duties of his office required, to the Secretaries of State in England, he (32) alſo wrote privately to the Lord Keeper, upon whoſe friendſhip he very much depended, who ſent him the following epiſtle in return, in which as he promiſes him what ſervice lay in his power, ſo it muſt be remembered to his honour, that he very religiouſly kept his word, and was at all times and in all circumſtances the Earl of Cork's faſt friend ſo long as he lived, tho' it coſt him ſome ill-will from other great men who had not the ſame opinion of the Earl that he had.

(32) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 54.

The Lord Keeper Coventry to the Earl of Cork.

My very good Lord,

'I HAVE received your Lordſhip's letters of the 9th of this month, whereby you have been pleaſed to give me private advertiſement of that which, by your general letters to my Lords of the Council, was yeſterday imparted to the board, concerning the late paſſages at Dublin, touching thoſe ſuperſtitious houſes, which, with ſuch inſolence and tumults, were fought to be maintained in that chief city of the kingdom, againſt the laws, his Majeſty's ſtrict proclamation, and the policy of the publick ſtate and government. Wherein, as your Lordſhip will perceive, by the general letters from hence, in anſwer of your's, how graciouſly his Majeſty (who was preſent in Council at the firſt reading of them) did, and doth accept that good ſervice, and how ready the Lords were to give you the juſt applauſe and commendation of your own well deſerving in it; ſo muſt I, in particular, acknowledge the reſpect you were pleaſed to ſhew me in your private letters, and return your Lordſhip many hearty thanks for the ſame: And if there ſhall fall out occaſion hereafter for your making me beholden to you in the like kind, for any thing that ſhall concern his Majeſty's ſervice, your Lordſhip ſhall find me careful to do you right to his Majeſty and the Lords, and in all reſpects towards your Lordſhip, to ſhew myſelf, your Lordſhip's very aſſured to do you ſervice,

THO. COVENTRY.

Durham-houſe, 31 January, 1629.

It is very probable, that this letter encouraged the Earl of Cork, as one of the Lords-Juſtices, to proceed farther in this way, notwithſtanding the people even at Dublin were ſo inſolent, as to ſet at liberty by force a Prieſt he had committed (33). He therefore ſhut up fifteen new religious houſes, and ſeized them to the King's uſe, as he did another principal houſe of theirs in the Back-Lane in Dublin, which was granted to the college; and thereupon a rector and ſcholars were ſent thither, and lectures ſet up, to which the Lords-Juſtices came ſometimes (34); but in Lord Wentworth's time this houſe was recovered by it's owners in a legal way, and afterwards let to the ſame uſe, which was made one of the articles of impeachment againſt him (35).

(33) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 54.

(34) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 15.

(35) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford, p. 27, 63.

[*K*] *As they were never printed before, appear in the notes.*] In all the reigns from the conqueſt of Ireland, in that of Henry II, there was money coined in Ireland down to that of Queen Elizabeth, when the money coined for them was tranſmitted from Englamd; theſe pieces were ſtampt with a harp, and from thence were called harpers, but they were not of pure ſilver, and of the value only of nine-pence. In the two laſt years of her reign, ſhe ſent over pieces in which the mixture of ſilver was ſo ſmall, that what the people were commanded by proclamation to receive for a ſhilling, was worth no more than two-pence half-penny (36). King James and King Charles reſtored the harpers to their original value, but eſtabliſhed no mint, to procure which, the Lord Treaſurer tranſmitted the following reaſons to England.

(36) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 218.

Reaſons why a mint ſhould be in Ireland.

'Firſt, it is the fountain and the life of trade.

'Secondly, if there be money coined here it will be a great cauſe to keep it in England, and to enrich both kingdoms.

'Thirdly, few ſubjects have the means which they of this Kingdom have, to bring in Bullion; becauſe the moſt part of their traffick is victual; ſo that (we think) if there were any impoſition laid upon them, they would be very willing to bring in the tenth, or fifth part in Bullion for ſuch commodities as they carry forth; to the ſetting forward of ſo good a work, being certain of ſuch a rate as now it is in England.

'Fourthly, for want of this mint, the merchant is diſcouraged for bringing Bullion into this Kingdom, becauſe we are not able to make a return, unleſs we tranſport the ſame into England to the mint there, which is an adventure contrary to the laws of the land, ſo that we cannot give a price anſwerable to their expectation.

'Fifthly, as concerning the charge that the undertakers of ſo noble a work ſhall be at, his Majeſty (we conceive) will be willing that the fifths, which ſhall accrue and ariſe to himſelf, ſhall firſt go to ſatisfy the undertakers, in full ſatisfaction for their diſburſments, towards that buſineſs, which (we conceive) in a ſhort time will be regained again.

'Sixthly, this mint will be a means to bring over men of ſkill, and tools and inſtruments fitting to ſeek and make tryal of mines in this kingdom, which we ſuppoſe may hereafter be found; and we ſuppoſe the mine here already found will be a help; and likewiſe this mint will be a means to bring in an aſſay and touch in this kingdom, that we may work at a certainty, according to the aſſay of England, which without an *aſſay-maſter* we cannot.'

22d October, 1632.

The reader will obſerve, that mention is made in theſe reaſons of ſilver mines diſcovered in Ireland, which, by the King's authority, one Captain Whitmore was impowered to work, and the Earl of Strafford had great hopes of them, but at laſt they came to nothing (37), but it is not probable this had any influence on the propoſal for a mint, which I ſuppoſe failed rather by our Earl's loſs of power, and credit at court.

(37) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 218—224.

[*L*] To

quickly arose, which swelled by degrees into unkindness and hatred on both sides. The Lord Deputy came over full of an opinion, that the Earl of Cork had too much power and too great interest, therefore he set himself immediately to lessen both, and encouraged all who shewed an inclination to oppose him; which, amongst many other controversies between him and other persons in office, produced one with the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which we are able to say something more than has been hitherto known (*m*) [*L*]. Abundance of suits were stirred up against him by the same means,

(*m*) See the methods practised to reduce the power of the Lord-Treasurer's Office, in Ware's Works, Vol. II. c. xxxii.

[*L*] *To say somewhat more than has been hitherto known.*] It was very natural for the chief governors of Ireland, to be extremely displeased with the Earl's having obtained the office of Lord High-Treasurer in fee, and therefore since this act was not to be undone, they studied to reduce the power of the Lord-Treasurer, in which they have succeeded very well; but the first step was not quite so fortunate, since the Treasurer prevailed in this contest; upon which he wrote to Mr John West, an officer of great knowledge in England, from whom he received the following clear and decisive answer; which, for some reasons contained therein, is not quite so clear as it otherwise might have been (38).

(38) Communicated by the same worthy person from Ireland.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Cork, &c.

'RIGHT Honourable and my singular good Lord, 'I have received your Lordship's letter by the 'hands of Mr Sidnam, wherein I found your Lordship's 'kind remembrance of the care I took for the recovery 'of the health of the young lady your Lordship's sweet 'daughter, which it pleased God to give a blessing un'to, to my great comfort, your Lordship's noble fa'vours to me, binding me hereto. I am much troubled 'that I received your Lordship's letters in a time where'in I was compassed with so many extremities which 'had fallen upon me, as the stone and the gout, holding 'me with violence and intolerable pain in my right 'thigh, which I broke waiting on my old master King 'James, at Guildford in Surry; and lastly, a great 'weakness in my sight, which old age and much read'ing have brought upon me, having no other remedy 'for all this but patience, which it hath pleased God 'to grant me, and in his goodness I hope will more and 'more afford me.

'As touching the answering those questions which 'are contained in your Lordship's letter, viz.

'*First*, whether within the verge of the Exchequer, 'and coming from the Exchequer-Chamber into the 'Court of Exchequer, the Lord Treasurer or the Chan'cellor of the Exchequer have precedency; and so in 'their going out, which of them goeth foremost so 'long as they are within the court?

'*The Lord* Treasurer *without any question hath the* '*precedency, and is chief officer of that court; and in the* '*Exchequer Chamber hath the first place; but in the* Ex'chequer Court *the* Chancellor *sitteth uppermost, as it* '*hath been always reputed.*

'*Secondly*, where they are placed within the court, 'and whether Mr Chancellor or Lord Treasurer taketh 'the upper hand?

'*This is answered in the first question.*

'*Thirdly*, upon English bills preferred in the Ex'chequer, to whom they are directed, with the words 'of the title or direction, whether it be to the Lord 'Treasurer, and Chancellor, and Barons; or to the 'Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Barons?

'*To the Lord* Treasurer, Chancellor, *and* Barons.

'*Lastly*, whether upon English bills preferred in that 'court; the subpœna requireth appearance to be, co'ram Cancellario, Thesaurario, & Baronibus, and un'der whose test those subpœna's go, and all other pro'cess upon English bills?

'*All the* subpœna's *are returnable* coram Baronibus, '*and* test. *the* Chief Baron.

'*The* subpœna's, ad audiend' judic' *upon hearing of* '*causes in the Echequer Chamber are* coram Thesau'rario, Cancellario, & Baronibus, test. *the Lord* Chief 'Baron.

'And thus having briefly answered the aforesaid 'questions, and not being able to enlarge my first aim 'further at this time, by reason of some of my friends 'absence out of town, with whom I meant to have had 'some conference, especially touching the Chancellor's 'sitting above the Lord Treasurer in the open Court, 'the Lord Treasurer always going before him at the 'rising —— of the Court. When I shall have fur'ther satisfied my self herein, I will make bold to give 'your Lordship further satisfaction therein; for I am 'strong of opinion, that it is not by way of any prece'dency, but to make the Lord Treasurer's greatness 'the more eminent, by sitting in the midst as it were, 'having the Chancellor on the right hand, and the 'Chief Baron on the left, and this is my conceit; but 'hereafter your Lordship shall understand more. And 'this with the remembrance of my humble duty and 'service to your Lordship, I rest for ever your Lord'ship's humble servant,

19th December, 1635. JO. WEST.

His Lordship was so very sollicitous about this affair, that he wrote by the same messenger to Sir Julius Cæsar on the same subject, from whom he received the following clear and decisive answer; as I have taken it from the original in his own hand-writing, communicated by a person of worth in Ireland.

The Master of the Rolls (in England) to the Lord-Treasurer in Ireland.

Right honourable and my very good Lord,

'I Have received your Lordship's by Mr Sidnam, 'in the first whereof, I find many of your most ho'nourable favours both to myself, and my nephew July 'Smith, as likewise, to his father before him, being 'once your Lordship's chaplain, for all which I most 'humbly thank your Lordship, and will endeavour on 'my part by all possible means to requite the same. 'And I humbly beseech your Lordship to continue 'your favour towards my nephew *July* Smith, for his 'preferment hereafter, as occasion shall happen; and 'I pray your Lordship to rest assured, that I will al'ways be thankful for the same. Now touching your 'Lordship's four questions; I know not your usage of 'Ireland, but I will answer in that I know, as being 'above twenty one years since a Chancellor of the Ex'chequer in England myself, for the space of eight 'years at least.

'I. That the Lord Treasurer of England hath the 'precedency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, both 'in the Exchequer and all places wheresoever.

'II. That in their sitting in the Exchequer; albeit, 'the Chancellor sits on the right hand of the Lord 'Treasurer upon the bench, yet the Lord Treasurer 'sitteth above him, for that he sitteth next to the 'King's arms in the Exchequer-Court, and in the Ex'chequer-Chamber sitteth alone upon the high bench, 'and the Chancellor upon the Bench of the right hand, 'and the Lord Chief Baron with the rest of the Barons 'on the Bench on the left hand.

'III. That when there is a Lord Treasurer in being, 'the English bills in the Exchequer-Chamber are pre'ferred to the Lord Treasurer, Chancellor, and Barons, 'and not to the Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Ba'rons.

'IV. That the subpœna's upon English bills prefer'red, in that court require the appearance to be coram 'Thesaurario, Cancellario, & Baronibus, and not coram 'Cancellario, Thesaurario, & Baronibus; and under 'the test of the Lord Chief Baron: And if it please 'your Lordship, thus much will be testified under the 'hands of all the antient clerks of the Exchequer, who 'marvel very much that any one should doubt there'of; and I most humbly take my leave, your Lord'ship's humble servant,

JUL. CÆSAR.

Received as the former letter was, Jan. 13, 1635.

[*M*] Much

means, and besides the cutting insult offered to him in obliging him to demolish his Lady's tomb, though he would willingly have built a screen before it, he suffered daily new mortifications (n). The Lord-Deputy, afterwards Lord-Lieutenant and Earl of Strafford, continued firm in his purpose, and took care to keep those, upon whose assistance he depended most in England, in a continual state of jealousy as to the Earl of Cork, which he did not find very hard to do, the Archbishop of Canterbury being already a declared adversary to the Earl, on the score of supposed injuries done the Church (o); and Secretary Cooke seems to have approved the design of raising the King's revenue at any rate; so that after all his long services to the Crown, and notwithstanding all the improvements made for promoting the English Protestant interest in Ireland, the Earl of Cork was, for seven years together, abandoned to the resentments of a man, much inclined, and no less able, to hurt him [M]. But it was not many years before a new change happened, which delivered the Earl from this oppression, and in some measure put his antagonist in his power. The Earl of Strafford being impeached of high-treason in England, and the Earl of Cork being there in the spring of 1641, when that Lord was put upon his tryal, being brought by order of the House of Commons to support their charge, he gave evidence against him (p), which, though that great person took very much amiss, so far as to proceed to very injurious insinuations, yet the Earl of Cork declared, he did not come to England with any desire or design to injure or prosecute him for things past, and as a proof, owned that he had brought no papers or proofs over with him, but being in town and summoned, thought himself obliged to obey, submit to be examined, and tell the truth (q). He returned to Ireland soon after, and had not been there long before that fatal rebellion broke out, which was so detrimental to this, and shameful to that, country. It was very sudden and unexpected, as may appear from the first account the Earl of Cork had of it, who, in case it had been sooner detected, would scarce have been found from home at so critical a juncture, when both the publick, and all his private concerns, were at stake (r). This account, however, is unquestionably true [N]. It does not

(n) See this point further explained in note [N].

(o) See Archbishop Laud's sharp Letter to the Earl of Cork, in Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 222.

(p) Rushworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford at large, p. 175, 176, 181.

(q) The Earl's own Account at the Bar of the House of Lords, ibid. p. 228.

(r) Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons in England, dated Youghall, Aug. 25, 1642.

[M] *Much inclined, and no less able, to hurt him.*] The controversy between these two noble persons, is a very curious and a very useful piece of history; we have several touches of it in some of the best books extant, in relation to those times; and there are some hints of it, even in our general histories, but we have no-where any accounts, either of the rise of this misunderstanding, or how far it proceeded; and therefore, it may not be amiss to examine it a little more particularly. There seems to have been several causes of the Earl of Strafford's dislike of the Earl of Cork; but because we have little room, I will name only three. His Lordship was Deputy of Ireland, many months before he went over thither, and in that space of time, he wrote several letters to the Lords-Justices, of whom the Earl of Cork was one; and in these it plainly appears, that he was not a little offended with some points of their conduct, in which he thought his master's orders (but sent by his advice) were not respectfully enough obeyed (39). Another cause of his dislike was, the authority and interest of the Earl of Cork, which he makes no scruple of declaring in his letters, that he was determined to bring down, as supposing that if he could humble the great Earl of Cork, no body in that country could give him much trouble (40). A third reason was, that he looked upon the Earl of Cork, as a man chiefly promoted by the Lord Viscount Falkland, who had proved no friend to Strafford, and whose creatures therefore he disliked (41); we have mentioned in the text, various instances of the pains taken to disquiet the Earl of Cork, and we shall add some others here; as for instance, the forcing the Earl to appear at the Council-Table, in relation to an affair of no great consequence; threatning him with imprisonment in case he disobeyed the Lord Deputy's orders, and all this openly in the sight and hearing of such as attended the Council-Table, with a view to lessen his general credit and esteem (42). The causing informations to be preferred against him by the Attorney-General, in order to deprive him of part of his estate; which, in one case was carried so far, that the Earl was content to give fifteen thousand pounds to procure his pardon, and to have all the proceedings taken off the file (43). By bearing very hard upon families, to which he was nearly allied, and persons who stood in close relation to him; such as the Lord Chancellor Lofthouse, Viscount Ely, the Earl of Kildare, and others. The refusing him licence to go over to England when his affairs required it, merely to prevent his raising up a contrary interest at Court (44); but above all, Strafford's prejudice against the Earl of Cork, appears plainest from his own letters, in which he avowedly proposes to obtain a vast sum of money for the Revenue, by informations brought against this Nobleman, provided no favour was shewn him by the King, but he was left totally in the Lord Deputy's hands (45); lastly, the countenancing such as set up against him, or in any way endeavoured to disturb him in his peace, or in his possessions. Yet with regard to one instance of this kind that is commonly mentioned, it seems to be pretty much out of the case, I mean, the suit set on foot by Dr John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, who, tho' he was promoted by the Earl of Strafford, as himself acknowledged upon a very solemn occasion, yet I do not find, that he relied much upon the Lord Deputy's protection; since, on the 27th of June 1637 (46), he was contented to join with the Earl in a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council, the prayer of which was, that they would appoint arbitrators to decide their controversies, which was accordingly done; and the Bishop of Derry and the Master of the Wards were assigned upon this petition, and they afterwards made the report, by which it appeared, that the Earl had never purchased any thing directly from the Church, but from other persons for valuable considerations forty years before, when he was not so well acquainted with the state of Ireland, but for the sake of Religion; and because thro' the alienations of former Bishops, there was not then above fifty pounds a year left to the See, the Earl was content to forego a part of his rights, in consequence of which, the arbitrators awarded Lismore and the lands belonging thereto, to the Earl; and Ardmore with other lands to the Bishop (47); so that there seems to be no just cause in respect to this matter, either to blame the Earl of Strafford for supporting Bishop Atherton against the Earl, or to suggest, as some have done, that the Earl of Cork had too great a hand in bringing him to the gallows, that he might be free from the law-suits he had brought against him in right of his See; for these, as we have shewn, were over before, and consequently the Earl had less to fear from him, than from any of his successors. But notwithstanding these differences between the two noble Earls, it is certain, that Strafford had a great kindness for the Lord Viscount Dungarvan, the Earl of Cork's eldest son, and was very instrumental in his marriage with the Earl of Cumberland's daughter, by which the family acquired their English honours (48). He was likewise a very good friend to the Archbishop of Tuam, the Earl of Cork's near kinsman (49), and to his son-in-law the Lord Goring, son to the Earl of Norwich (50).

[N] *This account, however, is unquestionably true.*] The Irish Rebellion was so very closely carried, and some of those concerned in it, were such deep Politicians, that they found ways and means not only to blind such as

(39) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 77.

(40) Ibid. p. 305, 306.

(41) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 135.

(42) Rushworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford, p. 175, 176.

(43) Answer of the Earl of Strafford, to the 4th article of the Commons impeachment.

(44) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 309.

(45) See his Letter upon this subject.

(46) Collections relating to Ireland, by P. W. p. 396.

(47) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 58.

(48) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington and Cork.

(49) See his Letter to the Earl of Strafford, among that Earl's Letters, Vol. II. p. 356.

(50) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 155.

not appear from any memorials now extant, that the Earl of Cork had served in his youth; and yet, in his attendance on Sir George Carew, he must have seen a good deal of service; he addressed himself, however, now it was necessary, to this new trade, of a soldier, as if it had been his old profession, and it is almost incredible, how great a figure he made therein. The castle of Lismore, his capital seat, he rendered a fortress capable of imposing respect on the Irish, his servants were armed and disciplined immediately, he repaired to Youghall, which was but a weak place, in person, and summoning all his tenants to serve under his sons, whom he put at their head without delay, he saw himself, before Christmas, at the head of a little army of five hundred horse and foot, well armed, well disciplined, and in good order, of his own people, under himself and his four sons, and which, perhaps, was no very pleasing circumstance, all in his own pay (s). He now reaped the benefit of his own great industry and caution in planting his country with English only, for they adhered to him steadily, and his appearance in Munster was so formidable, that it was the last part of the kingdom which the rebels ventured to attack. It is indeed worthy of memory, how he disposed and regulated his little force, so as to make it answer so many purposes; his eldest son, the Lord Viscount Dungarvan, he sent with a fine troop of horse, to join the Lord President St Leger; his second son, the Lord Viscount Kynelmeaky, was appointed to defend his own town, for his father had given it him, of Bandonbridge, well seated, well fortified, and well peopled, there being in it upwards of seven thousand souls, English Protestants, and not a single Papist in the place (t). His son Roger, Lord Broghill, was left in Lismore-castle to defend it; and his son Francis, the youngest that was able to act, remained with himself. In this posture he continued many months, gaining frequent advantages over the rebels, from whom, in less than the space of a year, his forces took several strong castles, and killed them upwards of three thousand men (u). But he paid his own troops all this time regularly, and when his money was gone, converted his plate into coin, thinking it better bestowed in defending his lands, than being buried in the earth to keep it out of the hands of the Irish. At last, however, his forces, his treasure, and his patience, were almost all wore out, which forced him to write to the Speaker of the English Parliament in very pressing terms, and to lay the condition of the province open in the most moving manner possible (w). But what is very extraordinary, and deserves to be for ever remembred to the honour of this noble person, when every body almost despaired of the publick safety, and were afraid of exasperating the rebels, he had the courage to think of punishing them for their offences, and that too in a legal way; neither was this in a few cases, or against particular persons, more easy to be brought to justice, or who might be supposed to have given immediate cause of resentment to this noble person, but generally (x). Bills were found, by juries free from all exception, against the Viscounts, Roch, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and Muskerry; the Lords, Dunboyne, Castelconnel, and the heir of Lord Cahir, Theobald Bourke, Baron of Loughmere; and Richard Butler, Esq; of Killcash, brother to the Earl of Ormond, with all persons of note or figure, either laity or clergy, who dwelt, or had committed acts of rebellion in the counties of Cork or Waterford, to the number of eleven

(s) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II p. 95.

(t) From his own Letter to the Speaker, Lenthall

(u) Taken from the same Letter.

(w) See that Letter in Orrery's Letters p. 4.

(x) Orrery's Letters, p. 5.

as were most sincerely attached to the English and Protestant interest, but which is very evtrordinary, made them subservient to their pernicious designs. The violent prosecution of the Earl of Strafford was driven on by them, and the greatest part of the Irish Committee sent over to prosecute him in England, were Papists. But the most singular turn of all was, that they hindred 4000 men from being sent to Spain, because of the great danger the nation might be in, from having so many men returned upon them, perfectly well disciplined, and who knew every creek and corner of the country, out of a country always an inveterate enemy of England; but at bottom they wanted these very men to join them in the rebellion, as they afterwards did (51). By this thorough dissimulation, they had acquired such a degree of credit, that they were in hopes of seeing the military stores, and what quantity of arms were in the hands of the Government, and where placed; by giving out, that some of the Lord Strafford's creatures had framed a plot for blowing up the Parliament, and in this they had certainly succeeded, if Sir John Borlace, who was one of the Lords-Justices and Master of the Ordnance, had not wisely and stoutly refused it (52). But the fullest proof of the security of the Protestants, and the art of the Papists, will appear by the following singular account of the first notice the Earl of Cork had of the rebellion, which we have from the Rev. Mr Morrice, Chaplain to the first Earl of Orrery, who probably had it from that Lord's own mouth; we shall give it in his own words, observing only, that the day on which this transaction happened was the 27th of October, 1641 (53). 'About two or three days after Lord Broghill's arrival in Ireland, he waited on his father at Castle-Lyons, where the Earl of Barrimore, who had married Lord Broghill's sister, had invited them to dinner. They met at Castle-Lyons, Lord Muskerry, and some others of the Irish nation, all Papists, with whom they were very free and familiar; but it happened while they were at dinner, a gentleman came to my Lord of Cork with letters, who before he could be perswaded to sit down, desired to speak with his Lordship in private, and then, with horror in his face, told him, that the Irish had been in Rebellion three days. That they had committed many outrages and cruelties upon the English, and that in all the country from Leinster down towards Clonmel (through which he had passed) the Irish Rebels were in arms, so that he was forced to choose all the bye-ways he could find, that he might bring those sad tidings to his Lordship. My Lord of Cork would discover no surprize at this dismal news, but desired him to sit down to dinner, and say nothing. As soon as dinner was over, my Lord of Cork opened his packet, wherein he found proclamations to warn the English to be on their defence, declaring withal, that Rebellion, and the discovery of it. His Lordship communicated the account to the company then present, but Lord Muskerry seemed to make light of it, and treated it as a ridiculous thing without truth or foundation; however, they all forthwith prepared to return to their several homes, and my Lord of Cork sent notice of the tidings he had received, together with a proclamation, to Sir William St Leger, then Lord President of Munster, and went back with his company to Lismore. After the Earl of Cork was gone, Lord Muskerry also returned home, still persisting there was no such thing as a rising either then in being, or intended to be; but the next account was, that Lord Muskerry himself was up in Rebellion in the western parts, with many thousands of Irish.

(51) Hist. of the Reduction of Ireland, p. 72.

(52) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 71.

(53) Memoirs of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, by the Rev. Mr Morrice, p. 6.

eleven hundred, which bills of indictment his Lordship transmitted to England, signifying at the same time, his resolution to prosecute all these persons to an outlawry (y). One would have imagined, that this must have provoked the rebels to have employed their then superior forces against the province of Munster in general, and the country of the great Earl of Cork more especially; but Sir William St Leger, then President, kept them in awe as long as he lived, though he had but a very inconsiderable force (z). On his death, the Provisional Command was conferred, by common consent, upon the Lord Inchiquin, who married the President's daughter, the rebels either conceiving some hope because he was of an old Irish family, or beyond measure exasperated at his acting against them, marched with a numerous army to attack him, and September 3, 1642, they came to a battle at Liscarrol, in which the rebels were defeated, and the only person of note killed on the side of the English, was the Viscount Kynelmeaky, whose body was interred in the tomb erected by the Earl of Cork for his family at Youghall (a). His father shewed his constancy in supporting this misfortune with firmness, and was not more affected with his private, than with the publick, calamity [O]. He continued his services to the kingdom with the same warmth and spirit, though he was no longer in a condition to do such mighty things as at the beginning, his estate being wasted and destroyed, his towns converted into garrisons, his houses into castles, his tenants in arms in the field, his servants doing duty in his presence, and his very goods disposed of to pay them. But what he could do he did, and continued his sons in arms, risking his whole family on the same bottom with the Protestant interest in Ireland (b). Yet how well soever he kept up his spirits in appearance, his inward concern, joined to the infirmities incident to old age, and the want of rest and quiet, made him break apace; and as if there had been some secret connection between this nobleman's fortune and that of his adopted country, he went to his grave on the very day (as is said) that the cessation was concluded with the Irish at Sigginstown, *viz.* Sept. 15, 1643 (c). He was interred in his own chapel, in his parish church at Youghall, near the noble monument he raised for his family, which is with great care and decency preserved to our times, with the inscriptions in relation to the honours he acquired, and the noble and numerous posterity he left behind him (d). His name is mentioned with honour by such as best understood the history of Ireland, and who considered him as one of the greatest promoters of the English interest, that ever settled in that island [P]. His wonderful rise, his vast estate, his prodigious improvements, his

(y) His Letter to the Speaker (Lenthall) before cited.

(z) Borlase's Hist. p. 209.

(a) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 363.

(b) See his own Letters to the Speaker, the Marquis of Ormond, and Lord Goring.

(c) Borlase's Hist. p. 209.

(d) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

[O] *Was not more affected with his private, than with the publick calamity.*] In this battle, which was very glorious for the English, who, with a force far inferior to that of the enemy, defeated them entirely; the Earl of Cork had four sons all at the head of troops of his own raising, viz. his eldest son, the Lord Viscount Dungarvan; Lewis, Lord Viscount Kynelmeaky; Roger, Lord Broghill, and Francis, afterwards Lord Shannon. They all distinguished themselves as became men descended from an antient English family; and Lord Kynelmeaky falling on the spot, his brother Francis, tho' not full twenty years of age, most gallantly rescued his body and his horse out of the hands of the rebels; of which fact we are ascertained by a letter under the Earl of Cork's hand, to the Marquis of Ormond, dated from Youghall, October 7, 1642 (54), in order to procure the company of foot which the deceased Viscount had commanded, for his elder brother Dungarvan; and the troop of horse which he also had, for his younger brother Francis. In this letter written on so melancholy an occasion, and so soon after so great a loss, the Earl shews a Roman magnanimity, and takes comfort for his son's death, from the glorious manner of his dying. His Lordship had also occasion to discover the same steadiness of mind, in respect to his son-in-law the Earl of Barrimore, who died September 29, in the same year, that is, about three weeks after the battle of Liscaroll, of whom he tells the Marquis of Ormond, that he left a distressed wife with four children, an incumbred and disjointed estate, all his country and livelihood being little better than wasted, which induced him to sollicit that generous nobleman, then commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, to continue the command of a troop of horse to the Earl's eldest son, for the better upholding of such an antient and honourable family (55). I mention this, the rather because it clearly shews the care taken by the Earl of Cork, to render the private establishments of his family beneficial to the publick, as they eminently were during the time of the great rebellion in Ireland, as the reader may easily collect from the account that will be hereafter given, of the manner in which his Lordship disposed of all his daughters (56).

(54) Orrery's Letter's, p. 9.

(55) Orrery's Letters, p. 5.

(56) See this explained in note [R].

[P] *One of the greatest promoters of the English interest, that ever settled in that island.*] It is so natural, as well as so common a thing, for men so distinguished by their actions, as to merit a place in history, to be represented therein, under very different characters, that we cannot at all wonder this should happen to the Earl of Cork. He has however this advantage, that he is openly and heartily commended by those who designed that their labonrs should see the light, and that the reflections on his character are chiefly to be met with in the private letters of men who were his declared enemies, or in histories written since his time upon the credit of such memoirs. In proof of this, we shall observe, that an author well acquainted with Irish history, gives us the following character of, and a curious particular relating to, his Lordship, which is no where else mentioned (57). 'He was a person for his abilities and 'knowledge in the affairs of the world eminently observable, in as much as (tho' he was no Peer of England) he was admitted to sit in the Lord's house upon 'the wool-sacks, *ut conciliarius*, and for all the estate 'he arrived at, (which was the greatest in the memory 'of the last age) none ever taxed him with exorbitances, 'but such as thought Princes had too little, and religious men not enough.' Sir Richard Cox (58), who was both very knowing, and a very impartial writer; and could not but be perfectly well acquainted with the matters of fact which he mentions, speaks of this noble person in the following terms. 'The noble Earl of 'Cork, Lord High-Treasurer, was one of the most extraordinary persons, either that, or any other age 'hath produced, with respect to the great and just acquisitions of estate that he made, and the publick 'works that he began and finished, for the advancement of the English interest, and the Protestant religion in Ireland, as churches, alms-houses, free-schools, bridges, castles, and towns, viz. *Lismore, Tallow, Cloghnakilty, Iniskeen, Castletown, and Bandon;* (which last place cost him 14,000 pounds) 'insomuch, that when Cromwell saw these prodigious 'improvements, which he little expected to find in Ireland, he declared, *that if there had been an Earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion.* And whilst 'he was carrying on the solid works, he lived in his 'family at a rate of plenty, that exceeded those who 'consumed great estates in the lavish ways of ill-ordered excess. His motto, *God's providence is my inheritance,* shews from whence he derived all his blessings, the

(57) Borlase's Hist. p. 209.

(58) In his excellent Introduction to the second Volume of his Hist. of Ireland.

his amazing influence, and that spirit of œconomy and magnificence, which were so happily united in his manner of living, made him admired by the native Irish, to whom he owes the distinction or firname of *the great* Earl of Cork, by which he is amongst them always mentioned (*e*). A comparison between his beginning and conclusion is worth the making, not only in honour to his memory, and of the country which produced so extraordinary a man, but even of human nature, in respect to which such productions are rare. Such a comparison has been made with great force of wit and judgment, but being hitherto unpublished, we cannot certainly conclude this article better, than by giving it a place here (*f*) [*Q*]. As he enjoyed, while living, what are esteemed the most desirable and substantial blessings in this world, an honourable station for himself, and a very extensive power of doing good to others; so at his demise he left a family numerous and honourable, and may be very truly said, to have been no more distinguished by his good fortune in his life-time, than by the felicity of his descendants, many of whom will be subjects of succeeding articles, and all deserve very well to be remembered (*g*) [*R*].

(*e*) Budgell's Memoirs, p. 25.

(*f*) Worthies of Queen Elizabeth, MS.

(*g*) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

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'the greatest of which was, the numerous and noble 'posterity he had to leave his estate unto.' The noble Earl himself assures us, as the reader has seen before, that tho' he raised such a fortune, as left him no room to envy any of his neighbours, yet he did it without care or burthen to his conscience (59); and one may reasonably presume, from the whole tenour of his life and conversation, that he was not a man capable of doing base or black actions without burthening his conscience; nor is it at all probable, that if he had known himself guilty of any such actions, he would have committed such a paragraph as that before referred to, amongst the rest of his true remembrances, to the perusal of his posterity; since this could have no other effect than to lessen their respect for his memory, and engage them to doubt the truth of all that he had written. One might add to this, numberless testimonies from his own letters (60), which according to the circumstances of time, visibly shew, that the procuring, promoting, maintaining, extending, or recovering the English interest in Ireland, was the great business of his life, from his first drawing in the air of that island, to the time that he breathed his last in that kingdom.

(59) See before in note [*E*].

(60) Many of them preserved in the Collection of the Earl of Strafford's and Lord Orrery's Letters.

[*Q*] *We certainly cannot conclude this article better, than by giving it a place here.*] There is hardly a reign in the English history, more fruitful in great events, or under which flourished greater men, than that of Queen Elizabeth, who was the first author of our Earl's fortune. This circumstance has put several upon recording the famous persons flourishing in her time, and I once saw part of a very large work, bearing the title of *Queen Elizabeth's Worthies*; it was divided into several books, one of which contained the *Statesmen* of her reign, and among the rest, Richard Boyle Earl of Cork, tho' he was not so created, 'till after her decease, part of whose character was delivered in these words. 'He was a person of 'very early as well as very great abilities, and had all 'the helps requisite to assist the parts which he had received from nature; for part of his breeding he had 'under a learned clergyman in Kent; part in the university of Cambridge, where he was remarkable for 'early rising, indefatigable study, and great temperance; 'the remaining part of his education in the Temple, 'where he acquired such a knowledge of the Law, 'as, tho' undervalued by himself, was much esteemed by others, and enabled him to form so true a judgment of such cases as fell under his consideration, that 'he was very seldom deceived in them. He went 'over to Ireland with fewer pounds in his pocket, than 'he acquired thousands a year; he was then about two 'and twenty, had a graceful person, and all those accomplishments requisite to make a young man succeed in 'a country which was so much a scene of action. He 'rendered himself useful to Sir Geoffery Fenton, who 'was long a Privy-Counsellor, and held several great 'offices in Ireland, to which it was thought, he chiefly 'attained by looking narrowly into the conduct of 'those, who were intrusted with the government, in 'reference to which, he held a constant correspondence 'with the Cecils, and it is believed, that Mr Boyle 'was one of his agents, which exposed him to the resentment of some great men, by whose procurement 'he was put into the Gate-house, when he first came 'over to England, ten years after his going to Ireland. 'But this proved more detrimental to them than to 'him, for his friends in England, procuring him a 'hearing before the Queen in Council, he there, in clearing himself, laid open their mismanagement so plainly, 'and supported all that he advanced with such pregnant 'proofs, that he was not only discharged, but preferred; and as the account he gave, procured Sir George 'Carew, descended from one of the first conquerors of 'Ireland, a great employment; so that worthy knight, 'whose merit afterwards raised him to a higher title, 'was ever a constant friend to Mr Boyle. He likewise became known about this time, to the renowned 'Sir Walter Ralegh, from whom he purchased his 'ship, called the Pilgrim; in which, well laden with 'arms and ammunition he returned to Ireland, where 'himself and his cargo were equally welcome. He 'thenceforward grew apace in reputation and fortune 'first, and then in places and titles of honour, which 'he affected not, until he was well able to maintain 'them, for he was in the thirty-seventh year of his 'age when he received the honour of knighthood, and 'in his fiftieth, when he attained to be a Baron; 'he made large purchases in Ireland, but not 'till he 'was able to improve them; and tho' he paid money 'for his lands, yet the rents that he received from them 'were the fruits of his own prudence, and he grew rich 'on estates which had ruined their former possessors, 'and increased his wealth, not by hoarding, but by 'spending; for he built and walled several towns at 'his own cost; but in places so well situated, that they 'were soon filled with inhabitants, who, tho' their 'rents were moderate, quickly repaid him the money 'he had laid out, with interest; and he as readily 'laid it out again; so that in the space of forty years 'he acquired to himself, what in some countries would 'have been esteemed a noble principality, and as they 'came to years of discretion, he bestowed estates upon 'his sons, and married his daughters into the best families in that country; so that his power and credit 'were continually increasing, and he was generally 'esteemed, beloved by the English, and respected and 'obeyed by the natives; the former admired his wisdom, the latter stood amazed at his magnificence; 'For, as he had the power and property, so he had 'the soul and spirit of a Prince; and his castle of Lismore looked rather like the palace of a sovereign, 'than the residence of a private man, whose estate was 'of his own raising. He out-lived most of those who 'had known the meanness of his beginning, but he delighted to remember it himself, and even took pains 'to preserve the memory thereof to posterity, in the 'motto which he always used, and which he caused to 'be placed upon his tomb, viz. *God's providence is our inheritance.* He died in the 78th year of his age, 'having spent his last, as he did the first years of his 'life, in the support of the Crown of England against 'Irish Rebels, and in the service of his country.'

[*R*] *And all deserve very well to be remembered.*] The Earl of Cork by his second lady, had fifteen children, viz. seven sons and eight daughters (61). I. Roger, born August 1, 1606, at Youghall, died at Says-Court at Deptford in Kent, October 16, 1615. II. Alice, born at Youghall, March 20, 1607; married to David Barry, Earl of Barrimore. III. Sarah, born at Dublin, March 29, 1609; married to Sir Thomas Moor, son and heir of the Viscount Drogheda, afterwards to Robert, Lord Digby. IV. Lettice, born April 25, 1610; married to George Goring, son to the Earl of Norwich. V. Joan, born June 14, 1611; married to George, Earl of Kildare, first Earl of Ireland, August 15, 1628. VI. Richard, born at Youghall, October 21, 1612; married to the Lady Elizabeth,

(61) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.* Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 306.

Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Henry Earl of Cumberland. VII. Katharine, born March 22, 1614; maried to Arthur Jones, Viscount Renelagh. VIII. Geoffery, born at Youghall, April 10th, 1616; and died the same year. IX. Dorothy, born December 31, 1617; married to Sir Arthur Loftus, son and heir to the Viscount Ely. X. Lewis, born May 23, 1619; created Viscount Kynelmeaky in 1628; married Elizabeth, daughter of William Earl of Denbigh, he was killed in the battle of Liscaroll, September 3, 1642; but his widow was created Countess of Guildford, in her own right, by King Charles II. XI. Roger, born April 25, 1621. XII. Francis, born June 25, 1623, created afterwards Lord Viscount Shannon. XIII. Mary, born November 11, 1624; married to Charles, Earl of Warwick, a lady so kind to the poor, that it was said her husband *had left his estate to charitable uses*; she died April 12, 1678; and it was at her funeral, that Dr Anthony Walker preached the sermon before-mentioned (62). XIV. Robert, born January 25th 1626. XV. Margaret, born in Channel-Row, Westminster, April 30, 1629, who died unmarried.

(62) S[...] [F].

E

BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington and Cork, son to the former, a Nobleman of unblemished loyalty in rebellious, and of untainted integrity in times of the greatest corruption. He was born at the college of Youghall, Octob. 20, 1612 (*a*), his father being then Sir Richard Boyle, and in the beginning of his prosperity. The sponsors, at the baptism of this noble person of whom we are now speaking, were, the Earl of Thomond, Sir Thomas Aldworth, Mr Thomas Ball of London, merchant, and Lady Anne Parsons. We have no distinct account of the place or manner of his education, but there is not the least question of his having all the care taken of him in this respect due to his quality, since the Earl his father was very strict and serious in that particular (*b*). It is also very probable, he distinguished himself remarkably in the prosecution of his studies, as the Lord Falkland, when Deputy of Ireland, conferred on him, at his father's house at Youghall, the honour of knighthood, Aug. 13, 1624 (*c*), when not quite twelve years old. We have no account of the manner in which the next seven years of his life were spent, but as the Earl himself was sometimes in England, and sometimes in Ireland, we may reasonably suppose, the Lord Dungarvan was seldom absent from him. But when he drew towards twenty, the Earl thought proper to finish his education by sending him abroad, which he did under a very discreet and prudent Governor, with an allowance of one thousand pounds a year, June 4, 1632 (*d*). He passed through Flanders, France, and Italy, and after two years stay and upwards, returned home a graceful and accomplished young Nobleman, which induced the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, to promote earnestly a match between him and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress to Henry Lord Clifford, afterwards Earl of Cumberland, which though it met with some difficulties and impediments, yet was at last concluded, and the marriage with great pomp solemnized, in the chapel of Skipton castle in Craven, July 5, 1635 (*e*), which was a very great addition to the splendour of the family and to it's interests [*A*]. By this marriage he came to be very well known and received at Court, where his conduct gained him the esteem of the Ministers, and the love of all who were about it. He was particularly loyal and dutiful to the King (Charles I.) for he took, according to the letter, the injunctions given him on this head by his parents and preceptors, and having in the fullness of his heart given his Majesty warm assurances of this kind, he made it the business and study of his life to come up to them (*f*). He raised, in the first troubles of the North, a gallant troop of horse, at the head of which he proposed, under the Earl of Northumberland, to serve against the Scots, in the army raised to chastize their first rebellion (*g*). He gained much honour by this step, and many friends, even amongst those who were not much affected towards his father. On the breaking out of the bloody and inhuman rebellion in Ireland, he was immediately in arms and in action. He did not only command troops but raised them, and for a long time paid them; yet he treated them always as if they had a nearer relation to him than what was created by service, and often put them in mind, they were not soldiers of fortune, but men in arms for the protection of

(*a*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(*b*) See the Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esq; prefixed to his Works, p. 7.

(*c*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(*d*) Rev. Mr Morris's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, p. 1.

(*e*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 346.

(*f*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 32.

(*g*) Life of the Hon. Rob. Boyle. prefixed to his Works, p. 10.

[*A*] *Great addition to the splendour of the family, and to it's interest.*] It is not with any intention of speaking here at large, of the antient and noble family of Clifford, that we give this note upon the marriage of the Lord Dungarvan, because this belongs to, and will come in, in it's proper place; and all that we have to do here is to point out to the reader, what accrued to the family of Boyle by this marriage. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who distinguished himself in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by several naval expeditions, in which he hazarded both his person and his fortune, deceased October 30, 1605 (1); leaving issue by his Countess Margaret, third daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, an only daughter, Anne, who first married Robert Earl of Dorset, by whom she had two daughters; and afterwards Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (2); to this Lady Anne, the Earl her father, by his last will and testament, bequeathed the sum of fifteen thousand pounds as a portion, leaving all his estates to Sir Francis Clifford his brother, on whom the dignity was entailed; but in case of the failure of his heirs male, to his daughter Anne beforementioned (3). This Francis, Earl of Cumberland, took to wife Grissold, daughter of Thomas Hughs of Uxbridge in the county of Middlesex, Esq; widow of Edward Nevil, Lord Bergavenny (4), by whom he had his son Henry, and two daughters; the eldest of these daughters, Margaret, married Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Viscount Wentworth, and Earl of Strafford; the second, Frances, married Sir Gervase Clifton, by whom she had several children (5). His son Henry, Lord Clifford of Lanesborough, or rather Lonsborough, in the county of York, married Frances, only daughter of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and Lord High-Treasurer of England, by whom he had issue an only daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, born at the castle of Skipton in Craven (6), who in the twenty-second year of her age was married to the noble person of whom we are speaking; her grandfather, Francis, Earl of Cumberland, being then living, and a widower; so that she was considered as the presumptive heiress of this branch of the Clifford family, as the Lady Anne was of the elder house (7); which sufficiently distinguishes the descents of these two families, and that is all that we proposed in this note.

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(2) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 63.

(3) Dugdale, ubi supra.

(4) See the Pedigree of the Clifford Family, in Dugdale.

(5) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, ubi supra.

(6) MS. Memoirs of the Clifford Family, cited by Dugdale, and now in the possession of the Earl of Leicester.

(7) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, ubi supra.

[*B*] *Raised*

of their country (h). He was in several sieges and rencountres, more especially in the action at Liscarrol, but he never struck in with those, who thought the best way to promote the Protestant Cause, was to carry on the war so as to render the Papists desperate. It was on the contrary principle that he concurred with, and even advised, the Marquis of Ormond, in the affair of the cessation, and that once over, in September 1643 (i), he set himself to procuring the King that assistance, from the hopes of which he had consented to this measure. He was so zealous in this affair, that, at his own request, his regiment was made part of the Irish Brigade sent to his Majesty's relief, and his Lordship, now Earl of Cork, commanded in person (k). He was received at Oxford, by the King, with all possible marks of favour and attention, and every body spoke of his behaviour in the terms that it deserved. In consideration, therefore, of these timely and effectual services, as well as of those rendered by his deceased father-in-law, he was raised to the dignity of Baron Clifford of Lanesborough, by patent (l) [B]. He continued to wait upon the King as long as any one place held out for him in England, and was then forced to compound for his estate with the powers in being, which he did for 1631 pounds (m), but going beyond the seas before he had perfected his composition, advantage was taken of this, and the House of Commons, in January, appointed a Committee to consider of the debt owing by the Earl of Cork, which drew on his Lordship many and great inconveniencies (n). He satisfied this demand, however, and then went over to live as quietly as he could upon his estate in Ireland, though from the hardships of the times, and his own generous temper, he was soon, notwithstanding his large paternal fortune, brought under great difficulties, to which, the people then in authority, in the year 1651, added new burthens, which obliged his Countess (himself disdaining it) to supplicate Cromwell for redress, which she did by an admirable letter, which lets us into the circumstances of his Lordship at that time, and therefore deserves the reader's notice (o) [C]. By this application, and the interest of Lord Broghill, the Earl was freed from

(h) Antient and Present State of the county of Waterford, p. 58.

(i) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

(k) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 469.

(l) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 346.

(m) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 678.

(n) Whitlock's Memorials, pag. 237.

(o) Collection of Letters from and to Cromwell, &c. published by Mr Nickoll's, p. 84.

[B] *Raised to the dignity of Baron Clifford of Lanesborough, by patent.*] In order to shew how well this patent, which was the foundation of the English honours to which this noble family have attained, was merited from the crown, we shall take notice of some remarkable facts that deserve to be remembered. Francis, Earl of Cumberland died in 1641, and was succeeded in that title by Henry, Lord Clifford, his son, father to the Viscountess of Dungarvan (8). This Henry Earl of Cumberland, was a man of a peaceable disposition, of a noble and generous temper, and truly loyal to the King his master, to whom, in the begining of the troubles, he repaired at York, and signed the famous Declaration dated from thence, June 13, 1642, at which time he was so much beloved in his country, that at the general request of all the loyal part of the county of York, the supreme command in military affairs was committed to this noble Peer (9), and that he was not in any degree biassed by the love of authority, and the splendour of such a commission, appears clearly by the character the noble historian gives of him, who says, that he was a man of great honour and integrity, and lived with very much acceptation and affection from the gentlemen and the common people, but was not in any degree of a martial temper. He adds, the great fortune of the family was divided, the larger part carried away by an heir female, and his father had so wasted the remainder, that the Earl could not live with that lustre, or draw so great a dependance upon him, as his ancestors had done; but so much the more that it was repugnant to his nature, and incompatible with the circumstances, the loyalty of the Earl appeared in accepting of this commission, which he kept as long as it was necessary for the King's service, and no longer; but willingly resigned it to the Earl of Newcastle, who was fitter for the employment, and upon whom, for that reason only his Majesty bestowed it (10). This worthy Earl deceased, December 11, 1643, being the fifth Earl of Cumberland of his family, and his Countess died (11) the February following; in the same month the Earl of Cork, heir in right of his wife to the estates of this family, landed at Chester, and marched his forces into Dorsetshire, after which, as is mentioned in the text, he repaired to Oxford, and for his own and his father-in-law's great services was created Baron Clifford of Lanesborough in the county of York (12), November 4, 1644, in the 20th year of the reign of King Charles I. and so became the first Peer of his family in England.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(9) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, fol. edit. p. 76.

(10) Id. ibid. p. 282, 283.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 346.

(12) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 370.

[C] *And therefore deserves the reader's notice.*] This letter occurs in a collection, lately published, of papers that were formerly in the hands of the famous John Milton, which no doubt afford us, a far better picture of those unhappy times, than hitherto we had received; because private letters, more especially on such particular occasions, shew the true and genuine sentiments of people's minds, and the state of things, without any falshood or disguise; but to come to the piece itself.

The Countess of Cork's letter to the then Lord-General, Oliver Cromwell, (13).

(13) Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell, &c. published by Mr John Nickolls p. 84, 85.

My Lord,

'IF this prove an unseasonable time to move you 'in any private business, I do only hope for your 'pardon upon what necessitates me thereto, which is my 'Lord's deprivement of that benefit and favour you were 'pleased formerly to grant him, (by licensing his return, 'and enjoyment of his estate in Ireland) by an order 'of late issued from the Commissioners-General to the 'Commissioners of the Revenue, for to stop some levies 'of monies intended by my Lord, in and about Bandon. This order, grounded merely upon an information, (as appears by a copy of it here with presented to 'your Excellency) was, by these later Commissioners, 'stretched beyond what it will literally bear, for they 'have extended it to the stopping of my Lord's rents 'in all places, and in such a time, as the lands were 'just then to be set for the ensuing year; so that 'tis 'to be doubted, they will for the most part lie 'waste, if some redress be not had speedily, the tenants standing at gaze, not knowing what to do. To 'declare the ground of all this business, which I may 'very properly term a mistake, I do here, with much 'truth inform your Lordship, that about February last 'my Lord was infinitely pressed for money by his creditors, that he was reduced to the necessity of trying 'all ways to raise some for the allaying their fury, or 'else to give up his person to a languishing imprisonment here; whereupon he sent over among his friends 'and tenants, desiring a quarter's rent advance, only 'to give some stop to the persecutions against him by 'his creditors here, and to come more speedily among 'them, in hopes to live quietly there, and settle his 'affairs so as to bring more tenants upon the lands 'for the common good, and his own private advantage. This was all the mystery which was no way 'done in secret, for my brother Broghil was therewith 'acquainted; as for any other matter that may be laid 'to my Lord's charge, as having been of the King's 'party, your Lordship will I hope herewith receive satisfaction, if you please to peruse his discharge from 'Goldsmith's-hall, which was upon Oxford articles, and 'clears him from all deliquency here; neither was 'the delinquent upon any higher score than for attend- 'ing

from these grievances, the weight of which, however, did not hinder him from contributing all he could to the Restoration, and supplying his Majesty, King Charles II, with considerable sums of money, 'till that could be brought about (p). In gratitude for, and to preserve the memory of, these services, his Majesty was graciously pleased, by letters patent bearing date March 20, in the sixteenth year of his reign, A. D. 1663, to raise him to the dignity of Earl of Burlington or Bridlington, in the county of York (q). A melancholy accident that happened not long after in his family, afforded a new opportunity for the King to manifest his affection for this noble Peer, whose second son, Richard, then a volunteer on board the fleet commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, was killed by a cannon shot, June 3, 1665, in the battle off Solebay (r); upon the thirteenth of March 1666, constituted him Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, of the city of York, and county of the same. This he enjoyed during all that reign, and from the year 1679, with the addition of being also Custos Rotulorum (s). Under King James II, he held the same employments as long as he thought proper to hold them, but when he found that unfortunate Prince expected him to make such uses of those offices as manifestly tended to overthrow the Constitution, he very magnanimously resigned them, upon which the lieutenancy was given to Lord Thomas Howard, a very zealous and busy Papist (t). His Lordship, upon the coming over of the Prince of Orange, went heartily into the measures he thought conducive to settling the Government and redressing grievances, but neither sought or accepted employment. However, July 16, 1689, in the first year of their reign, their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, called his only son, Charles Lord Clifford of Lanesborough, by writ, up to the House of Peers (u), an honour which he did not live long to enjoy, dying October 12, 1694 (w). This noble Peer, whose parts qualified him for the most active, naturally inclined to peaceful and less pompous offices, in which he gained the respect and esteem of the gentry his neighbours, as his affability and beneficence charmed the common sort, so that his influence was general, as appeared from the universal concern expressed by all ranks of people in Yorkshire on his decease, January 15, 1697-8, in the eighty-sixth (x) year of his age, which exceeded any of the like nature that could be remembered [D]. He was succeeded in his honours, by his grandson Charles Lord Clifford, who was a very great favourite with King William, and much esteemed by Queen Anne, being generally looked upon as one of the most accomplished Noblemen in the British dominions (y). He died Feb. 9, 1703-4, and was succeeded by the present head of this illustrious family, Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork, and left besides a numerous posterity (z), of which, as well as of the descendants of his father and grandfather, we shall give a very succinct account in the notes, that this, and the subsequent articles, may prove the more intelligible [E]. The reader will easily discern the utility of this precaution, in regard to a house that has produced more great, more distinguished, and more remarkable persons, in

(p) See the Preamble to his patent.

(q) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 367.

(r) Echard's Hist. of England, pag. 820.

(s) Remarkables in the Reign of Charles II. pag. 195.

(t) Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 256.

(u) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 368.

(w) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 33.

(x) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

(y) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 33.

(z) Hist. of Europe for the year 1704, p. 577.

'ing the King's person, for he never had any command in England nor in Ireland, but by joint consent of both King and Parliament, against the Irish rebels; and since his submitting to the first cessation, is all that can be laid to his charge there (which is since wiped off, by the articles of Dublin); and for the making good of those articles, the publick faith of the Parliament is engaged, by whose authority they were made and concluded. I hope upon your Lordship's reflection upon the whole matter, you will be pleased to interpose on my Lord's behalf with the Commissioners of Parliament in Ireland, that my Lord may receive the benefit of Dublin articles, and that you will vouchsafe us your Lordship's letters to my Lord-Deputy and the Commissioners to that effect; all which I hope will be agreeable to your judgment and justice, it being only to relieve one (by the Parliament's own rules) who has suffered as much abroad by the Irish, and as much at home under my Lord Inchiquin's power, as any Englishman, until freed by those articles, which having never since forfeited, I can't doubt of your Excellency's willingness to relieve us, but do of your leisure, which that I may not for the future disturb, in case delays should be still made of freeing my Lord's rents, I should humbly beg a letter of recommendation from your Lordship to Mr Scott, or some other friend of your Lordship's here, to whom I may address, with hopes to be heard, which I have not hitherto been successful in, that report your Lordship was pleased to recommend to the House the day you left the town, having been never yet made, which I should not here mention to the addition of your trouble, were it not that all remote reckonings are charged upon, and daily levied upon my poor estate here, threatening it's utter ruin, and that of myself and six children. Thus your Lordship may from our sufferings in all places, discern it is not affectation but utmost extremity that sends forth these complaints and requests, with no less unwillingness than necessity, presented to your Excellency by your most humble servant,

E. CORK.'

[D] *Exceeded any of the like nature that could be remembered.*] It is very remarkable that this noble person was singularly happy in his private life, and in the circumstances of his family, for as he married a lady of great birth, and who brought him a large fortune, so she was, in every other respect, most agreeable (14); they were nearly of the same age, very like in their tempers, and, which is a thing unusual amongst persons of their rank, lived happily together fifty-five years, and had the satisfaction of seeing a numerous posterity (15.) By this lady the Earl had two sons mentioned in the text, and three daughters that lived to be married, viz. Lady Elizabeth to the Earl of Thanet; Lady Anne, to the Earl of Sandwich; Lady Henrietta, to the Earl of Rochester; by which two last daughters, the Earl of Cork saw many grand-children. His son and grandson became both Peers of England in his lifetime (16), and were no less happy in their families, which circumstances the reader may be pleased to consider, with the following prayer of his father the great Earl of Cork, on his behalf, when he was not as yet married. After having marked the time of his birth, and the names of his god-fathers and god-mothers, he proceeds thus (17). *God grant he may serve and fear him religiously, and be a faithful subject and servant to the King's majesty and his heirs, and live many years full of good works and of virtuous children, and be a worthy pillar and patriot in this kingdom.*

(14) From the information of the Honourable Mr A. C. who knew both the Earl and his Countess.

(15) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 368.

(16) History of Europe, 1704, p. 577.

(17) Earl of Cork's True Remembrances.

[E] *The subsequent articles may prove the more intelligible.*] We will begin here with Charles Lord Clifford, son to the first Earl of Burlington and Cork, who married first, Lady Jane, youngest daughter and co-heiress of William Duke of Somerset; by whom he

in a variety of characters, than almost any these nations have to boast, and which, as it was originally well established by it's founder, has continued flourishing and increasing ever since.

he had issue (18) Charles, who succeeded him, Henry who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1701, Secretary of state in 1710, and was afterwards created a Peer of this realm, by the title of Lord Carlton (19); Lady Elizabeth, who married James Earl of Barrimore; Lady Mary, married to James Duke of Queensbury and Dover; and Lady Arabella, to Henry Earl of Shelburne. By his second Countess, Arethusa, daughter to George Earl of Berkeley, he had only a daughter called after her mother, who married Mr Vernon, son to Mr Secretary Vernon (20). His eldest son Charles succeeded him in the Barony of Clifford, and sat in the house of Peers by that title, 'till, by the decease of his grandfather, he became Earl of Burlington and Cork (21). He married Juliana, daughter and sole heiress to Henry Noel, second son to Edward, Viscount Campden, by whom he had issue, Richard, the present Earl of Burlington; Lady Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Bedingfield; Lady Juliana, to the Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Aylesbury; Lady Jane, unmarried; Lady Henrietta, married to Henry Boyle, Esq; grandson to Roger, Earl of Orrery (22). Richard, the present Earl of Burlington and Cork, married March the 21st, 1721, the Lady Dorothy Saville, eldest daughter and coheiress to the late Marquis of Halifax, by whom he had three daughters, but of these only Lady Charlotte is living, and unmarried (23). I might lay hold of this opportunity of telling the reader, that his Lordship inherits the virtues and abilities, as well as the estates and titles, of his family; that his merit has acquired him the most honourable reward of it in this kingdom, a blue ribbon; that he has had interest enough to obtain, and virtue enough to resign, great employments; that he has been a courtier above suspicion, a patriot without pique, or private views; a friend to his country in all circumstances of a publick nature; as well as an honour to it in his personal accomplishments, and correct taste in the polite arts, more especially architecture, in which it is not easy to say, whether his modesty or knowledge deserve applause most. But these are in a great measure beside our purpose, which is to do justice to the dead, not to court the favour of the living; nor should I think what has been already said pardonable, but that it is no inconsiderable addition to the glory of a house, which has given Peers to all the three kingdoms, to have the present Earl of Burlington and Cork for it's head, in which light I hope this liberty (taken from no other motive) will be considered and excused. E

(18) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

(19) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 191.

(20) Thoresby, as above.

(21) Le Neve's Monument. Ang. Vol. IV. p. 70.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 193.

(23) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II, p. 369.

BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, younger brother of Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork, and fifth son of Richard, stiled *the great* Earl of Cork (*a*); independent of descent and titles, one of the most learned, able, and valiant persons of the age in which he lived, and thereby a great instrument of good to his country and nation. He was born April 25, 1621 (*b*), and by the credit of his father with the Lord-Deputy Falkland, he was, as we have already shewn, raised to the state and dignity of Baron Broghill in the kingdom of Ireland, in 1628, when only seven years old (*c*). His education was at the college of Dublin, where he applied himself with such diligence to his books, and so happily digested what he gathered from them, that he was very soon distinguished as an early and promising genius, which induced his father to send him, about 1636, to make the tour of France and Italy, under the care of one Mr Marcombes, and in the company of Lord Kynalmeaky his elder brother (*d*) [*A*]. After his return from his travel, he found all things in England in very great confusion, and a war on the point of breaking out with Scotland, in which he was invited to serve with peculiar distinction, the Earl of Northumberland (*e*), who was appointed General and Commander in Chief of this expedition, putting him at the head of his own troop. But this flame being stifled for the present, his thoughts were turned another way, and as the old Earl of Cork loved to settle his children very early in the world, a marriage was proposed for Lord Broghill

(*a*) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

(*b*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(*c*) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Cork, note [C].

(*d*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

(*e*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 35.

[*A*] *The care of one Mr Marcombes, and in the company of Lord Kynalmeaky, his elder brother.*] We have seen in our former article, that this was the method the Earl took to perfect his sons, when they had ran through the ordinary compass of a domestick education (1). It is very remarkable, that all his sons travelled under the care of this Mr Marcombes, who likewise attended the eldest son of the Earl of Orrery, of whom we are now speaking; so that he had the forming in this noble line for more than one generation. It was very excusable in a country clergyman, like Mr Morrice, to write this gentleman's name as it was pronounced (2); but one cannot so easily pardon Mr Budgell, who had so many opportunities of knowing better; the calling this governor of Lord Broghill, Mr *Markham* (3), and thereby if the Memoirs of this House had not fallen into more careful hands, burying in oblivion the very name of a person to whom this noble family owed many, and those singular, obligations, as the reader will see hereafter; but for the present we shall give him his character as drawn by the pen of the honourable Mr Robert Boyle, who was also under his care (4). 'He was a man who in his garb, his mien, and out-side, had very much of his nation, having been divers years a traveller, and a soldier; he was well fashioned, and very well knew what belonged to a gentleman; his natural, were much better than his acquired parts, tho' divers of the latter he possessed, though not in an eminent yet in a very competent degree; scholarship he wanted not, having in his greener years been a professed student in Divinity; but he was much less read in books, than men, and hated pedantry as much as any of the seven deadly sins; thrifty he was extreamly, and very skilful in the slights of thrift, but less out of avarice than a just ambition, and not so much out of love to money, as a desire to live handsomely at last. His practical sentiments in Divinity were most of them very sound, and if he were given to any vice himself, he was careful, by sharply condemning it, to render it uninfectious, being industrious, whatsoever he were himself, to make his charges virtuous; before company he was very civil to his pupils, apt to eclipse their failings, and set off their good qualities to the best advantage; but in his private conversation he was cynically disposed, and a very nice critic both of words and men, which humour he used to exercise so freely with Philaretus, that at last he forced him to a very cautious and considerable way of expressing himself, which after turned to his no small advantage. The worst quality he had was his choler, to excess of which, he was excessively prone.' Under the direction of this gentleman, the two Lords, Kynalmeaky and Broghill, went to Paris, where they saw Lewis the XIV, a child in his nurse's arms; they travelled from thence to Geneva, where they spent a whole year in the house of the famous Mr Deodati, which was of great advantage to him. They went from thence to Marseilles, where both the young Lords embarked for Genoa, and soon after their arrival in that city, were seized with the small-pox, but of a very kindly sort, from which they speedily and happily recovered; they went afterwards to visit some other cities in Italy, and then making the tour of Swisserland, returned through France into England (5).

(1) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington.

(2) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

(3) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 35.

(4) Memoirs of his own Life under the name of *Philaretus*, by the Hon. Rob. Boyle.

(5) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

[B] Thus

Broghill with the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, which was quickly concluded, and his Lordship, with his new married Lady, went over together to Ireland (*f*), where they landed the very day the rebellion broke out in that kingdom, *viz.* October 23, 1641. An account has been already given, of the manner in which the news came to his Lordship's family, and of their being immediately obliged to take up arms for their own and the publick security. The post assigned Lord Broghill, was the defence of his father's castle of Lismore, in which he behaved with all the spirit of a young, and all the discretion of an old, officer. An instance of the former, he gave in a bold salley he made for the succour of Sir Richard Osborn, who was besieged in his own house by the rebels, 'till relieved by Lord Broghill, who raised the siege, and saved him and all his family (*g*); and as strong a proof of the latter, in advising Sir William St Leger, then President of Munster, to act vigorously against the Irish, notwithstanding they produced the King's commission, which, though he was but twenty years of age, he had sagacity enough to discern must be a forgery, as it afterwards proved (*h*) [*B*]. After that cessation in Ireland, of which an account is given in the former article, Lord Broghill determined to go over to England, and pay his duty to King Charles I. at Oxford, which he accordingly did, and in several audiences which he had of that Monarch, he represented to him so fully the true character of the Irish Papists, and the falsehood of all the pretences of the Committee they had sent over to deceive and mislead his Majesty, that the King was entirely convinced the Irish never meant to keep the cessation, and therefore it was against the true interest of the loyal subjects of that island, to depend upon it (*i*). As a proof of this, he carried, on his return thither, a commission to Lord Inchiquin, then President of Munster, to prosecute the rebels on that side, and upon receiving this commission, he published a kind of Manifesto, containing his reasons against the cessation, and requiring the faithful subjects of Ireland, to give their assistance to suppress the rebels in that province (*k*). Lord Broghill, however, had much too great an interest in that country, to content himself with barely exciting the President of Munster to what he judged his duty, he contributed also, as far as lay in his power, to the discharge of it himself, and when, by the King's command, the Marquis of Ormond surrendered Dublin, and whatever was in his power, to the Commissioners named by Parliament, both Lords, Inchiquin and Broghill, obeyed them, as the only means of promoting the Protestant interest. It was not long, however, before the former thought proper to alter his conduct, and quit the service of the Parliament; but this did not influence Lord Broghill, who

(*f*) Orrery's Letters, p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*h*) See this fully explained in the note [*B*].

(*i*) Memoirs of the Wars in Ireland, p. 395.

(*k*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iii.

[*B*] *To discern must be a forgery, as it afterwards proved.*] As this was one of the first actions of a publick nature, in which Lord Broghill distinguished himself; so perhaps in the course of his whole life there was none that did him greater credit, and therefore it is necessary that we should enter into all the particulars of it. When the Lord Muskerry entered Munster, at the head of a great body of Irish rebels, the Lord President, St Leger, with a small body of English forces, marched to meet him, and would have given him battle; but he sent a trumpet with one Mr Walsh, who demanded to speak with the Lord President, to whom he was well known; when he gave him audience, his Lordship could not help expressing his surprize, that he being a lawyer, should engage himself among the rebels; to which Walsh answered, that they were no rebels, for that they had taken up arms for the King's service, and Lord Muskerry had his Majesty's commission, which he offered to produce to him, if he might have leave to wait upon him again. The Lord President communicated this to the Earl of Barrimore, Lord Broghill, and his brother; the other two Lords were much astonished, but Lord Broghill without hesitation, said it was a cheat, that his Majesty could have granted no such commission, and advised the Lord President to be very cautious how he believed it; but, however, it was agreed, that he should promise the man a safe conduct, and that their forces should retire; Lord Muskerry also upon the return of Walsh drew off his men, and the next morning Walsh appeared again in the Lord President's quarters with a trumpet, who was immediately conducted to the Lord President's house, where being received, Walsh renewed the same request, that he might speak with the Lord President alone, and in private; which the other Lords opposed, but at last it was agreed, that one man should stand at the door with a drawn sword, and charged pistols; this being done, Walsh produced a large parchment, wherein was a very formal commission, drawn up for the Lord Muskerry, to raise four thousand men, and the broad seal affixed to it; St Leger having read it over, dismissed Walsh, and returned to the Lords, declaring to them that Muskerry had really a commission for what he did; and that he would dismiss his men, and stir no more in this business, saying he would die before he would be a rebel; whereupon the Lords all withdrew to their several homes, only Lord Broghill declared he could not but think it a cheat. But it seems the Lord President took this matter so much to heart, that he never held up his head afterwards, but within a short time died, and Lord Inchiquin was by the King appointed President in his room (6). Many years after this, when his Lordship was become Earl of Orrery, and went to pay a visit to the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Kilkenny, he there met with my Lord Muskerry, and the very sight of him putting the old affair in his head, he took an opportunity one day, when alone with Muskerry, who happened then to be in a pleasant open humour, to ask him how the rebels obtained the commission, which they had thus shewed to the then Lord President, St Leger, under the King's great seal? Lord Muskerry answered, *I will be free and unreserved with you; it was a forged commission, drawn up by Walsh and others, who having a writing, to which the great seal was fixed, one of the company very dexterously took off the sealed wax from the label of that writing, and fixed it to the label of the forged commission; whilst this was doing, an odd accident happened, which startled all present, and almost disconcerted the scheme. The forged commission being finished, while the parchment was handling and turning, in order to put on the seal, a tame wolf which lay asleep by the fire, awakened at the crackling of the parchment, and running to it, seized it, and tore it to pieces; notwithstanding all haste and struggle to prevent him, so that after all their pains they were obliged to begin a-new, and write it all over again.* Lord Orrery, struck with the wickedness of this action, could not refrain expressing himself, to that purpose to Lord *Muskerry*; who, laughing, replied, *It would having been impossible to have held the people together without this device* (7). Such was the secret history of this fatal, this infamous, this execrable contrivance, which gained credit, purely from a supposition, that there could not be impudence and villany enough in men, to bring them to commit so foul and base an action, especially in persons well born, and who pretended to religion.

(6) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, p. 7, 8.

(7) Ibid, p. 36.

[C] *It*

who continued to act 'till the murder of the King (*l*) induced him to leave his country and estate, as ruined past all hopes, and hide himself in the privacy of a close retirement. How he came to alter his conduct, and strike in with a party which he had always abhorred, and this too both suddenly and warmly, is accounted for, as well as it can be, in the notes [*C*]. As soon as his Lordship had settled the business of his command in Ireland with Cromwell, he went immediately over into that country, without any force but his commission (*m*). This circumstance shewed the great extent of his personal interest, and the height to which he had already raised his reputation. In a very short time after his arrival, his friends came in, together with gentlemen that had served under him, so that he had presently a gallant troop of horse for the guard of his person, and in a very inconsiderable space, raised a regiment of fifteen hundred men, with which he hovered about Waterford, 'till Cromwell, according to his promise, came thither also, and then, conformable to his engagement, Lord Broghill joined him (*n*). But notwithstanding this apparent alteration in his Lordship's conduct, he still retained so great a regard for his old friends, that one of the first exploits at the head of his new army, was relieving Carrick, where the noble Marchioness of Ormond was besieged by the rebels (*o*). Cromwell pushing on the war with his usual impetuosity, found himself obliged to rely upon this Lord for keeping all safe at least, if not quiet, behind him, which with great military prudence he very happily performed, and grew thereby into esteem with that General (*p*). But this, though considerable enough in itself, was, however, very far inferior to what he did at Maccroom, where with two thousand horse and dragoons, without

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 31.

(*m*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*n*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 46.

(*o*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*p*) See the article of CROMWELL, (OLIVER) Lord Protector.

[*C*] *Is accounted for as well as it can be, in the notes.*] Upon Lord Broghill's coming from Ireland, he withdrew to Marston in Somersetshire, an estate which his father had purchased from Sir John Hippesly, where he lived very close for some time (8); but the sight of the sad situation of the country he was in, and the remembrance of the misery of that which he had left, would not allow his thoughts any quiet. He was ashamed to sit the tame spectator of so much mischief, without moving a finger to remedy those disorders, which overspread his private property at the same time that they overwhelmed the publick (9). These reflexions, after rolling some time in his breast, at length produced something like scheme of action, worthy a man of his parentage, parts, and principles. Warm with this new plan, he hasted to put it into execution: he had resolved to attempt something in favour of the King, and, accordingly, under pretence of going to the Spaw for his health, he determined to cross the seas, and apply himself to King Charles II, for a commission to raise what forces he could in Ireland, in order to restore his Majesty, and recover his own estate. Having formed this resolution, he desired the Earl of Warwick, who had an interest in the prevailing party, to procure a licence for him to go to the Spaw. He pretended to the Earl that he intended nothing more by his journey, than the recovery of his health; but let some of his friends of the royal party, in whom he thought he could confide, into the bottom of his design; and having raised a considerable sum of money, came up to London to prosecute his voyage. The Committee of State, who spared no money to get proper intelligence, being soon informed of his whole design, determined to proceed against him with the utmost severity. Cromwell was at that time General of the Parliament's forces, and a member of the Committee: It is allowed by his enemies, that he knew every person of great abilities in the three kingdoms. He was, consequently no stranger to Lord Broghill's merit; and reflecting that this young Nobleman might be of great use to him in reducing Ireland, he earnestly intreated the Committee that he might have leave to talk with him, and endeavour to gain him before they preceeded to extremities. Having with great difficulty, obtained this permission, he immediately dispatched a gentleman to the Lord Broghill, to let him know that he intended to wait upon him. The Lord Broghill was surprized at this message, having never had the least acquaintance with Cromwell, and desired the gentleman to let the General know that he would wait upon his Excellency. But while he was expecting the return of the messenger, Cromwell entered the room; who, when mutual civilities had passed between them, told him in few words, that the Committee of State were apprized of his design of going over, and applying to Charles Stuart for a commission to raise forces in Ireland; and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himself had not diverted them from that resolution. The Lord Broghil interrupted him, and assured him that the intelligence which the Committee had received was false; that he was neither in a capacity, not had any inclination to raise disturbances in Ireland; and concluded with intreating his Excellency to have a kinder opinion of him: Cromwell, instead of making any reply, drew some papers out of his pocket, which were the copies of several letters which the Lord Broghill had sent to those persons in whom he most confided, and put them into his hands. The Lord Broghill, upon the perusal of these papers, finding that it was to no purpose to dissemble any longer, asked his Excellency's pardon for what he had said, returned him his humble thanks for his protection against the Committee, and intreated his directions, how he ought to behave in so delicate a conjuncture. Cromwell told him, that though 'till this time he had been a stranger to his person, he was not so to his merit and character; but that he had heard how gallantly his Lordship had already behaved in the Irish wars: And therefore, since he was named Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the reducing that kingdom was now become his province, he had obtained leave of the Committee, to offer his Lordship the command of a general officer, if he would serve in that war. That he should have no oaths or engagements imposed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his sword against any but the Irish rebels; the Lord Broghill was infinitely surprized at so generous and unexpected an offer; he saw himself at liberty, by all the rules of honour, to serve against the Irish, whose rebellion and barbarities were equally detested by the royal party, and the parliament: He desired, however, the General to give him some time to consider of what had been proposed to him. Cromwell briskly told him that he must come to some resolution that very instant; that he himself was returning to the Committee who were still sitting; and if his Lordship rejected their offer, they had determined to send him to the Tower. The Lord Broghill finding that his liberty and life were in the utmost danger, and charmed with the frankness and generosity of Cromwell's behaviour, gave him his word and honour, that he would faithfully serve him against the Irish rebels; upon which, Cromwell once more assured him, that the conditions which he had made with him, should be punctually observed; and then ordered him to repair immediately to Bristol, to which place forces should be sent him, with a sufficient number of ships to transport him into Ireland. He added; that he himself would soon follow him, and was as good as his word in every particular. This story we have from Mr Morrice, who had it from the Earl of Orrery himself; and he adds, that it was very probable his Lordship's design was betrayed, out of pure love and affection, by his sister Ranelagh; but how this love and affection enabled her to foresee that Cromwell would interpose as he did, to take off the rope, which she thus (as he supposes) put about his neck, is what our reverend author does not explain.

(8) Memoirs of the interregnum after the King's Death, p. 133.

(9) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 41—48.

without waiting for his foot coming up, he attacked a body of Irish, consisting of upwards of five thousand, whom he totally defeated, and took their General, the titular Bishop of Ross, prisoner (q). This battle was fought May 10, 1650. Lord Broghill offered the Bishop his life, if he would order those who were in the castle of Carigdroghid to surrender, which he promised; but when he was conducted to the place, he persuaded the garrison to defend it to the last extremity. Upon this Lord Broghill caused him to be hanged (r), (though Mr Morrice says the soldiers hanged him without (s) orders) and then commanded his heavy artillery to be brought up, which astonished his own army exceedingly, they knowing he had not so much as a single piece of battering cannon. He caused, however, several large trees to be cut, and drawn at a distance by his baggage horses; the besieged judging, by the slowness of their motion, they were of a vast size, capitulated before they came up, as his Lordship advised, threatening otherwise to give them no quarter (t). He relieved Cromwell at Clonmell, when, according to his confession, nothing could otherwise have saved him, he assisted both him and Ireton in all their expeditions; but because he sought to moderate the fury of one, and mitigate the cruelty of the other, he incurred the suspicion of both; nay, Ireton went so far as to say, *They could never be safe as long as* Broghill *lived.* (u). His Lordship knew this, and did not want opportunities of paying them in their own coin, but he despised them; for his maxim was, to do what was right on all occasions, and trust GOD with the event. He went, therefore, to the assistance of Ireton, at the siege of Limerick, which was the best defended place in Ireland, though he knew of his aversion for, and ill-will towards, him, and it was chiefly by his means that design succeeded (w). For Ireton finding his force insufficient to take it by storm, and fearing that the Irish in the field would become strong enough to give him battle, and relieve it before it could be reduced to a necessity of capitulating for want, he gave Lord Broghill detachments from four regiments of horse, and twenty-six companies of foot, with orders to act in such a manner, as to hinder the several bodies of Irish, still in arms, from joining (x). In pursuance of this order, he marched with great expedition to attack his old antagonist Muskerry, who, with three times his force, was moving towards the army lately raised by the Pope's Nuncio. The diligence his Lordship used was such, that he came up with the enemy unexpectedly, drove in, amidst a storm of thunder and lightening, their advanced guards on their main body, which soon after he attacked. The Irish had all advantages, ground, numbers, and old officers from Spain, and had certainly been too hard for the English, but for a quick stratagem of Lord Broghill, who, in the heat of action, said to those about him, *Repeat what I say*, then raising his voice cried out, *They run, they run*; which was soon echoed on all sides (y). The first line of the Irish looked behind to see if their rear broke, those in the rear, hearing the noise of their enemies, and seeing the faces of their friends, concluded it was so, and broke immediately; after which they were absolutely defeated. This, dispersed the Irish, made way for the taking of Limerick, and put an end to the war there (z). After Cromwell became Protector, he sent for Lord Broghill merely to have his advice; and we are told, that not long after his coming to England on that account, he made an attempt to engage the Protector to restore the old constitution, and secure himself, his family, and his friends, by marrying one of his daughters to the King (a). This extraordinary story, as it rests on the credit, so it shall be given to the reader in it's author's own words [D]. He failed in that and some other schemes of the same nature, but

(q) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. pag. 16. Hist. of the execrable Irish Rebellion, p. 240.

(r) Borlase's Hist.

(s) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(t) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 16.

(u) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(w) Hist. of the War in Ireland, p. 355.

(x) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 67.

(y) Hist. of the War in Ireland, p. 359.

(z) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol II. Part ii. p. 67. Hist. of the execrable Irish Rebellion, p. 283. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 154.

(a) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 413.

[D] *This extraordinary story, as it rests on the credit, shall be given to the reader in the author's own words.*] It may be urged to countenance this strange story, that we have some dark hints of it from other persons, that Lord Broghill was certainly the greatest favourite Cromwell ever had, and in all seasons a friend to his family; and that Mr Morrice, in his way of telling his tale, evidently shews, that he had not a capacity for inventing it. Thus it runs (10): His lordship had now and then opportunities of a secret correspondence with some persons about the King, by whom he had founded the King's inclinations, which were favourable to a design of making a match between his Majesty and one of Cromwell's daughters (the lady Frances, as I remember) to promote which, he had orders to do whatever lay in his power; and having his Majesty's leave, he took a fit occasion to move it to Cromwell, which he did in the following manner: He first acquainted Cromwell's wife and daughter with the design, and then caused a rumour of it to be spread abroad in the town; and one day, coming out of the city, and coming to Cromwell's closet, Cromwell immediately came to him, and walking with him alone, he asked where he had been? My Lord answered, in the city; Cromwell asked him what news there? My Lord answered, very strange news; Cromwell earnestly enquiring what it was, my Lord detained him a while, only by repeating it was strange news, and smiling at the same time; Cromwell, by the delay, became more earnest to know it; my Lord, at last, replied, that perhaps he would be offended to hear it. Cromwell, not enduring any longer delay, assured him he would not, and therefore conjured him to tell it; upon that, in a jocular way, my Lord told him, all the news in the city was, that he was going to marry his daughter Frances to the King; Cromwell then, with a merry countenance, asked him, And what do the fools think of it? My Lord then replied, all liked it, and thought it the wisest thing he could do, if he could accomplish it; upon that, Cromwell made a stand, and looking steadfastly in my Lord's face, asked him, And do you believe so too? His Lordship seeing him a little moved, he did believe it was the best thing he could do to secure himself. Cromwell then walked up and down the room, with his hands behind him, in a very thoughtful manner, and at last asked my Lord, What reason he had to be of that belief? His Lordship represented to him how little he could confide in his own party, being, upon every occasion subject to murmur and repine, how unlikely it was for him to continue long in that grandeur; the very same persons who set him up, being willing to pull him down; and, on the other hand, the King, in his great exigencies, would be ready enough to hearken to any proposition, rather than live in exile, so that he might make his own terms with him, and be General of all the forces during life; the loyal party would readily join with him in the work; and if his daughter had children by the King, (which was likely enough) he would thereby be endeared to King and Country,

(10) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

but he managed so dexterously, and shewed so true a desire of serving both parties, without betraying either, that after Ireton's death, which happened before he left Ireland, he was scarce ever suspected by Cromwell, who made him his companion, and thereby fixed him for his friend (*b*). In the year 1656, it was proposed to his Lordship by the Protector, to go down to Scotland with an absolute authority, either because he suspected Monk, or was willing to give the people of that country some satisfaction, who complained of his severity; but Lord Broghill was very unwilling to receive this charge, and took it at last on these singular conditions (*c*). The first was, that he should be left to himself and receive no orders; the second, that no complaints should find credit or procure directions in his absence; and the third, that he should be re-called in a year (*d*). These terms were agreed to and performed on both sides; Broghill acted absolutely enough; complaints came thicker against him than against Monk; but at the end of the year he came himself, disproved them, and gave Cromwell such satisfaction, as made him look on him as his best friend, and the ablest man in his service (*e*). He was very acceptable to the Scots, and gained a great influence over them, by speaking and acting moderately; but more especially by his disinterestedness, and by proceeding according to the dictates of his own reason, and not at all from lights received, or friendships contracted, in that country (*f*). After he came back, he was, with Whitlock and Thurloe, admitted into all the confidence, that could be expected from a person in the Protector's circumstances, who, if he had any chearful moments, spent them in their company, where he appeared quite another person than in the ordinary course of his conduct, which was built on a policy peculiar to his condition, the people he had to deal with, and the critical conjuncture of the times (*g*). There were, no doubt, many in Cromwell's Court that envied and hated Lord Broghill, and did not fail to do him ill offices, but they had no effect; for the custom Cromwell had of taking nothing upon trust, and his experience of Lord Broghill's fidelity in times of the greatest danger, hindered him from giving way to suspicions; as, on the other hand, the circumstances of those times affording frequent opportunities, Lord Broghill lost none of them, but with zeal and prudence took every advantage, and rendered important services to his patron, the Protector (*h*) [*E*]. He stood high in his favour to the last, and it was, no doubt, in some measure

(*b*) See the article CROMWELL (OLIVER) Lord Protector.

(*c*) Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. V. p. 336.

(*d*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*e*) Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 395.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Earl of Castle, p. 33.

(*g*) Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 656.

(*h*) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 414.

Country, and would have such interest in the crown, that no body could ever attempt any thing against him, having a King his son-in-law, and heir apparent to the crown his grand-son, and the whole power of the nation, in his own hands; by all which, his greatness would be for ever established: Whereas, if he neglected these means, he could not expect to transmit his greatness to the next heir; and perhaps, would hardly be able to preserve it, during his own life. Cromwell gave great attention to those reasons; but, walking two or three turns, and pondering with himself, he told Lord Broghill the King would never forgive me the death of his father; his Lordship desires him to employ some body to found the King in this matter, to see how he would take it, and offered himself to mediate in it for him; but Cromwell would not consent, but again repeated, The King cannot, and will not, forgive the death of his father, and so left his Lordship, who durst not tell him he had already dealt with his Majesty in that affair; upon this my Lord withdrew, and meeting Cromwell's wife and daughter, they enquired how he had succeeded, of which, having given them an account, he added, they must try their interest in him; but none could prevail, guilt lay so heavy upon him, that he thought there could be no reconciliation, and so that business broke off.

[*E*] *Rendered important services to his patron the Protector.*] His Lordship always thought he owed his life to Cromwell; and this induced him to be very faithful to him, and very careful of his interest: It very clearly appears in every step he took, both in England and in Ireland; but though Mr Budgell (11) is pleased to compliment the Protector with an understanding superior to that of Lord Broghill, yet I very much doubt whether he received any such gift from nature; and I rather think the contrary, because I find that he allowed his Lordship to take great liberties with him; commonly took his advice, and readily came in to his opinion, though opposite to his own. These, tho' they are certainly testimonies of Cromwell's being a man of parts, and good sense, yet are they proofs at the same time, that Lord Broghill had greater parts, and better sense; nor could it well be otherwise, considering the difference in their education; and the opportunities his Lordship had of knowing much more of the world. His advising the Protector to take the title of King (12), was certainly a proof that he wished

(11) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 63.

(12) See his Reasons for this in the Arguments published on this subject.

him well, though Mr Morrice thinks otherwise; and perhaps his Lordship, after the Restoration, might not be displeased to have it so thought, whatever his sentiments might be, at the time of giving this advice. He always recommended legal measures to the Protector, and persuaded him to behave mildly to all sorts of people. The Protector himself was so sensible of this, that when he had intelligence of the Marquis of Ormond's being in London, he spoke of it to Lord Broghill, and gave him leave to make what use of it he pleased (13). It is true, that not long after he was angry with his Lordship about Lady Ormond, whose papers he had seized, and among them, some tender letters to her Lord, in which were dark hints of designs against his government. Lord Broghill knew his humour, and desired to see those papers, which being complied with, he proved to him that they were not the Lady Ormond's letters, but those of another Lady, with whom the Marquis had both amorous and political intrigues, so that a conversation that began with warmth, ended in laughter; and his Lordship had a double pleasure in undeceiving the Protector, and preserving a very worthy woman from feeling the effects of his ill-grounded resentment (14). His Lordship opposed in parliament, and defeated the blackest measure that Cromwell ever entered into, which was the passing a law for decimating the royal party; and his Lordship's conduct in this, was by far the greatest action of his whole life. He made a fine speech, in which he shewed the injustice, cruelty, and folly, of that proposition; and finding upon the division that he should lose the question, which probably might have ended in losing his life; he had the boldness to say, *that he did not think so many* English-men *could be fond of slavery*; upon which, so many rose and followed him, that the Speaker, without telling, declared from the chair *the* Noes *have it*; and the bill was accordingly thrown out. Upon this he came immediately up to Cromwell, and said, *I have done you this day as great a service as ever I did in my life.* How? returned Cromwell; *By hindering your government*, replied my Lord, *from becoming hateful, which already begins to be disliked; for if this bill had passed, three kingdoms would have risen up against you, and they were your enemies, not your friends, who brought it in* (15). This Cromwell so firmly believed, that he never forgave or trusted them afterwards. A little before the Protector's death, as Lord Broghill

(13) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(14) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 60, 61.

(15) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

measure owing to his gratitude, that he attached himself so firmly as he did to his son and successor Richard. On his assuming the supreme power, none were observed to have more credit with him than Lord Broghill, Dr Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and Col. Philips (*i*); but though they might be commonly called, yet sure they were never, strictly speaking, of his Cabinet-Council, if they had, his administration had been more steady. Indeed, Lord Broghill was capable of being many ways useful to him, as enjoying at that time singular advantages. He was a General Officer in the army in Ireland, a Lord of Oliver's creation, or one of the other house, a Member of Parliament, in which he sat for some place in England, as in former representatives he had sat for Edinburgh, and as knight of the shire for Cork, so that few people could be supposed to have better intelligence, or more extensive influence (*k*). In all probability, therefore, Richard's government might have lasted longer, and done him more honour, if he had really done nothing without the advice of such a Cabinet Council, instead of applying himself on emergencies only to Lord Broghill, who, in such cases, however, was always ready; particularly when he was first attacked by the Council of Officers at Wallingford-House, on which occasion he served him with equal firmness and dexterity (*l*) [*F*]. As this exposed him to the resentment of the warmest and most powerful men at that time in the kingdom, and as there never was a time when private piques were capable of doing even innocent and worthy men more mischief, we need not wonder, that the army-leaders, who

(*i*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 632.

(*k*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677.

(*l*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

Broghill was going with him in his coach to Westminster, and the crowd was so great, they could not get along, his Lordship observed the door of a cobler's stall open several times, and saw something bright behind it; he took his sword from his side, and knocked against the door, upon which a tall man bursted out; and though Cromwell called to his guards to seize him, he made his escape. He was known to be an officer that Cromwell had disobliged in Ireland, and the Protector was so frighted at this design against his life, (for so he justly conceived it) that he would never go that way afterwards (16).

(16) Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 321.

[*F*] *Served him on that occasion with equal firmness and dexterity.*] It is a very singular thing to advance, but that there wants not evidence to support it, that Cromwell did not love his own family so well as Lord Broghill; he was asked upon his death-bed whom he appointed his successor; to which he answered, that in such a closet they would find his will, in which it seems he had named Fleetwood, but one of the Protector's daughters getting first to the drawer, took the will and destroyed it (17). Thus Richard obtained the government against his father's intention, and Lord Broghill endeavoured all he could to maintain him in it, even in spite of his own incapacity. Richard having consented to the meeting of a general council of officers without consulting those, called, his cabinet-council; the Lord Broghill blamed him for it, as of a dangerous consequence to the interest of his Highness, and on the day when the general council was to meet, he went thither with the Lord Howard, and Lord Falconbridge, who promised to assist him, to Wallingford-House (18); they found above five hundred officers assembled, after a long prayer by Dr Owen, major-general Desborough rose up, and in a tedious speech put them in mind, how gracious the Lord had been, and how their aims had prospered, tho' he feared this prosperity would not last long, since several sons of Belial had crept in amongst them, who, in all probability would draw down the judgments of heaven upon them; to prevent this, he thought it would be convenient to purge the army, and that the best method of doing so, would be, to propose a test, which all persons who refuse to take, should be turned out; and the test which he proposed was, that every one should swear, that he did believe in his conscience, that the putting to death the late King Charles Stuart, was lawful and just. This proposal of Desborough's was received with great applause by most of the assembly, who cried out, well moved! and the Lord Howard and Falconbridge thinking it in vain to oppose so apparent a majority, rose up and went to the Protector, to let him know of what was doing. The Lord Broghill, who had his wits about him, tho' vexed to see himself deserted by his two friends, as soon as the assembly was silent, rose up in his place, and said that he was not of the same opinion with the noble Lord who spoke last; that he was against imposing any test upon the army, as a thing which they had often declared against; and if they once came to put tests upon themselves, they would soon have them put upon them by other people, and consequently lose that liberty of conscience for which they so often fought; that he was against the particular test proposed, because he thought it unjust and unreasonable to require men to swear to the lawfulness of an action, which they were not present at; that many gentlemen on whom he had his eye, besides himself, were not present when the late king was put to death, and therefore could not swear to the lawfulness of a proceeding, the circumstances of which, they were unacquainted with; but that if they would have a test to purge the army, he conceived he had as good a right to propose one, as another man; and therefore should take the liberty to propose one, which he hoped would be found more reasonable, and more lawful than that mentioned by the noble Lord, who spoke before him. He then proposed, that all persons should be turned out of the army, who would not swear to defend the established government, under the Protector and Parliament; this test he said was reasonable, since their own being depended upon it, and lawful, because it was to maintain the present government; he added, that if this test should have the ill fortune to be rejected in this council, he would move it the next day in the House of Commons, where he was pretty confident it would meet with a better reception; upon the conclusion of this speech, there was a louder cry of well moved, than when Desborough had spoken before. While the noise continued, and the assembly were in some confusion, Lord Broghill changing his place, and getting between Colonel Whaley and Gough, two hot men, and easily fired, used such arguments to them, that each of them in a warm speech declared for the test, last proposed; Fleetwood and Desborough, with some of their most trusty friends, finding it impossible now to carry the test which would have modelled the army, as they desired, retired to consult what was to be done; after a short stay, they returned to the Council, and declared, that they had seriously considered of what the Lord Broghill had said; they confessed that they had not at first seen all the ill consequences of imposing tests upon the army, but were at presently fully convinced of them; to avoid which, and that they might remain united among themselves, they proposed, that both the tests that had been offered, should be withdrawn, to which the Lord Broghill after some little stiffness, consented. One cannot well conceive how an affair of this nature could be managed with greater dexterity, or presence of mind, and at the same time it gives us so perfect a notion of those times, and the spirit and genius of those who made a figure in them, that I can scarce believe we can meet with either more entertaining or instructive pieces of history, than those we have inserted in the course of this article (19). By them we plainly see, what an effect particular kinds of rule have upon human nature, and how soon the republican spirit had diffused itself through the more active part of this nation; for I presume that in Athens, or Rome, there never happened a freer debate than this, or where the issue was more plainly determined by the power of speaking. —— The next note will confirm this notion by as strong an instance of the same kind.

(17) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(18) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 65, 66, 67. Hist. of the Interregnum from the King's death to the Restoration, chap. ix.

(19) There was a long account of this and other transactions, in a MS. intituled, *Intrigues at Wallingford-House*, once in the Library of the first Earl of Anglesey.

[*G*] As

who were also in the House of Commons, transferred the campaign thither, and laboured to raise a spirit against him there, who had already got the better of them in another place. But in this too they miscarried, though their scheme was well laid, for his Lordship as easily baffled his own enemies in Parliament, as he had done the Protector's in the Council of Officers (m) [G]. But though he was so well able to defend his own power, he soon found it was impossible to support Richard, who wanted courage to maintain his own power, and firmness to retire into the city, and there declare for bringing back the King, and for a free Parliament, either of which, had he been well advised, or rather, could he have taken good advice, might have been very practicable (n). But when Lord Broghill saw, that the honesty and good nature of Richard Cromwell would infallibly render him a prey to his enemies, of whom some were of his own houshold, he did not think it at all necessary to sink with a man he could not save. He had advised him honestly on both the topicks beforementioned, and therefore, as soon as he had dissolved the Parliament, Lord Broghill thought the Government subverted, and himself absolved from all ties to the Cromwell family, considered as that of a Prince (o). To secure himself, therefore, at least from immediate danger, and to be out of the way of those new troubles which he foresaw would begin soon, he resolved to go over to his command in Ireland, which he accordingly did; but he was very cautious and expeditious in his journey, and thereby over-reached Fleetwood the third time, who had caused some steps to be taken in order to seize him, but too late, and which served only to convince his Lordship, how happy a thing it was for him, that he so prudently withdrew out of reach (p). As soon as he was fairly settled in Munster, he began to enquire, but with much circumspection, into the temper, interests, and power, of the several officers of the army in that kingdom; but before he was in any condition to work upon their sentiments, or discover his own, he was summoned by the Parliament Commissioners at Dublin to appear before them, which without hesitation he did, and though they had taken a resolution to confine him, yet he answered all they objected to him so clearly, and threw them into such a dilemma, by demanding the sole power of Munster upon their asking if he would undertake to keep it quiet, that they were glad to send him back, with an admonition to be true to them, to which he answered, he had been, and would be, always true, to the English and Protestant interest in that country (q). He soon saw, after his return to his command, that there subsisted no longer any kind of harmony amongst the officers, and that the body of the army were anxious for such a settled authority, as might secure to them the lands assigned them in that kingdom; these he judged to be circumstances favourable to his sincere design, of restoring the King and legal constitution, and as he conceived this rightly, he conducted it prudently, and accomplished it happily (r) [H]. It is somewhat strange, that

(m) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432.

(n) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(o) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, MS.

(p) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 203.

(q) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part. ii. p. 2. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 449.

(r) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 85. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 450.

[G] *As easily baffled his own enemies in Parliament, as he had done the Protector's in the Council of Officers.*] In order to give a clear account of this matter, we are to resume the thread of the story from the last note. The Council of Officers broke up about eight at night, upon which Lord Broghill went directly to the Protector, Richard, whom he found with the Lords Howard and Falconbridge; having gently reproached these two noblemen for having deserted him in the day of battle, he was answered, that finding it impossible to oppose the torrent, and that Fleetwood and Desborough were sure of carrying their point, they thought themselves obliged to come away, and inform the Protector what was doing. The Lord Broghill then, to their no small surprize and satisfaction, gave an account of his success; but added, that he plainly saw, their council would do mischief if they were suffered to sit any longer (20); he therefore humbly advised the Protector to dissolve them immediately. Richard asked in what manner he should do it; Lord Broghill answered, that if his Highness pleased, he would draw up a short speech for him, which he might deliver the next morning at the general council, after having sat amongst them about an hour. Richard promised he would do so, upon which, Broghill immediately drew up a short speech; the next day at ten in the morning, the Protector, as had been agreed, went to the council, and, to the surprize of the assembly, seated himself in a chair of state, which had been placed there for him, after having listened to their debates about an hour, he rose up, and with a much better grace than was expected, delivered himself to this effect (21). *Gentlemen*, 'I thankfully accept of your services, I have considered your grievances, and think the properest method to redress what is amiss amongst you, is, to do it in the Parliament now sitting, and where I will take care you shall have justice done you. I therefore declare my commission for holding this assembly to be void, and that this general-council is now dissolved; and I desire that such of you as are not members of Parliament, will repair forthwith to your respective commands.' This speech, tho' extremely mild, was a thunder-clap in the ears of *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and all their party. They immediately guessed the Lord *Broghill* was the *author* of it (22), and resolved to fall upon him in Parliament; accordingly, when the *house* met, they complained (with their eyes fixed on Lord *Broghill*) *that they had been highly abused and affronted by a certain noble Lord in that assembly, that they thought themselves obliged to demand satisfaction, and therefore humbly moved, that an address should be presented to his Heighness, the Protector, to know who advised him to dissolve the council of war, without the consent or knowledge of his Parliament.* Some of Lord *Broghill*'s friends who saw the storm was pointed at him, made signs to him to withdraw; his Lordship however sat still 'till his enemies had done scolding, when he rose up and spoke in the following manner; *Mr Speaker*, 'I am not against presenting this address, but humbly move, that another may be presented to the Protector at the same time, to know who advised the calling of a General-Council of officers, without the consent or knowledge of the Parliament; for surely if the man is guilty, who advised the dissolution of this Council, those people are much more guilty, who durst advise his Highness to call such a Council, without either the knowledge or consent of his Parliament.' The house, who suspected the Council of officers no friend to their power, was highly pleased with this second motion; they cryed out, *well moved!* and *Fleetwood* had the mortification to see himself baffled a second time, by the dexterity of the Lord *Broghill*.

(20) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(21) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 71, 72.

(22) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432, 433.

[H] *Conducted it prudently, and accomplished it happily.*] It is not easy to conceive an enterprize more difficult or dangerous than this undertaken by Lord Broghill, and undertaken too, at a time, when, as we have seen, he was greatly suspected by such as had the supreme authority in Ireland, and who had besides a sufficient measure of power to have secured and crushed him, if any circumstance of his design came to their knowledge before it was ripened to such a degree, as might enable him to oppose, force by force (23); yet under

(23) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 83.

that after taking so much pains, and running so many hazards in bringing this important enterprize to bear, very few of our publick or general Histories, ascribe so much to him in this particular as he deserved; some accuse him of backwardness (s), others excuse his slowness in such a manner (t) as amounts to a new charge, and almost all agree, that, in this great event, he acted as an assistant or second to Sir Charles Coote (u). But upon a strict and impartial examination it will appear, that none of these imputations ought to stick on his memory, since there are the strongest proofs his loyal intentions were clear, his conduct prudent and discreet, and his declaration prior, in point of time, to Sir

(s) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 731.

(t) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 203.

(u) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 753.

under all these difficulties, and in the midst of so many dangers, he determined to hazard every thing for the King's Restoration, but at the same time, addressed himself to the carrying on of this work with all the secrecy and circumspection that was necessary; both to prevent the Parliament Commissioners from gaining any intelligence, and to secure to himself a party strong enough to deal with those, who either from principle, or interest, might be absolutely irreconcilable to the return of the Royal Family, and the reviving of the old constitution in Church and State, the number and force of which party, no man living knew better than he did, or consequently how to deal with them. He sounded all the officers in his own regiments of horse, and regiment of foot, and found them very well disposed to follow his fortunes, only the Governor of Limerick, Colonel Wilson (24), not being immediately under his command, he was for some time cautious of trusting him; but as that strong place would have been an insurmountable impediment to his design, he resolved to venture and try what he could do with him; accordingly he sent a messenger to desire him to come to my Lord as privately as he could, because he had something of the last importance to confer with him about. When the governor came, he took him into his closet, and after due preparation, began at first to discourse in general, of the present state of affairs, how unsettled they were; adding, *What think you, Colonel?* the latter replied, that he could wish they were otherwise, and settled some way or other; the Lord Broghill continued the discourse thus: *I see plainly that those at the helm, will rather unsettle, than settle them; and therefore it would be well if some man of spirit would stir and try to bring things into a better order, for they cannot last as they are now.* The Colonel said, you, my Lord, are a fit man to stir, I wonder why you don't? The Lord Broghill replied, *I am not a man of any great interest, and am suspected already.* No doubt, says the Colonel, many persons will be glad to join with you in so necessary an undertaking, for my part, I will be one; *Well then,* replied my Lord, *will you indeed join with me in any good design?* the Colonel answered, I will, there's my hand, and will stick close to you to the death; Lord Broghill proceeded, *These kingdoms will never be well without a* Free-Parliament, *every one complains of the oppressions of Committees, will you join with me in declaring for a* Free-Parliament? I will, says the Colonel, with all my heart I will. *Will you do it continued my Lord, if there were a King at the bottom?* The Colonel answered, I like it the better; then Lord Broghill acquainted him, what his intentions were, to send to his Majesty and invite him to come to Ireland, where all Munster was ready to receive him, adding, that he would send to Sir Charles Coote in the North, and to Colonel Monk, in Scotland, to desire them to declare for the same thing; which the Colonel highly approved of, and vowed that he would live and die with him in it; my Lord enjoined him to secrecy, upon which the whole matter depended, and the Colonel immediately swore it. After which he returned to Limerick, to prepare for putting the design in execution, and by a gentleman who accompanied him thither from Lord Broghill's house, he returned a letter to my Lord, in which he said, that he wrote it, and subscribed it purposely with his own hand, that if ever he proved false, that letter might rise up in judgment against him. The Lord Broghill dispatched a gentleman whom he could confide in, to Sir Charles Coote, in the North of Ireland, to dispose him to engage with him in declaring for a Free-Parliament, which Coote did very readily, wanting only such an invitation from a person of name and interest, for he had taken disgust at the superiority of Lieutenant-General Ludlow, and the Parliament's Commissioners, and thought that his services which had been very eminent, were not sufficiently rewarded by the Presidency of Connaught; when the gentleman returned from Sir Charles Coote, and told the Lord Broghill, what his resolution was, his Lordship procured a letter signed by most of the chief officers in Ireland, to invite the King, then at Brussels, into that kingdom, Lord Broghill's brother, the Lord Shannon, was sent with this letter, which his Majesty received before matters were quite settled with Monk, and resolved to embark at Calais for Cork; where the Lord Broghill promised to receive him with a good force, but before he could take shipping, an address came from the Convention in England, which invited him thither, and put off the voyage to Ireland; in the mean time it began to be rumoured, that Broghill and Coote had intelligence with Monk, and that their design was for a Free-Parliament; Coote, impatient of delay, made that declaration, having engaged a good part of the army in Ireland to join with him in it. Colonel Brayfield, Governor of Athlone, refusing to do it, Sir Charles brought down his forces before it, and by tampering with some of the garrison, and affirming that Brayfield would deliver them up to him, prevailed with them to open the gates of the castle, and betray the Governor into his hands; Colonel Temple, possessed himself of Carlow, and turned out Colonel Pretty; Captain Lisle dispossessed Colonel Desborough of Drogheda; Colonel Fouke, assisted by the cavaliers, seized Youghal; Major Stanley, had done the same at Clonmell; Colonel Cooper was removed from his command in the North, and a friend of Coote's put into it with little or no opposition, and less still in Munster; where the Lord Broghill declared for a Free-Parliament, tho' not so hastily as Sir Charles Coote did, which occasioned a letter from the latter to his Lordship, wherein he tells him that the design of declaring for a Free-Parliament, began to take vent, and I am therefore, says he, forced to declare before the time determined, least I should be circumvented or hindred by the Rump-party; upon which account I desire your Lordship forthwith to do the same, that the whole force of the enemy may not be employed against me, but may be divided; remember your Lordship first put me upon this design, and therefore should not leave me, in what you first put me upon. Lord Broghill, who was ready to begin the work, if he had thought the time proper for it, could not help thinking that Coote had precipitated it; yet finding he had done so, resolved to support him, and accordingly declared for a Free-Parliament, which was then understood to be the King, whom they did not care directly to mention, it being made treason by so many laws, by this means the Parliament party were thrown into great perplexity, and knew not what method to take, being confined between the two powers, and Lord Broghill and Coote met with as little opposition as could well be expected, from persons who were in possession of the government. The gentlemen sent Captain Campbell to Colonel Mook, to acquaint him with their proceedings, but he had no more concern in the revolution in Ireland, than Lord Broghill had in that of England (25); it may however be affirmed, that this great turn of affairs in Ireland, could not but influence those of England in some measure, as it rendered it very apparent, that if the King was not brought in to prevent a war, nothing but a war could keep him out, and in making such a war, it had been very difficult for such as were most averse to the Royal Cause, to find officers and troops that they could trust, for tho' there might be many among the former, that did not love the King, yet at the same time they hated each other so heartily, that they were in no condition of acting in such manner as would have been requisite to oppose him (26), more especially after it became evident, that both Scotland and Ireland would declare for him.

(24) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(25) History of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 449.

(26) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677, & seq.

[*I*] *Which*

Sir Charles Coote's, which are points that deserve to be discussed (*w*) [*I*]. He it was, that conducted the great step of recovering the castle of Dublin, which Sir Hardress Waller had found means to secure, after it's being seized by the officers well affected to the King; he it was, that conducted all things in the Convention, and, by slow and sure steps, led on that great change, in a manner equally happy for Prince and people; and he it was, made a just and honest stand for the Protestant interest against the Papists, who, though they began his father's troubles, would never yield Charles II. obedience, and at this time had not moved a finger in his quarrel, were now very loyal in their expressions, and thence hoped to run away with the reward (*x*). But Lord Broghill coming over to England, prevented many inconveniencies that might have happened, gave the King and his Ministers true notions of the affairs of that country, explained the views, and stated the force, of the several parties there, and pointed out the true means of bringing

(*w*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 83, 84, 85.

(*x*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

[*I*] *Which are points that deserve to be discussed.*] The great abilities, the great services, and the great favour, that Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, was in, drew upon him, as might be naturally expected, a heavy load of envy; and it has been, in some measure, the misfortune of that Nobleman, that those who were least acquainted with his affairs, as well as least satisfied with his conduct, have undertaken to give the world an account of it, which perhaps, has been too easily, and too generally believed. As for instance, the noble historian speaks of him thus (27). 'The Lord Broghill, who was president of Munster, and of a very great interest and influence upon that whole province, though he had great wariness in discovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated Lambert so much, that he less feared the King, and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his Majesty service; and he had a good post and a good party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.' One may very easily perceive that the Earl of Clarendon had conceived an ill opinion of Lord Broghill, and wrote under the influence of that conception, which induced him to think there was very little loyalty in that Lord's declaring for the King; but the business is to know whether the Earl's opinion was well founded; and there are many, and those unquestionable proofs, that it was not; but that Lord Broghill was always a loyal subject, and always esteemed so by such as knew him best, both frends and enemies. While the Irish war lasted, he thought it his duty to do his utmost in favour of the Protestant interest; and to do this, he served under the Parliament, in which he wanted not both rational and legal justifications (28). In 1648, when it was visible that their army had got the better of the Parliament, it appears, by a letter from the Marquis of Ormond to Lord Broghill, that the latter had offered himself, and all that was in his power, for the support of the royal cause (29). When he found it out of his power to stir in Ireland, he came over to live privately in England; but conceiving it dishonourable to remain at his ease, while his master knew not where to hide his head, he wrote a letter to King Charles II, and offered him his service. A copy of this letter, and of the King's answer, was found in Secretary Cowper's cabinet, at the taking of Guernsey castle, and sent to the Parliament, who resolved to take his life for it. But Cromwell knowing how useful he might be in Ireland, offered to be bound body for body, that he should drop his former design, and enter into their service, which he did, but not 'till he had asked the King's leave, who gave it with this getle restriction, *that when he was less in danger, he should remember his duty* (30). How he served in that war has been shewn, and against whom; but Cromwell still suspected, and Ireton hated him. Nay, after Lord Broghill had been in Scotland, and had done him so much service there, he could not obtain leave to return to his command in Ireland, because Henry Cromwell represented to his father, that his interest in that country was so great, and his intentions to serve the royal family so well known, that it would not be safe to let him come there (31). It is indeed true that he had thoughts of shewing his loyalty to the King, without being ungrateful to Cromwell, or to his family, for whom he had much tenderness and respect, but even this was done not without hazard, for Oliver had his spies abroad, and when Lord Broghill, in company with the Protector's children, Lord Falconbridge and Lord Carlisle, had drank the King's health, one evening at the Bear at the Bridge-Foot, the Protector had notice of it before they got home, but thought fit to pass it by, for which his Lordship had not the less obligation to him (32). It is said that he managed his design in Ireland for the King's restoration with great secrecy, and this is ascribed to a certain habit in him, and surely that was no bad habit, since Sir George Booth about the same time had like to have lost his life, by declaring precipitately (33). But Sir Charles Coote sent over Sir Arthur Forbes to the King at Brussels, before Monk declared. And what then? Lord Broghill also sent over his brother, the Lord Shannon, with a Letter quilted in the neck of his doublet, signifying, that he had secured the town of Cork, and had a body of five thousand old Protestant troops ready for his Majesty's service (34). It is indeed true, that after the King came to London, he suffered himself in some measure, to be persuaded that Sir Charles Coote was the first man that stirr'd for him in Ireland, but Lord Broghill soon set this to rights, by sending the King Sir Charles Coote's letter upon his declaring, in which was the following paragraph, than which nothing can be clearer: *Remember, my Lord, that you first put me upon this design, and I beseech you forsake me not in that which you first put me upon, which was to declare for the King and Parliament* (35). This, as might be well expected, placed every thing in a proper light; his Lordship was soon after made Earl of Orrery, sworn of the King's Privy-Council, appointed one of the Lords-Justices, and Lord President of Munster. To shew that these favours were not the effects of policy, but of a sincere sense of nis Lordship's merit, the following letter will appear a most convincing proof, tho' wrote two years after the Restoration (36).

The King to the Earl of Orrery.

'MY Lord Orrery, I am so sensible of the many services you have done me, as I am ashamed this should be the first letter to thank you for them; and though I have been failing to you in this kind, I assure you I will never be wanting to myself and you in the essential part of what I owe so good a servant as you are to me, and be confident, that upon all occasions you shall find the value and kindness I have for you. I hope in a few days to dispatch the Act of Settlement with the rest you sent for my approbation, and will make all possible speed to send my Lord-Lieutenant to you, whereby the intire settlement of that kingdom may be finished, and I may receive the benefit of that which you have been so instrumental in. I shall not now enter into the particular thanks for every service you have done me; I should not have room in this sheet to say any thing else; but in the general, I hope you are so just to me as to believe I have that sense of them I ought to have. I will now tell you that I have read your first play, which I like very well, and do intend to bring it upon the stage as soon as my company have their new stage in order, that the scenes may be worthy the words they are to set forth, for the last I have only seen in my Lord-Lieutenant's hands, but will read it as soon as I have leisure. I have no more to say to you at present, but assure you, I am,

White-hall, Feb. 26th, 1662. Your very affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.'

(27) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 731.

(28) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 186.

(29) Carte's Hist. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 589.

(30) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(31) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 563.

(32) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(33) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677.

(34) Love's Memoirs as above.

(35) Bugdell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 87.

(36) Orrery's Letters, p. 65.

bringing all things in that kingdom into regularity and order (*y*). In consideration of, as well as an incontestible proof of, these well-timed and essential services, his Majesty, by letters patent bearing date Sept. 5, 1660, advanced him to the honour of Earl of Orrery in the county of Cork (*z*); and Sir Maurice Eustace, a fast friend of the Duke of Ormond's, being appointed Chancellor, Roger Earl of Orrery, and Charles (Coote) Earl of Montrath, were, with him, made Lords-Justices, about the close of that memorable year (*a*). In the month of January following, he went over to that kingdom, and entered on the discharge of his high office (*b*). But we are told by some who wrote Memoirs of his Life, that he rendered a most singular service to the Protestants in Ireland before his departure, which totally defeated the schemes formed by the Irish, to render his Majesty's Declaration, as to the settlement of that kingdom, void and ineffectual, at least in a great measure (*c*). But I must acknowledge, that upon examining the matter strictly, and comparing all it's circumstances, one cannot help suspecting there is some mistake, either as to the fact itself, or in the manner of relating it. The passage, however, is curious, and as there is reason to doubt whether it was ever before called in question, it shall be particularly examined in the notes [*K*]. His conduct, during the time

(*y*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 3. Carte's Hist of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 21?.

(*z*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p 262.

(*a*) See the Table of Chief Officers of the Crown, &c. in the second Volume of the English Translation of Ware's Works.

(*b*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

(*c*) See this point clearly stated in note [*K*.]

[*K*] *It shall be particularly examined in the notes.*] One great design of this work is to rectify the mistakes made by general historians, in reference to personal history, and the opposite error to this; the transgressions of private memoir writers, against the truth of general history. It is commonly observed in respect to such as compose the memoirs, characters, or histories, of eminent persons, that they are carried to such undertakings, either from a grateful sense of favours conferred upon them; from a particular knowledge of some of the principal points, of which they undertake to write, or from a warm affection for the cause and conduct of the person whose memory they celebrate. It must be allowed, that all these are not only just but laudable motives to works of this sort; yet still they suppose a biass in favour of the person, whose actions are thus preserved, such a prejudice is not only incident to, but inseparable from, human nature, and tho' in strictness she must allow it a weakness, yet it is such a weakness as ought to be corrected without censure, which is what I aim at in this note. The noble person of whom I am speaking, made so great a figure in his life-time, that several persons undertook to write memoirs of his actions from their own knowledge, and the notices they received from their Friends, and tho' in general those performances are very useful, and let us into the truth of several transactions, about which we should be otherwise in the dark; yet they are not totally free from defects, as will be evident from the instance we are now going to give, and in order to place this in as clear a light as it is possible, we will first of all state the matter as these writers have represented it, and then shew to what objections their account is liable, how far it agrees with, and in what circumstances there are good grounds to suspect it deviates from truth. As for their account it runs thus (37). The Irish Roman Catholicks soon after the King's return, presented a petition to him by Sir Nicholas Plunket, and others commissioned for that purpose, to desire they might be restored to their estates. This in effect would have ruined the Protestants, who chose the Earls of Orrery, Montrath, and six more to oppose their adversaries, before the King and the Council. The Irish Commissioners were so apprehensive of the Earl's eloquence, and addres upon such occasion, that Mr Morrice, his chaplain, assures us, they came to him, and offered him eight thousand pounds in money, and to settle estates of seven thousand pounds per ann. upon him and his heirs, if he would not appear against them at the council-board. But the Earl rejected this proposal with a generous disdain, and told them, that since he had the honour to be employed by the Protestants, he would never have the baseness to betray them. This great cause was heard at length in a very solemn manner, before the King and Council; where, when the Irish Commissioners had offered all they thought proper, and expatiated upon the loyalty of their principles, the Earl, after an handsome compliment to the King, boldly affirmed that his Protestant subjects in Ireland were the first that formed an effectual party for restoring him, which the King readily bore witness to. He then represented, that the Irish Papists after the cessation of arms, had sent no assistance to the late King, as they had promised to do, and would have cut off the Marquis of Ormond, his Majesty's Lord-Lieutenant, at Kilkenny, which Lord Ormond averred to be true, and that they refused to receive him into Limerick, but endeavoured to intercept and murder him, in his return to Dublin. Then the Earl of Orrery produced a paper signed by Plunket, and several of the supreme council at Kilkenny, asking him if it was not his hand, and if the hands of others of them, then present, were not of their writing. The Marquis of Ormond seeing it, cry'd, Sir Nicholas Plunket, that is certainly of your writing; which neither he nor the others could deny, and it being read, appeared to be an order of the supreme council to prosecute the Marquis of Ormond by name, then Lord-Lieutenant, and his party, with fire and sword: Upon which the Earl of Orrery said, those must be very loyal subjects indeed, that had declared war against his Majesty's Commissioners! He added; it will be proved to this most Honourable Board, that the Irish did not only declare war against his Majesty's Lieutenant, but that Sir Nicholas Plunket himself had been impowered by them by a commission under the hands of the supreme council, which he also produced, and the Irish Commissioners could not deny the hand writing of Plunket, and others of them, ' to offer ' the Pope the Kingdom of Ireland; and if he refused ' it, to offer it to the King of Spain; and in case he ' would not accept of it, to make the same offer to ' the King of France, the Duke of Lorrain, or any ' other catholick Prince.' Then his Lordship shewed the council another paper subscribed as before, and desired it might be read. It was a petition drawn up by the hands of the Irish nation, about the transplantation; wherein they gave the commonwealth parliament, the stile and title of the supreme authority, acknowledging it to be justly and lawfully lodged in their assembly, to whom they submitted their lives and fortunes: Upon this the Irish petition was rejected, and Plunket and the other Popish deputies were forbidden the King's presence and Court. The Earl of Montrath, and the six other Protestant Commissioners, were very inquisitive to know how the Earl of Orrery procured these papers, and why he had not communicated them to his fellow-commissioners, before the hearing. His Lordship told them, That he would not trust his brother with them, for fear that if it were known he had such original papers, the Papists, who were confident of success without such evidence against them, might use some art or other to render them ineffectual, which if they were surprized with them they could not do. He said that the manner of his coming by such originals, was very extraordinary. That upon his being named one of the Deputies of Ireland, a plain, grave, country gentleman came to his house in Munster, and desired to speak with him in private; and being admitted, he said, ' That he heard his Lordship was going to court ' in such a commission, and knowing him to be a ' a man of integrity, he had brought some papers, ' which he thought would be useful to him for the ' English interest, against the Irish; that he would ' not trust his own son with them, and therefore came ' in person to wait upon his Lordship, and deliver ' them to him.' The Earl asked how he procured them? The gentleman replied, that he had had such a commission in the army, and one of his soldiers, in rifling the house of a papist of distinction, brought away these papers, which he took from him, and laid them

(37) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. vi. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 491. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 106, & seq.

time of his being at the head of the government there, was such as contributed to make the subjects easy and contented; and his moderation, in conjunction with the same good quality in his colleagues, helped to reconcile all the jarring parties and different religions in that kingdom to a quiet obedience, at least, of the new establishment (d). When, therefore, the Earl of Montrath, who had so generously concurred with him in the King's Restoration, was removed by death, his Lordship together with the Lord Chancellor Eustace, were continued, and sworn again Lords-Justices, Jan. 14, 1661 (e). He gave all the necessary lights, to the King and his Ministry, as to the affairs of that island, by which they proceeded here; he drew the bill of settlement with his own hand, by which he came nearer the character of a Legislator, than almost any modern Statesman our History has recorded. For by this he fixed the property, and gave titles to their estates to a whole nation; and as it was the work of his head to contrive, so it was left to his industry and influence to get passed, the Act of Settlement, which he performed to the lasting security of the Protestant interest in Ireland. It is very remarkable, that as great a service as this was to the English nation, as much as it contributed to the ease and safety of the government, and as far as it went in composing the disputes that were almost ready to have kindled a new flame in Ireland, yet nobody disputed this merit with the Earl of Orrery (f). The Act of Settlement, though as just and reasonable as a law of so general a nature could be, did not satisfy every body. The Irish Papists were provoked, the enthusiastick Fanaticks were ill pleased, and though the wiser, better, and major part of the people saw good cause to be grateful and content, yet those who were otherwise, were by much the more restless, clamorous, and uneasy; and all these discharged their gall very freely on Orrery (g). When matters were brought into this condition, and all things wore a peaceable and regular aspect, his Lordship was discharged of the burthen of government, his Grace the Duke of Ormond being sworn Lord-Lieutenant, July 28, 1662, and the Earl of Orrery remitted to his more confined exercise of power in his province of Munster (h). But in this situation he continued to labour all in his power for the publick advantage, giving such lights and informations to the Duke of Ormond as he desired, and which, as they are still preserved, remain indelible proofs of his publick spirit, and private friendship (i). Amongst other great services rendered in this manner, one was in the following year, 1663, when he acquainted the Lord-Lieutenant with a design formed for seizing Dublin-castle, and which is commonly called Jephson's plot (k) [L]. His Lordship's active and free course of life had brought upon him some diseases and infirmities, which gave him much pain and uneasiness, and a fever that fell into his feet, joined with the gout with which he was often afflicted, abated much of that vigour which he had shewed in the earlier part of his life; but his industry and application were still the same, and bent to the same purposes, as appears from his letters, which shew at once a capacity and an attention to business, which does honour to that age, and

(d) Lawrence's Interest of Ireland, Part iii. p. 99.

(e) See the large Table of supreme Governors and great officers in Ireland, in the second Volume of Sir James Ware's Works.

(f) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's State Letters.

(g) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 224.

(h) Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

(i) See his Letters during 1663, 1664, and 1665.

(k) Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

them up safe, to be made use of upon occasion, and none could be more proper than the present. —— It is very true, that soon after the Restoration, and while the Convention was sitting at Dublin, Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Sir Charles Coote, afterwards Earl of Montrath, and others, were sent over to represent the desires of the nation to the King; and it is also true, that these Commissioners supported the cause of the Protestants against such as appeared on behalf of the Irish Papists (38); but I do not find that Plunket was then their agent. Many months after this, when the Parliament was sitting, and the Earl of Orrery was one of the Lords-Justices, Commissioners were appointed to support the Act of Settlement in England, and those chosen by the house of Lords were the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Viscount Montgomery, the Bishop of Elphin, and the Lord Kingston (39). After this, in 1661, the Lords-Justices sent the Bishop of Cork, the Lord Kingston, and Mr Piggot, then Master of the Wards, as their agents to England, and these were the persons that produced the papers in question, and defeated all the endeavours of Sir Nicholas Plunket, and the rest of the Irish agents, by producing the instructions of Plunket, as is very evident, from the order of council, dated at Whitehall, March 14, 1661-2, in which the whole affair is very clearly stated (40). At this time the Earl of Orrery was one of the Lords-Justices, and in Ireland; the Earl of Montrath died the 18th of October preceding the transaction; and Mr Carte informs us, that the Bishop of Cork had, by some means or other, found the originals of the instruments before mentioned, and was the person who produced them at the council-table (41). As for the Earl of Orrery's zeal for the Protestant interest, the offers made him by the Irish Papists, and his rejecting them, they may be, and probably were true; but as to the Earl of Orrery's producing these papers at the council-table, after they had fallen into his hands, in so extraordinary a manner, it is plain they are circumstauces added at random, and have no foundation in truth.

(38) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 212.

(39) Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, from the Restoration to the Revolution, p. 133.

(40) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 5.

(41) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 244, 245.

[L] *And which is commonly called Jephson's plot.*] We have in another place given the reader some account of this insurrection, and shall not therefore dwell upon it here. That it was discovered by the Earl of Orrery to the Lord-Lieutenant, appears to have been a thing of notoriety in those days (42), tho' there is no particular account of it in his Lordship's letters, but the following epistle from his most gracious master, which is preserved among them, will put the matter of fact entirely out of doubt, and establish this point of service as effectually as can be desired.

(42) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 6.

King Charles II. to the Earl of Orrery (43).

(43) Orrery's Letters, p. 71.

'MY Lord of Orrery. Though I had before I received your's of May 23, a relation of the conspiracy against the castle of Dublin, from my Lord of Ormond, as also of the part you had in the discovery of it: Yet I was glad to read in your's many more particulars, especially for the application you used, to prevent the further growth of this villany, which was so much, according to my judgment, that I cannot but recommend to you the same manner of proceeding, if we shall be so unhappy as to meet with any more such occasions. In the mean time I desire you to be assured, that I have all the value I ought to have for your person, and affection to my service, and that I shall on all occasions requite it as

White-hall, June 13th 1663. Your very affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.'

(l) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(m) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(n) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, ubi supra.

(o) See this explained in note [P].

(p) Orrery's Letters, p. 114—298.

(q) See his correspondence during that time, in his Letters.

(r) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 238. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 257. Cox's History of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 5, 9.

(s) Orrery's Letters, p. 237.

(t) See the vast importance of this Port, explained by the Earl himself in his Letters to the Duke of Ormond, July 18, 1667, p. 271.

(u) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

and may serve as an example for this (l). But on particular emergencies, when the State could not be served by speeches or pen and ink, the Earl of Orrery forgot his ill state of health and infirmities to such a degree, as shewed how far publick spirit can supply all things, even youth and strength, to such as are truly affected therewith. On the King's signifying his desire of seeing his Lordship in England, he went over in 1665, and found things at Court in some disorder (m). His Majesty had taken a resolution of removing the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High-Chancellor, on account of his behaving so imperiously, that one of his Majesty's complaisant temper could no longer bear it; and he had so good an opinion of the Earl of Orrery's judgment, integrity, and fitness for that high employment, that he offered him the Seals, as Lord-Keeper, which, however, he declined, on account of his want of bodily vigour, which the King did not take at all amiss (n). But he accepted, and performed, a most difficult and disagreeable commission from his master, which was to expostulate with his brother the Duke of York, and bring him to ask pardon for some steps he had taken to support the Chancellor, and that, by the Earl of Orrery's persuasion, he was brought to do. In this situation of things, standing equally well with the royal brothers, he might have had any thing, but his Lordship desired no more than he had, and therefore, as soon as he had done what was expected from him here, he went back again to Ireland, neither greater nor richer than he came from thence; and though no creature of Clarendon's, yet no mighty friend to the Ministers that supplanted him (o). On his coming back to Munster, he found himself called to a new scene of action. The first Dutch war was then at it's height, and the French acting also in confederacy with them, and both using all their endeavours, to rake together the scattered ashes of rebellion, and by countenancing the regicides, and other dangerous persons abroad, to spirit up an insurrection either in England or Ireland, he, who knew better than any man, how to deal with and discover the intrigues of the Fanaticks, was put to keep a constant guard against their secret contrivances, and at the same time was obliged to watch with equal diligence, the attemps that might be made on the coasts, by the enemies joint naval force (p). How he discharged his trust in both, is largely set forth by his own pen, not in a studied account of his own services, but in papers occasionally written in direction to others, or to desire from the Lord-Lieutenant, with whom he stood then in high favour, instructions for himself (q). The scheme formed by the Duke de Beaufort, Admiral of France, for a descent upon Ireland, and securing the noble harbour of Kingsale, was defeated by the Earl of Orrery, who discovered all the alacrity of a young man in repairing thither, assembling a force sufficient to cover the town and port, and guns to mount upon the works; at the same time that he also shewed the judgment and experience of an old Statesman, in laying hold of so fair an opportunity, to make the fright of the people, and the alarm of the Government, turn to the advantage of the country, by procuring a fort and regular fortifications to be erected (r). This was afterwards done under the direction of his Lordship, who had thereby an opportunity of signalizing his skill (which was great) as an engineer in the construction of Fort Charles, and of demonstrating, which was very singular, his publick spirit as a Patriot, by contributing his private credit, and advancing his own money for the service of the nation (s). By his care in this particular, one of the best ports in the British dominions was put into a proper state of defence against enemies, and rendered a most commodious refuge in time of war, both for our East and West India fleets (t). But in the midst of all his labours, and in spite of all his services, in 1667, a dispute arose between him and his old friend the Duke of Ormond (u), then Lord-Lieutenant, of which it is necessary, and therefore I have said somewhat, though it is but too visible, that after all that can be said, in a great measure, posterity will remain still in the dark as to the true grounds of this quarrel [M].

But

[M] *Posterity will remain still in the dark, as to the true grounds of this quarrel.*] It may to some seem tedious and to others trifling, to descend into a close examination of the differences and disputes between great men, who lived at such a distance of time. But when it is considered that these disputes, tho' private at the beginning, became at last of a publick nature, and produced first an attempt to frame an impeachment against the Duke of Ormond; and in revenge of this, the actual forming an impeachment against the Earl of Orrery, and this, in so short a space, after they were both highly advanced in honour, and closely united in friendship; I say, whoever considers this, cannot think such an enquiry trivial; or, if kept within proper bounds, tedious. We read with great pleasure, in Mr Bayle's admirable performance, differences and disputes of far less consideration, and with which, in comparison of these, we have little or nothing to do. Besides, this dispute had very considerable consequences: Some attribute thereto the removal of the Duke of Ormond from the Lieutenancy of Ireland; but whether this was so or not, most certain it is, that it produced the suppression of the Lord President's court in Munster, which is a point of such importance, as renders any thing relating to it worth knowing. It is evident, that the coldness began on the side of the Duke of Ormond, and is thus accounted for by his historian (44).

(44) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 365.

'Lord Orrery gave the Duke of Ormond an early 'account of his being sollicited in this manner; but 'it was only in general, and he would not discover 'the persons who had thus endeavoured to draw him 'into their combination, that his Grace might know 'against whose designs he was to guard himself. Nor 'did he ever give him the least notice of the King's 'letter. He had promised to let the Duke know 'what was like to be objected against him, and in 'performance of that promise, had sent him some 'articles, which his Grace deemed too senseless to be 'real, and his jealousy being already raised, he suspected some of them to be that nobleman's inventions.'

It may seem a little strange, that so wise a man as the Duke of Ormond, should take ill the notices given him by a man of Lord Orrery's quality, who made high professions of friendship to him, and, for any thing that appears to the contrary, was really his friend. But the news being unwelcome in itself, could not be well relished, from whatever hand it came. His Grace however had afterwards very full satisfaction

as

But upon what grounds soever it began, both Peers very soon felt the bad effects of it, and resorted into England, to defend their respective interests and pretensions, both having been attacked by their secret enemies, who suggested many things to their prejudice, as well as that, if their power was once taken away, all that was alledged would be speedily and fully made good (*w*). Such were the methods practised in those days, and perhaps since, to bring down great men, and against such methods, Who can be safe? But after all it is certain, that the King's affections to him were not easily shaken [*N*]. His coming over to England at that time, and the rumours which prevailed in Ireland as if he was intended for Lord-Lieutenant, increased the jealousy of the Duke of Ormond, which was not at all abated, by the Earl's promoting a scheme, for enquiring into and improving his Majesty's revenue in that kingdom (*x*). He failed in this, indeed, but it was not from any mistake of his, but from the King's applying great sums out of that revenue, which did not come plainly into account. This competition between Ormond and Orrery continuing, proved to them very disadvantageous, especially at a time when a new Ministry was coming in that liked neither, and was therefore employed in contriving to ruin both. The Presidential Court the Earl was directed to lay down, because the power was great, and the Earl of Orrery being exceedingly well qualified for executing that part of his office, made it appear greater, perhaps, than it really was (*y*). He submitted, immediately to his master's pleasure, that was signified by a most obliging letter, of which, however, there seems to be no copy remaining. In his next voyage to England, he perceived

(*w*) Remarkable Events under the reign of Charles II. p. 357.

(*x*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 369.

(*y*) See the Preface to Lord Orrery's Letters.

as to the truth of it, and as to Lord Orrery's not declaring from whom he had it, his Lordship's account ought to have satisfied the Duke; for he told him, that the same person who gave him this advice, enjoined him secrecy, and at the same time told him, if he would join in the design, he would disclose to him the whole; but this the Earl positively refused; which put it out of his power to gain farther lights for the Duke. Some causes there were besides this which disgusted his Grace, and made him so suspicious of every thing that came from the Earl of Orrery; and what these causes were, will best appear from the account of this matter, given by the Earl's historian, which runs thus (45).

(45) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

'After the Earl of Orrery had been some time in Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, being Lord Lieutenant, went in progress through the chief parts of that kingdom, and upon his coming into Munster, Lord Orrery ordered all the Train-Bands of the several Baronies, through which his Grace was to pass, to be ready in arms to conduct *him* through the Barony, and he himself went to the confines of the province to receive him, and waited upon him throughout all the province. But this action was by some wicked people, presented to my Lord's great prejudice. For some did the ill office to insinuate, that this was too popular for a subject, and therefore not proper to be tolerated; and that this was only to shew what he could do, if he were disgusted, having so many at a day's warning ready to obey his command. From that time forward there grew an unhappy misunderstanding between the Duke and his Lordship, which my Lord Orrery never dreamed of, until it became too visible not to be remarked; for those wicked instruments, who first suggested this to the Duke, did not fail afterwards to misrepresent to him all other of Lord Orrery's words and actions.' This matter is still more fully explained by a very judicious writer, in the following words (46). 'His Grace of Ormond, who found himself unjustly, but sensibly declining, in his royal master's favour, and who saw in his progress into the county of Cork, the great interest and influence which the Earl possessed there, could not help listening to malicious insinuations, whispered to him against the then President of Munster: Nor could he think himself in perfect security, (for two suns cannot shine in one hemisphere) 'till the Presidency Court was suppressed; and 'till Lord Orrery was divested of all means to vie with the Lord-Lieutenant, either in grandeur or in power. —— Statesmen cannot look with the eye of affection towards their successors: And the Duke of Ormond judged, that were he himself displaced, no man was so fit to supply the vacancy as Lord Orrery. So that urged on by jealousies on every side, the Duke of Ormond stopped the noble current of his nature, which flow'd most benevolently on all other occasions, and entertained suspicions of an old and intimate acquaintance, who had taken every opportunity to be his friend, and whom no provocation could ever force to be his enemy.'

(46) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's Letters.

[*N*] *But after all it is certain, that the King's affections to him were not easily shaken.*] We have an account from Mr Morrice, of a letter written to the Earl of Orrery, some time after the fall of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon (47). 'He received, says he, a kind letter from his Majesty, written with his own hand, which I have seen, wherein the King gives him many thanks for his kind services to him; particularly for settling things in so good a posture in his province; assuring him, he would always be mindful of, and be ready to serve him in any thing he should desire: And in the conclusion his Majesty lets him know, he was very well pleased with that part of the Black Prince he had sent him, and conjured his Lordship to go on and complete it, which, if he could not do until he had a fit of the gout, he wished him a fit presently, that he might the sooner finish it. King Charles was the first who put my Lord upon writing plays, which his Majesty did upon occasion of a dispute that arose in his royal presence, about writing plays in rhyme. Some affirmed it was not to be done; others said, it would spoil the fancy to be so confined: But Lord Orrery was of another opinion, and his Majesty being willing a trial shou'd be made, commanded his Lordship to employ some of his leisure time that way, which my Lord readily did, and upon that occasion composed the Black Prince.' It is impossible to fix the date of this letter, which is now no longer extant; but it seems to have been written before the difference broke out between his Grace of Ormond, and his Lordship; after which some endeavours were used to alter the kind sentiments which, as appears from this letter, the King then had for his Lordship, of which, it is possible, he might have notice, and might have expressed his concern thereat, nor is it in the least improbable, that the King should receive an account of this, for without supposing some such thing, it is not easy to give a reason for the King's writing him the following letter, which I take to be a clear and direct proof of what is asserted in the Text (48).

(47) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(48) Carte's Appendix to the Life of the Duke of Ormond, No. lxvi.

The King to the Earl of Orrery.

'MY Lord of Orrery, I am so well persuaded of your particular kindness to me, and so satisfied with the constant service you do me, upon all occasions, as I have omitted to say any thing to you 'till now, upon the late change I have made, because I hope you are so much assured of my true friendship to you, as no alteration could shake me in it; for you may be most confident, that you may stand upon your own legs, and that you need nobody's friendship with me, nor ought to fear the ill offices of any man can have any effect to your prejudice. Therefore I will say no more at this time, but to conjure you never to doubt of the constant kindness of

White-hall, Nov. 30th, 1667.

Your very affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.'

[*O*] For

ceived a great alteration both with regard to publick affairs and his own, the method used against Clarendon being esteemed infallible by those who employed it, and who were not long before they practised it against Orrery, by bringing a charge of high crimes and even of treason against him into Parliament, of which we shall say nothing here, for the best account that can be given, is that from the Journals of the House (z) [O]. He defended himself so well, that it produced no effect, except opening the eyes of such of his old friends as had differed from him, and who now saw, with how small reason they had taken this step, and how far he was from endeavouring to return it, restraining himself, on the contrary, within the strict bounds of a direct defence, as the answer to the charge shews, and in the notes may be found some other singular (though less important) circumstances, worth the reader's notice (a) [P]. But though this prosecution did not prove

(z) Journal of the House of Commons, Nov. 25, 1669.

(a) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

[O] *For the best account that can be given, is that from the Journals of the House.*] We have several accounts of this transaction, both in publick and general histories, as well as in private and secret memoirs; but as none of these deserve credit, farther than they are warranted by, or at least are consistent with, the Journals of the House of Commons, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to have that account laid before them:

'On Thursday, the 25th day of November, 1669, 'a petition signed by Sir Edward Fitz-Harris, and 'Philip Alden, Gent. was read, to which a paper 'was affixed, containing articles of impeachment 'against Roger Earl of Orrery of high-treason and 'misdemeanours. The paper was also read, and the 'petitioners were then called in; who, at the bar of 'the house, avowed both the paper and the petition, 'affirming they were ready to make out the particu-'lars by proof, and then they withdrew. They were 'after some time called in again; and Mr Speaker 'acquainted them, that the charge in the articles be-'ing in part treasonable, the house desired to know, 'whether as to that part they were witnesses or prosecu-'tors. They answered they were only prosecutors to 'that part; and though one of their witnesses to 'make proof of it was in town, yet they had others 'who were not, and therefore desired a warrant of 'summons, and time to bring them in; after which 'they withdrew, and the matter was debated, the 'previous question being put, and passing in the af-'firmative, the main question was put, whether the 'charge against the Earl of Orrery doth contain in it 'treasonable matter; and this likewise passing, the 'following order ensued: *Ordered*, That the Serjeant 'at Arms attending this house, do go to the Lord Or-'rery, and let him know he has the order of this 'house to bring him into custody to this house, to 'answer a charge exhibited against him. And if he 'find him in a condition not able to come, then to 'leave a servant to attend 'till he is; and that he do 'also deliver him a copy of the charge exhibited 'against him.

'On Wednesday, December the 1st, 1669, the Lord 'Orrery attending near the house, and desiring ad-'mittance to give in his answer, he was called in, and 'being informed, was permitted to give in his answer 'sitting in his place; and every one of the ten arti-'cles being distinctly read to him, he did, upon read-'ing every particular article, give in his answer there-'to, in order, as they were writ down and were read; 'and then he withdrew. The previous question being 'put, and carried in the affirmative; the main que-'stion was put: That a day be appointed for the ac-'cusers to produce witnesses, to make good the charge 'against the Earl of Orrery. The house divided, and 'the yeas went out; yeas 118, no's 121. So it pas-'sed in the negative. Then the question being put, 'that this accusation against the Earl of Orrery, be 'left to be prosecuted at law? It passed in the affir-'mative.

'Friday, December the 10th, 1669, a debate be-'ing in the matter, touching Lord Orrery. *Resolved*, 'That his Majesty be humbly desired by such members 'of this house, as are of his Majesty's Privy-Council, 'that the witnesses in this matter, have liberty to 'come over out of Ireland, to give their testimony.'

[P] *Some other singular (tho' less important) circumstances, worth the reader's notice.*] The Duke of Ormond had carried his point with respect to the Presidential Court of Munster, tho' as we have shewn in the text, the Earl of Orrery met with some alleviations in that affair; but in England the enemies of the Duke of Ormond had so far prevailed, that he was removed from his high office, and the Lord Roberts sworn Lieutenant of Ireland, September 10, 1669 (49). Thus the enemies of those two noble Peers found means to play them against each other, to their mutual detriment; for it is certain, they had very near the same enemies, and that those enemies would scarce had power to hurt either, if their differences had not made way for the lessening of both. The Duke of Ormond was now removed, but it was the sentiment of a great and dangerous minister, Sir Thomas Clifford, that he should be able to do nothing in Ireland, while Orrery was President of Munster; and this is the secret of bringing the impeachment against him into Parliament; the Earl having had timely notice of the designs of his enemies, came over and took his seat in the English House of Commons; but being seized with a violent fit of the gout, that opportunity was taken by his adversaries to bring on his affair, and to get him committed; which, tho' effected, did him no great prejudice, and consequently did them no great service; after this step they could not deny him some time, which was all that he wanted to make his defence (50). When the day appointed for that purpose came, his Lordship attended by a great number of real friends (for such only attend on these occasions) went from his house in Leicester-fields to Westminster, but his Lordship being scarce half recovered from his gout, went up the stairs leading from Westminster-Hall to the Court of Requests but heavily; which a friend of his observing, and expressing his concern for his Lordship's pain and trouble, he answered him immediately in these words; *It is true, Sir, my feet are weak, but if my heels will serve to carry me up, I promise you my head shall bring me safe down again* (51). His Lordship prophesied right, for tho' there never were more pains taken in forming an accusation, or in giving dark colours to innocent and even to trivial things; yet his answer was so clear, so circumstantial, and so ingenuous, that it satisfied even such of his enemies as were men of integrity and honour; so that though the managers of this affair had interest enough to procure a vote, for bringing over witnesses, yet they had more wit than to trust the House, or his Lordship, with the examination of those witnesses, and so the matter fell. But notwithstanding the sense his Lordship had of his own interest in the House, as well as the goodness of his cause, he nevertheless thought it highly requisite to neglect no precaution that might avail him, if the malice of his enemies had been supported by a greater measure of power than he expected; for he sent his lady over to Ireland before the day of hearing came on, and she executed her commission, with so much diligence and dexterity, that whatever issue the impeachment might have had, with respect to his Lordship, his family must have been in all events safe; which sufficiently shews the violence of those times, when the very worthiest men, were sometimes at the mercy, and often in peril from the rage of factions, or the intrigues of wicked men; but if in the progress of this affair, his Lordship could not avoid meeting with some vexation, yet the end of it was not only to his satisfaction, but several concurring circumstances abated much of the uneasiness he would otherwise have felt. As for instance, the Lord Inchiquin, between whom and the Earl of Orrery there had been for some time a coldness, being a member of the House of Commons, and remarkably well heard in all matters relating to Ireland, taking up this matter roundly, and understanding it perfectly, shewed the charge to be in several respects groundless; in many directly false; in some full of gross misrepresentations; in all highly malicious; did his Lordship much more service thereby, than if

(49) See the Table of General Governors and great Officers in Ireland, in the second Volume of Ware's Works.

(50) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(51) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

prove him guilty of any thing contrary to the publick welfare, or the King's service; yet it was such a convincing argument of the great influence of his enemies, that he is said to have accepted a present of eight thousand pounds from the King, as a compensation for the Presidency of Munster, which the Ministers were bent on having, and which, in such circumstances, it did not at all import the Earl to keep (b). But the loss of his employment, did not, in his judgment, discharge him from his Majesty's service; and as the King gave him subsequent marks of his favour and esteem, he came frequently to Court, and sometimes to Council, more especially after his return from a short visit to Ireland, whither he went chiefly to execute a design he had formed of repairing Castle-Martyr, an old ruined fortress, which he reduced to a very fair house, that he intended for the retreat of his old age (c). The King, who knew his abilities, laboured, when he came back, to bring him to relish the new system, intending to have used his advice in his affairs; but his Lordship continued to adhere to the former plan with inflexible steadiness, for which he was very much commended by some, who were far enough from pursuing the same conduct (d) [Q]. In another voyage to England, not long after, he saw what himself had foretold would come to pass, and found the King involved in numberless difficulties, and the Duke of York under still greater. The French war brought on the former, and the fear of Popery (for the Test Act had forced his Royal Highness to declare himself a Papist) had produced the latter. In this situation the Earl of Orrery was extremely welcome, both brothers knew his zeal for their service, his happiness in finding expedients, and his abilities for recommending them in the House of Commons, where they were sensible it would be a very hard matter to get them approved, if they were not proposed by some, who had no concern in the late offensive measures (e). His Lordship, in obedience to their commands, framed the Plan of an Act of Limitation, by which it would have been put out of the successor's power, to have encroached either on civil or religious liberties, and which, at that time, might, if proposed from the King, have been probably accepted; but whether his Majesty inclined to keep it in reserve, as a thing that might help in extremity, or whether the Duke was secretly against it, so it was, that this expedient was laid aside 'till the Exclusion Bill was set on foot, and then the season was past, no limitations were regarded as satisfactory, or even as practicable (f). This too his Lordship foretold at the time he offered this expedient, the rejecting which was fatal to the Duke, though at that time he judged otherwise. The King consulted him after this, and seemed uneasy at his design of returning to Ireland, being willing to have bestowed any employment to have kept him near his person; and a certain author tells us, he was thought of even for Lord Treasurer (g); but the Earl of Orrery told his Majesty plainly, that he was conducted by unsteady counsels, with which he could not act, and at the same time took the liberty to censure a custom the King had, of being in the streets in the night without guards or attendants (h). This shews how well he always stood with his master, and how much he deserved it. On his going back to Ireland, he resolved on leading a retired and quiet life, dividing his time between his houses at Charlevile and Castle-Martyr, encouraging manufactures, and giving, as they needed it, protection and assistance to his tenants (i). But being attacked more cruelly than ever by the gout, his Physicians advised him to go over to England for advice, and he did accordingly in May 1675, but did not stay long. This, as himself foresaw and foretold, was his last voyage, and on his going home he sat down to his studies, that since he could be no longer useful in an active state, he might at least contribute his good wishes and advice, to his Sovereign and fellow-subjects (k). Yet even in this declining condition, he failed not to repair, in July 1678, to Kinsale, in order to rectify some mistakes made in the fort which was erecting there, and took also no small pains to enquire after, and obtain the best intelligence possible, of the cabals of the Irish Papists, for which (as one says) he was qualified by a natural sagacity (l), transmitting all he could discover to the Duke of Ormond, now once again Lord-Lieutenant, and to whom he was cordially reconciled. This seems to have been the last effort of publick spirit, the dying blaze of that virtue, which had so long

(b) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's Letters, p. vi.

(c) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(d) See this explained in the note [Q].

(e) Remarkable Events under the Reign of Charles II. p. 371.

(f) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(g) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 391.

(h) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(i) Lawrence's Interest of Ireland, Part. iii. p. 189.

(k) See what he says to this purpose, in his Dedication of the Art of War to his Majesty King Charles II.

(l) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 496.

if their former friendship had subsisted, without suffering any interruption (52).

[Q] *By some who were far enough from pursuing the same conduct.*] The great point then laboured, was to reconcile his Lordship to the French alliance, and the reducing of the Dutch; neither of which were at all agreeable to his notions, and therefore that he might the more freely express the mischievous consequences which he apprehended from these measures, he digested his thoughts into a poem, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter; and this was very well received by the King, who hoped to make some impression upon his Lordship in his turn, in a long audience that he gave him for that purpose; but the Earl's duty would not allow him to listen to the King's reasons, when he was sensible that those reasons, however specious, were contrary to his Majesty's own interest, and those of his subjects; and this led him to declare in plain terms, that he could never concur in counsels, that were calculated, either to aggrandize France, which was already too great, or to break the power of the Dutch, which was barely sufficient for their own defence (53). It is not possible to distinguish exactly the time when this transaction happened, because the author from whom we have it, very seldom mentions dates.

But there is a particular circumstance mentioned by him, which must not be omitted here. As the Earl of Orrery came from this audience of his Majesty, he was met by the Earl of Danby, who was then only Sir Thomas Osborne, and asked whether he had closed with the King's proposals, to which Orrery answered No. *Then,* replied the other statesman, *your Lordship may be the honester man, but you will never be worth a groat.* This passage is the more remarkable, because this statesman was, in opinion, as much against France as the Earl of Orrery, and temporized purely for the sake of power (54), which cost him afterwards, a long imprisonment, and very narrowly missed costing him his life. So dear do even the wisest men pay for sacrificing their principles to their interests.

(52) Letter of Sir John Reresby to the Marquis of Hallifax.

(53) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(54) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

long, and so warmly agitated his mind; for in two months after, he was seized with that distemper which brought him to his end; this disease, though deadly, was not violent in it's beginning, so that, as it put him in mind of mortality, it gave him leisure to contemplate, and to fit himself for so great a change, which, when he had done, and given the strongest proofs of Christian patience, manly courage, and rational fortitude, he breathed his last, October 16, 1679, in the fifty-ninth year of his age *(m)*, as much regretted by all degrees of people, as any man of his time, which was far from being barren of great men, in all, or any of, the senses of the word. His character has been often given, and generally to his advantage. If we seek it impartially from facts, it will appear great and good. His wit was pregnant and yet solid; his blossoms fair, but not fairer than the fruit. He came early into life with much credit, and maintained it to the last, for even the sun-set of his active life was glorious. He was always loyal, and shewed it as often, as far, and as effectually, as he could, of which his master, who was most concerned, was fully satisfied *(n)*. His compliance with Cromwell was from necessity at first, and afterwards from gratitude; but the services he rendered the Protector were no way prejudicial to the King, perhaps they might, at least we know they were intended to, be otherwise. His merit in the Restoration was as great as any man's, Monk's only excepted, but the settlement of Ireland, and securing the English and Protestant interest in that kingdom, is a merit cannot be denied him, indeed it was the principal crime charged upon him by his enemies, that is the Papists and Fanaticks, who, like Samson's foxes, tugged tail to tail in his impeachment. He was a friend to the Earl of Clarendon *(o)*, but not to a degree inconsistent with his duty; he was heartily loyal to the King, and had a sincere regard for the Duke, which hindered him from having any thing to do with the Exclusion *(p)*. In a word, as a Statesman, he gave generally soft, but always safe, counsels; no body knew better how to steer in storms than he, but he was not the less afraid of them. As a soldier, he was very intrepid, and did so many things by courage, as might have drawn his prudence into doubt, if he had not done many more purely by his conduct. He was esteemed an excellent officer by those, who, in that trade, could not be misled in their judgments; and he has also left us a memorial of his skill in that profession, which will evince to every competent judge, that he had few superiors in the art of war during the time he flourished *(q)*. As an author, his fame was equal to that of any man of his quality, in an age, when it was no uncommon thing for titles to adorn title-pages; and he was an author in many different ways, in some he certainly excelled, in others he might be deficient, but in none appeared flat or trivial. His faults were the faults of the times, his beauties were his own, and such as shew him to have had a great genius. His writings will be more particularly taken notice of at the bottom of the page [*R*]. His private life was altogether as regular as

(m) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(n) See this justified in note [*L*.]

(o) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 384.

(p) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(q) See this farther explained, in the account given of his Works in note [*R*].

[*R*] *His writings will be more particularly taken notice of, at the bottom of the page.*] It is a very difficult task to give a full, distinct, and accurate account of this noble and learned person's writings; nor is the difficulty at all lessened by the many accounts already given, most of them being very erroneous, and all of them inconsistent with each other. The best is that of Walter Harris, Esq (55); which I shall make use of, with some additions and remarks, in order to render it agreeable to the design of this work; and, as far as it is possible, at this distance of time, to do justice to the performances, and thereby right to the memory of so excellent a Person. His works then, according to the best lights we could obtain, are these. I. *The* Irish *colours display'd; in a reply of an* English Protestant *to a letter of an* Irish Roman *Catholick.* London, 1662, 4to. This was written in answer to a piece penned by *Peter Walsh*, and addressed to the Duke of *Ormond*, to whom the same person likewise addressed a reply to this treatise, called, *The* Irish *colours unfolded.* This piece I have never seen, but from it's subject, being written against Father Walsh, and printed in the same size and year, I fancy differs not much from the next. II. *An answer to a scandalous letter lately printed, and subscribed by* Peter Walsh, *Procurator for the secular and regular Popish priests of* Ireland, *entituled,* A letter desiring a just and merciful regard of the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*; given about the end of *October*, 1660, to the then Marquis, now Duke, of *Ormond*, and the second time Lord *Lieutenant* of that kingdom. *By the Right Hon. the Earl of* Orrery, &c. *being a full discovery of the treachery of the* Irish *rebels, since the beginning of the* Rebellion *there, necessary to be considered by all adventurers, and other persons estated in that kingdom.* Dublin, 1662, 4to. London, 1662, 4to. To this answer the letter itself is prefixed, which it answers for the information of the reader, and both have been reprinted at the close of the letters of the Earl of Orrery hereafter mentioned. One cannot part with this singular piece without observing, that if no other had ever fallen from his Lordship's pen, this alone might have procured him the character of an able Statesman, a great Lawyer, and a most correct and accurate Writer. I must next remark, that on perusing this admirable work, one may be tempted to suspect it occasioned the story before reported, and refuted, of his silencing the Popish deputies; for most of the facts mentioned in Mr Morrice's account of that affair, are actually set forth and urged in this treatise, in answer to the pretensions of the Irish Catholicks. There was a reply also to this by Peter Walsh.

(55) Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 177.

III. *A Poem on his Majesty's happy Restoration* (56). This we find mentioned by one of his Lordship's historians, it was presented by the Earl himself to the King; some copies were in those days handed about in MS. but we are told it was never printed, (which however I doubt) and yet we have no reason whatever assigned why it was not printed.

(56) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

IV. *A Poem on the death of the celebrated Mr* Abraham Cowley. London, 1667, fol. It has been since prefixed by Dr Sprat, (Bishop of Rochester) to his edition of Cowley's works. Mr Budgell has also reprinted, and highly commended this Poem (57), as it justly deserves, there being none of the Poems sacred to the memory of that excellent person, which do him more honour.

(57) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 94.

V. *The History of* Henry V; *a Tragedy.* London, 1668, fol. I take this to have been the Earl of Orrery's first play, notwithstanding the contrary is expressly affirmed in the preface to the new edition of his Lordship's dramatick works (58), and the place given to the Black Prince, on the authority of a letter of his Lordship's to a friend, from which this passage is cited. 'I have now finished a play in the 'French manner, because I heard the King declare 'himself more in favour of their way of writing than 'ours: My poor attempt cannot please his Majesty, 'but my example may excite others who can: Sir 'William Davenant will have it acted about Easter. 'As it is wrote in a new way, he may possibly take 'confidence to invite the King to see it; which if his 'Majesty should condescend to, and if you at the same 'time

(58) The Dramatick Works of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, Lond. 1739, two Vols. 8vo.

as his publick. He was very sincere in his religion, and that was the Church of England; but his conversation, did not, perhaps, reccommend him to the zealots of any party. To the Prelates, and other well-beneficed churchmen, he talked of charity, forbearance, and moderation; but to the Dissenters he magnified Conformity, and the danger to which the Protestant cause was exposed, by their unmeaning feuds and divisions (r). He was a kind and good, as well as a very well-bred and curteous, husband, and Lady Orrery was esteemed one of the handsomest and most prudent women about the Court. He was a tender, and even a fond parent, but very attentive to the education and behaviour of his children, by which the benefit they received was not small. As a landlord,

(r) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

'time should wait on him thither, I intreat you do 'not let him know who is the author of the play, 'unless you have double assurances that he does not 'dislike it.' It is very evident this relates to his Lordship's first play, but nothing determines it to the Black Prince. I rather believe it refers to Henry V. 1. Because this play was to be perform'd by the Duke's company, whereas the Black Prince was first acted at the King's Theatre. 2. The vast respect paid to Henry V, by the royal Family, when acted at the King's Theatre. Mr Harris, who played Henry, having the Duke's Coronation suit; Owen Tudor, play'd by Betterton, (which gained him great reputation) wore the King's; and Mr Liliston, to whom the part of Duke of Burgundy was given, wore the Earl of Oxford's (59). Why should all this be done, if Henry V. had been his Lordship's third play? 3. He had wrote two plays before the close of 1662, as appears by the King's letter and his Lordship's answer, one of which was to be very soon play'd (60); but this could not be the *Black Prince*, which was written during the first Dutch war, as will appear hereafter, from incontestible evidence.

(59) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 89.

(60) See his Majesty's Letter in note [I].

VI. Mustapha, *the son of* Solyman, *the Magnificent, a Tragedy*. London, 1667, fol. and 1668. This seems to be the other play mentioned in the King's letter before-mentioned: It was very well received, and there are some very fine scenes in it, tho' it's being written in Rhime renders it unfashionable, and consequently unpleasing to us, at this time.

VII. *The* Black Prince, *a Tragedy*. London, 1672, fol. This, in the title-page of the new edition, is said to have been acted at the Duke of York's Theatre; but the actors names, as they are printed in that edition, shew this to be a mistake, and Langbaine says it was acted at the Theatre Royal (61), as undoubtedly it was. The prologue, by the Genius of England, alluding to the war with Holland and France, plainly proves it was acted in the winter of 1666, for the following spring; and we are also sure that it was written not long before, from a letter to his Lordship from the King his Master, in which notice is taken of this play as being unfinished, and of which his Majesty said pleasantly, *If it was not to be completed, but in the* Gout, (at which time his Lordship wrote must of his Poetry) *he wish'd him a lusty fit of it* (62).

(61) Account of English Dramatick Poets, p. 27.

(62) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

VIII. *Tryphon, a Tragedy*. London, 1672. fol. The story is to be found in Josephus, and other historians, who have written of the affairs of the Jews; it is written, like the other plays, in heroic verse, and was acted with applause of the Duke's Theatre (63). There are very noble sentiments, and some very fine lines in it, which, however, will not atone with modern Critics, for the offences committed therein against the laws of dramatick Poetry. But as to such as have the history of the Earl of Orrery in their hands, and consider it purely as a piece of his writing, there will appear many things singular to a degree worthy notice, as well in the speeches of the several persons introduced therein, as in the general plan and disposition of the play. These four plays were collected and published together in folio, in 1690 (64), and make now the entire first volume of the new edition of the Earl's dramatick works.

(63) Langbaine's Account of English Dramatick Poets, p. 28.

(64) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 639.

IX. *Parthenissa*, a romance in three volumes. London, 1665, 4to. 1677, fol. This romance is divided into six parts, the last written at her earnest desire, and therefore dedicated to her Royal Highness the Princess Henrietta Maria, Duchess of Orleans (65). Few performances of this kind, and certainly none in our language, have either deserved or received so much approbation; and tho' it has long been in a great measure thrown aside and forgot, yet, perhaps, this may be chiefly owing to it's remaining unfinished, a thing deservedly regretted by the lovers of that kind of writing. One may justly wonder, that a person of this Nobleman's rank and abilities, should turn his thoughts or employ his pen on such a subject. But it may perhaps contribute to lessen this surprize in an assiduous and intelligent reader, to suggest, that some things may be said in a romance, that might not find a place in true history, and that notwithstanding this sort of writing cannot well be defended, yet the severest critick on the perusal of Lord Orrery's romance, will confess it is very well worth reading.

(65) This Dedication pleased Mr Budgell so well, that he has inserted it entire in his Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 99.

X. *A Dream* (66). This poem and the time when it was written, have been before-mentioned. In it the genius of France is introduced, saying, every thing the French Minister could say to inveigle King Charles II. to endeavour at making himself arbitrary, or to deceive him into a mean and scandalous dependance on Lewis XIV; to all which the ghost of Charles I. is next brought in, giving clear and copious answers, fully proving, that the sole foundation of a Monarch's power, is *the love and confidence of his people*. The nature of this performance rendered it unfit for the eye of the publick, and the freedom with which it was penned, made it very improper to allow more than one copy to be taken, which was for the King himself. The original is long since destroy'd or lost. Upon this occasion two important and obvious remarks may be made; first, that his Lordship made no scruple of declaring fully and formally, against the political system of the Ministry, stiled the Cabal; secondly, that for various reasons, which here it would take up too much time to discuss, he chose to express his sentiments on the nicest and most important subjects, in the garb of poetry or fiction.

(66) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

XI. *The Art of War*. London, 1677. fol. This work which with much elegance, good sense, and in an admirable stile, he addresses to the King, in a large dedication, was but the *first* part of what he intended upon the subject, and was so strangely received, that the *second* never appeared. Yet it may be justly affirmed, nothing in our own, or perhaps in any other, language, was ever better, more judiciously, or more correctly, written. In this all the qualifications of it's noble author appear to advantage, except his turn for poetry, he shews himself a Soldier, a Statesman, a Scholar, and in none of these a Pedant. All he says is not only sensible, but just, and gives pleasure to every man of sense, as well as satisfaction to the most understanding men of the trade, who all agree, that his experience is as conspicuous therein, as either his genius or his learning. But perhaps the historical instances, remarks, and political reflections, are not the least valuable parts of this performance, and the notions of our noble author; as to the superiority of the power of France, when opposed to that of a confederacy, will appear to a judicious peruser, such a proof of political foresight, as cannot but recommend such parts of the treatise, as he is less capable of entring into with the same exactness.

XII. *Poems on the Fasts and Festivals of the Church*. This, tho' printed and publish'd, was never finished by it's noble author. It was written in the last year of his life, under much weakness of body, and therefore Budgell's remark (67), that his poetry in this composition runs low, ought not deeply to affect his reputation, which in all situations, and under all disadvantages, stands much above the level of such criticks. Poetry unrevised will generally appear to run low, and there are subjects too, so very opposite to some mens way of thinking, that they will always have such a biass against what is written on them, as will discover them to be no very impartial judges. Upon the whole, we may affirm the subject is well chosen, and some parts of it well executed; but after all, we shall not deny, it would have been better to have suppressed it.

(67) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 106.

The

he was both attentive to his own interest, and indulgent to his tenants. If a man was oppressed, no one more readily relieved him; if a farmer's family was numerous, or his circumstances narrow, his assistance was never wanting, but he was in all cases solicitous, that the people should thrive as well as obtain subsistence, and his saying was, That the greatest charity consisted in keeping people from needing it. With this view he procured, by the royal favour, grants of fairs and markets for Rathgogran and Ballymaathra, two villages of his, which, by this means, were so far improved, that he afterwards obtained charters, by which they were erected into boroughs, each sending two members to the Irish Parliament (*s*), and established, besides, manufactures in them for their better support. But in nothing his goodness and beneficence of heart appeared more, than in his treatment of his domesticks. He was alike careful of their bodies, estates, and minds; they lived in the utmost plenty, but he suffered no waste; and for debauchery, he had the utmost abhorrence. He provided for them according to their several capacities, that having lived well with him, they might not fall into indigence after they left him (*t*). He frequently observed, that the meanest of them had a soul to be saved as well as himself, and therefore, he not only obliged his Chaplain to have a due attention to their spiritual concerns, but frequently inspected the discharge of his duty in this particular (*u*). His Lordship loved company, and kept always an open table, to which all the gentlemen in the country were welcome, and this was a publick benefit, the conversation on such occasions being as delicate as the provisions (*w*). But it would carry us into too great a length, if we should pursue any farther this account of his Lordship's private life, and therefore we shall stop here, and subjoin an account of his posterity, as the proper conclusion of this article. This noble Earl, married, as we before observed, the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, highly commended for unaffected piety, love to her Lord, and sweetness of temper (*x*). He had issue by her two sons, Roger, the second Earl of Orrery; and Henry; and five daughters. Lady Elizabeth, married to Foliot Wingfield, Lord Viscount Powerscourt, who died in 1709 without issue. Lady Anne died young. Lady Margaret, married to William Obrien, Earl of Inchiquin, Governor of Jamaica. Lady Catherine, wife of William Bret of the county of Somerset, Esq; and deceasing in the twenty-eighth year of her age, on the third of September 1681, lies buried at Richmond in Surry. Lady Barbara, married to Arthur Chichester Earl of Donegal, but died before him without issue (*y*). Henry Boyle, the youngest son of the Earl, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Duke of Schomberg's regiment, and died in Flanders in the year 1691, leaving issue by the Lady Mary his wife, daughter to Murrough Earl of Inchiquin, four sons. 1. Roger, who died in 1705 unmarried. 2. Henry, seated at Castle-Martyr in the Kingdom of Ireland, who married the Lady Henrietta, daughter to Charles Earl of Burlington, and sister to the late Earl, some time Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, and one of the Lords-Justices, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in that Kingdom. He hath issue by his Lady, five sons and three daughters. Richard, Henry, William, Charles, Robert, Juliana, Henrietta, and Jane (*z*). 3. Charles, who was Captain of the ship Strombulo. And 4. William, who was Captain in Duke Schomberg's regiment of horse, and married the only daughter of the celebrated Sir Samuel Garth; as also two daughters; Elizabeth, married in 1709, to Bettridge Badham of the county of Cork, Esq; and Margaret, married to Joseph Dean, of the county of Meath in Ireland, Esq; Roger, the second Earl of Orrery, was of a very serious and contemplative disposition; one who loved retirement, and never inclined to enter into any of the scenes of busy life. He married the Lady Mary, daughter of Richard Earl of Dorset, by whom he had issue two sons, Lionel and Charles, and one daughter, Lady Mary, who was married to Clotworthy Upton, Esq; and died without issue (*a*). This noble Earl deceased in the month of September 1698, and was succeeded in his honours by his son Lionel, then a minor, who married a daughter of the Earl of Dorset's, by whom he had no issue, and who, after his decease, which happened August 23, 1703, married the late Field-Marshal Viscount Shannon. Lionel, Earl of Orrery, was succeeded in

(*s*) Collin's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 257.

(*t*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(*u*) Essay on Heroick Virtue, by R. B.

(*w*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(*x*) It was upon this marriage (besides an express epithalamium) that Sir John Suckling wrote his elegant ballad, *I'll tell thee, Dick, where I have been.*

(*y*) Collin's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 258.

(*z*) According to a private Letter from Ireland.

(*a*) Collin's Peerage, ubi supra.

The posthumous works of the Earl of Orrery are these that follow, *viz.* 1. *Mr Anthony, a Comedy.* London, 1692, 4to. which is not inserted in the last edition of his works. 2. *Guzmam, a Comedy.* London, 1693, 4to. upon a Spanish plot, and written in the Spanish manner. 3. *Herod the Great, a Tragedy.* London, 1694, 4to. 4. *Altemira, a Tragedy,* brought upon the stage by Mr Francis Manning, in 1702, dedicated to Lionel, Earl of Orrery, grandson to the author, with a prologue by Henry St John, Esq; afterwards Lord Viscount Bolingbroke; and an epilogue by the Hon. Charles Boyle, Esq; the late Earl of Orrery, who also interspersed several songs in the work itself. We may add to these, his *State Letters* (68), which have been lately published in one volume in folio, and which do at least as much honour to his Lordship's memory, as any of his other writings. It is much to be regretted, that we have not more of these letters, for those that are published come no lower than his quarrel with the Duke of Ormond, and we may regret this the more, because in 1677, when that Duke was to hold a Parliament in Ireland, the King gave him orders to consult the Earl of Orrery, upon the points proper to be proposed therein, who gave his opinion very readily in five sheets of paper; wherein he proposed the most effectual methods to secure the nation from foreign and domestick enemies, increase his Majesty's revenue, confirm and settle claims to private property, and advance and protect the Protestant interest in that Island (69). These propositions were so well received, and so thoroughly approved, that both the Lord-Lieutenant and the Lord-Chancellor, wrote him leters full of acknowledgments upon the occasion. But with the rest of his Lordship's papers of all kinds, these perished in the flames when his house at Charleville was burnt to the ground, in the year 1690, by a party of King James's soldiers, with the Duke of Berwick at their head. Lionel, then Earl of Orrery, and grandson to our author, being a Minor, and abroad on his travels (70).

(68) London, Printed by James Bettenham, and sold by Charles Hitch, 1742.

(69) Translation of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 176.

(70) See the Preface to Lord Orrery's Letters.

in his honours by his brother Charles Boyle, Esq; who, after he became Earl of Orrery, married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to John Earl of Exeter (*b*), by whom he had his only son John, now Earl of Orrery, who married, first, the Lady Harriot Hamilton, daughter to George Earl of Orkney, by whom he has two sons and a daughter; and after her decease, which happened August 22, 1732, his Lordship married his present Countess, Margaret, daughter of John Hamilton, Esq; of Calledon, in the county of Tyrone in the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he has also issue (*c*).

(*b*) See the article BOYLE (CHARLES) Earl of Orrery.

(*c*) Collins's Peerage, ubi supra.

After so large an account of this noble person's performances as an author, it may not be amiss to add, that he was very much distinguished as a patron of learning, as appears by the compliments paid him by Sir William D'avenant (71), Mr John Dryden (72), and other wits of those times, who thought themselves highly honoured in being permitted to shelter their writings under his lordship's protection, whose credit stood equally fair with the political and learned world, and whose title to parts of every kind, was never question'd, even by envy herself (73). E

(71) In a poem to his Lordship printed in Sir W. D'avenant's Works, p. 275.

(72) In his elegant Dedication of his Play called the *Rival Ladies*.

(73) Langbain's Account of English Dramatick Poets, p. 28.

BOYLE (ROBERT) a man superior to titles, and almost to praise; illustrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue; but most so as the author and encourager of the New Philosophy; by which he has not only rendered his memory immortal, but has also derived honour to his country, which, perhaps, is the greatest felicity that human abilities can ever attain. He was the seventh son, and the fourteenth child, of Richard Earl of Cork (*a*), consequently the youngest brother of the two noble persons last mentioned. He was born at Lismore in the county of Cork, and province of Munster in the kingdom of Ireland, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1626-7 (*b*), and though he was the only one of his father's sons who attained to manhood without being honoured with a title, and also the only one that did not distinguish himself in publick business; yet his life deserves to be written with the utmost accuracy, and no pains can be too great, to fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is possible [*A*]. His father, who was very justly stiled the *Great*, and might with equal propriety have been called the *Wise*, Earl of Cork, committed him to the care of a country nurse, with instructions to bring him up as hardy as if he had been her own son, which she pursued, and thereby gave him a strong and vigorous constitution, that he afterwards lost, by being treated with too great tenderness (*c*). When he was about three years old he had the misfortune to lose his mother, for which he shews great regret, in some memoirs that he has left us of the more early part of his life, esteeming it a singular unhappiness, never to have seen one of his parents so as to remember her, and the more so, from the character he heard of her in his own family, and from all who knew her (*d*). Another accident happened to him while at nurse, which gave him no small trouble as long as he lived, and that was, his learning to stutter, by mocking some children of his own age, and of which, though no endeavours were spared, he could never be perfectly cured (*e*). His father sent for him home when he was towards seven years old, and not long after, in a journey to Dublin, he ran a very great risk of losing his life, if one of his father's gentlemen had not taken him out of a coach, that in passing a brook, raised by some sudden showers, was carried away by the stream and beat to pieces (*f*). While at home he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to speak French and Latin, by one of the Earl's Chaplains, and a Frenchman that he kept

(*a*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle, by J. C. MS. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 163. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 180.

(*c*) His own Account of the earlier part of his life, under the name of *Philaretus*, published by Dr Birch.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Memoirs of the Hon. R. B.

(*f*) His own Memoirs before cited.

[*A*] *To fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is possible.*] The honour of having produced worthy and famous men, has been always dear to every wise nation; and it may be truly said, that there are few persons the nature or extent of whose reputation, would incline a prudent or virtuous people to pride themselves more on having him for their countryman, than the distinguished Philosopher to whom this article belongs: yet so it is, that some voluminous Collections of Lives, as for instance, Collier's great Dictionary, have not mentioned him at all; and in others there are such strange mistakes, that one knows not how to overlook or excuse them. It is said by several authors, who in this, no doubt, have one copied the other, that he was sent from school to the University of Leyden, in Holland (1); and yet, as the reader will see in the text, this could not be true, for if it had, Mr Boyle, who wrote very particular memoirs of the first fifteen years of his life, would never have omitted this circumstance; and indeed those very memoirs plainly shew, that the fact is absolutely false, and that he was so far from studying at Leyden in his youth, that he never went thither at all (2). It has been a common observation, that the real adventures of some great men, have been in themselves more strange and surprising, than the boldest writers have dared to feign, who wrote with any view of being believed. It may not only be affirmed, but proved, with respect to Mr Boyle, that the declamations in his honour, and the characters written to give the world a high idea of his merit, have actually fallen short of the naked truth, and cannot raise such an admiration in the mind of a judicious reader, as the bear recital of matters of fact. Bishop Burnet says (3), *he began early to shew both a probity and capacity that promised great things.* But this word *early* conveys no distinct idea, and not one reader in twenty will so much as suspect, that it ought to refer to the eighth or ninth year of his age; nay it is very probable, the learned prelate himself might scarce apprehend that it reached so high, which however will very clearly appear from what is related in the text, and is farther explained in the subsequent note. To say the truth, the early part of Mr Boyle's life may be stiled the most remarkable, for although in his subsequent years he distinguished himself in a very extraordinary degree; yet the best judges of, and those who have look'd most closely into, human nature, cannot but allow that his early application to learning, and to those parts of learning to which he addicted himself, is still more surprising, and what would appear altogether incredible, if we had not as strong, as clear, and authentick proofs as the most severe criticks can demand in reference to facts of this nature (4). The pains therefore that we have taken to digest into a regular series of time these kind of facts, and the annexing such explanations as are requisite, as well as the proofs that become necessary, will, we hope, be considered as useful and entertaining, as well as new and curious improvements upon this subject, which, though so often handled, and so much beaten, can hardly ever be exhausted.

(1) See the article of BOYLE (ROBERT) in the General Dictionary, Vol. III. p. 541. Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 118. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 180.

(2) See Mr Boyle's own Memoirs prefixed to those of Dr Birch, and which are equally copious and curious.

(3) Sermon at the Funeral of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Lond. 1692, 4to, p. 23.

(4) See the Original Letters hereafter cited.

kept in the house (g). In the year 1635, when he was turned of eight years old, his father thought fit to send him to England, in order to his education at Eaton, under Sir Henry Wotton, the Earl of Cork's old acquaintance and friend. With this view, in company with Mr Francis Boyle, his elder brother, afterwards Lord Shannon, he set out for Youghall, and from thence, not without great danger of being taken by some of the Turkish pirates that then infested the Irish coast, he crosses the seas to England, and landed happily at Bristol (h). On his arrival at Eaton, he was put under the care of Mr Harrison, then Master of the school, of whose attention for, and kindness towards him, he makes very honourable mention in his Memoirs, and observes, that it was chiefly by the prudent methods he pursued, that he came to have that taste and relish for learning, for which, even in the earlier part of his life, he grew so remarkable (i) [B]. While he remained at Eaton, there were several extraordinary accidents that befel him, of which he has given us an account, and which one would scarce think it possible he should have remembered so distinctly, considering they happened before he was nine years old, if the letters that he wrote about that time were not still preserved, which sufficiently demonstrate, how capable he was of collecting and preserving whatever appeared to him worthy of notice, even in the time of his childhood; so that we may well believe what he relates of his own care in this respect, from the testimonies that still remain, of his having a wit so much superior to his years (k) [C]. He remained at Eaton, in the whole, between three and four years, and then his father carried him to his own seat at Stalbridge in Dorsetshire, where he remained for some short time, under the care of Mr William Douch then Parson of the place, and one of the Earl of Cork's Chaplains (l). In the autumn of the year 1638, he attended his father to London, and remained with him at the Savoy, 'till his brother, Mr Francis Boyle, espoused Mrs Elizabeth Killigrew, and then, towards the end of the month of October, within four days after the marriage was celebrated, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were sent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr Marcombes, who we have formerly mentioned as Governor to the Lords Kinealmeaky and Broghill (m). They embarked at Rye in Sussex, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe in Normandy, from whence they travelled by land to Rouen, so to Paris, and from thence to Lyons, from which city they continued their journey to Geneva, where his

(g) Ibid.

(h) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle. Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 134, 138.

(i) His own Memoirs.

(k) The Life of the Hon. Mr Boyle, by the Rev. Mr Bolton, prefixed to the Abridgment of his Works.

(l) His own Memoirs.

(m) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery.

[B] *For which, even in the earlier part of his life, he became remarkable.*] We cannot exactly say in what month Mr Boyle came to Eaton school; we know that it was some time in the year 1635, and when he was very little more than eight years of age (5), and though he came thither so soon, yet he did not come altogether uninstructed, for he not only wrote so as to be read, but a strong, fair, legible hand of the *italick* kind, and was tolerably acquainted with Latin (6): His diligence and application recommended him so much to Mr Harrison, that he was extremely kind to him, instructed him out of school hours in his own chamber, gave him true notions of the use and value of learning, considered as a thing respecting himself, as well as what was expected from him; but whether he recommended to him Quintus Curtius, whether it fell into Mr Boyle's hands by chance, or came to be taken up as a school-book, does not appear; yet this it seems was the author that struck him most, and the reading of which gave him such an appetite for learning, as his application thereto all his life after could never cloy. His own account of the matter is delivered in words that cannot be varied without changing the thought, and lessening the force of the expression. Speaking of himself, as he does throughout his memoirs in the third person, he treats this passage thus: *In gratitude to this book I have heard him hyperbolically say, that he not only owed more to* Quintus Curtius *than* Alexander *did, but derived more advantage from the history of that great Monarch's conquests, than ever he did from the conquests themselves.* There is certainly something in this book that operates strongly upon young minds; it is said the reading it made Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, a hero (7); and we have heard Mr Boyle himself confess, that he derived from it that passion for learning which made him a scholar.

(5) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(6) See his own Memoirs.

(7) Histoire de Suede, p. 597.

[C] *His having a wit so much superior to his age.*] We have in his own memoirs, an account of several accidents that happened to him in this space of time, three of which were very near proving fatal to his life and hopes: The first was the sudden fall of the chamber where he lodged when himself was in bed; when, besides the hazard he ran of being crush'd to pieces, he had certainly been choaked with the dust, during the time he lay under the rubbish, if he had not had presence of mind enough to have wrapped up his head in the sheet, which gave him an opportunity of breathing without hazard. A little after this, he had been crushed to pieces by a starting horse that rose up suddenly, and threw himself backwards, but Mr Boyle happily disengaged his feet from the stirrups, and cast himself from his back before he fell. A third accident befel him from the carelessness of an Apothecary's servant, who, by mistaking the phials, brought him a strong vomit instead of a cooling Julep. These, and many other circumstances of the like kind, he committed to memory first, and to writing afterwards. He made but few excursions from school, and those only to see his relations, such as his Sister Goring, at Lewes, in Sussex, and his Brother, the Lord Dungarvan, upon his coming to London: While he remained there he wrote the following letter (the original of which is before me) to his father, which will justify all that is said in the text.

My most honoured Lord Father,

'HEARTILY praying for the continuance 'of God's favour to your Lordship still in 'soul and body, I humbly prostrate myself unto 'your honourable feet, to crave your blessing and 'pardon for my remissness, in presenting my illiterate lines unto your honourable kind acceptance. 'Whereas I have been heretofore cloy'd with our 'colledge exercise, I could not so often visit your 'Honour in writing; but now being by the ardent 'desire of our Brother, and the licence of Sir Harry Wotton, and our school-master, come to London, where we make four days residence, have 'found opportunity to offer unto your Honour that 'oblation due unto so good and so noble a 'Father, that is most humble duty, desiring your 'Honour to pardon him for his brevity, who strives 'to live after your Lordship's will and commandments.

London, decimo 4to Martii. *Truely and obediently,*

ROBERT BOYLE.

Superscribed. *For my dear Lord Father, the Earl of Cork.*

[D] *Pursued*

his Governor had a family, and there the two young gentlemen pursued their studies quietly and without interruption (n) [D]. Mr Boyle, during his stay here, resumed his acquaintance with the Mathematicks, or at least with the elements of that science, of which he had first obtained some knowledge at Eaton. He was now drawing towards fourteen, and his temper being naturally very grave and serious, his thoughts were often turned on religious subjects, but, however, not without some mixture of doubts and difficulties, as himself acknowledges, about the certainty of the *Christian* Revelation (o). This, instead of having any bad effects, was productive of very good consequences; he examined cooly and circumstantially the evidence in favour of the Gospel, and concluded, by dint of reasoning, that this was the only certain and sure way to salvation (p). We might possibly suspect the truth of this, considering his youth, and the little care that persons at such years take, or indeed are capable of taking, in matters of so great importance; but it so falls out, that we have an original letter of his written at this time to his father, which plainly proves that his capacity was, even at that early season, very capable of such arduous enquiries [E]. While he remained at Geneva, he made some excursions to visit the adjacent country of Savoy, and even proceeded so far as to Grenoble in Dauphiné, and took a view also of those wild mountains, where Bruno the first author of the Carthusian Monks lived in solitude, at the time he erected that order (q). In September 1641 he quitted Geneva, and passing through Switzerland and the country of the Grisons, entered Lombardy, and taking his rout through Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, arrived at Venice, and having made a short stay there, returned to the Continent, and spent the winter at Florence, and during his stay in that city, the famous Galileo died at a village not far from thence (r). While he resided in this fair city, he had an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language, which he understood perfectly, though he never spoke it so fluently as the French, of which he became so great a master, that as occasion required,

(n) His own Memoirs.

(o) Id. ibid.

(p) See Burnet's Sermon at the funeral of Mr Boyle. Bolton's Life of Boyle.

(q) His own Memoirs.

(r) See the Life of Galilei Galileo, by Mr Salisbury prefixed to his Mathematical Collections.

[D] *Pursued their studies quietly, and without interruption*] He informs us in his own memoirs, that while he was at Eaton, and was afflicted with an ague before he was ten years old, it was thought necessary to interrupt his studies, and to allow him to divert himself with any kind of writing that pleased him most, and as this happened to be romances, it brought upon him such a distraction (8) of thought, and so great an unsettledness of mind, that when he recover'd his health, he found it very difficult to fix his attention to any thing: All this we must allow has nothing in it strange or uncommon; but that a youth, or rather a child, at his age, should seriously seek a remedy for such an evil, and make choice of the extraction of the square and cube roots, and the solution of algebraical equations for that remedy, is certainly very extraordinary. It was this that gave him the first taste of mathematical science, which he improved at Geneva under the care of Mr Marcombes, who not only taught him the Theory of Geometry, but the Application of it also; for there was this singularity in Mr Boyle's temper, that as soon as he became acquainted with any science, he was for applying it to some use, and therefore the practical parts of Trigonometry delighted him much, and Fortification, instead of being considered as a study, appeared to him as the pleasantest amusement in the world; Geography was to him no more than travelling upon paper; Astronomy a voyage to the Heavens; and so of other things that commonly appear labours to others, he conceived in such a manner, that they appeared desirable to him. In these notions he was led on and sustained by his governor, who appears to have had great parts as well as prudence, and to have understood the art of educating youth, by making them conceive education their own business, which Mr Boyle did to such a degree, that both here and at Eaton his assiduity required rather a curb than a spur, and his preceptors were obliged to take more pains to abate the spirit with which he pursued learning, than they usually did to excite it in others. This he tells with great simplicity, and if he had not told us, we must have learned it from his letters and his books.

(8) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

[E] *Very capable of such arduous enquiries.*] In order to shew with how much strength of judgment he might enter into the deepest disputes of religion, we shall exhibit another original letter of his, written to his Father at this time, with an exactness and correctness hardly to be expressed; and yet, as some circumstances therein plainly shew, without the privity, and consequently without the assistance, of his governor. The sentiments and language of this letter sufficiently demonstrate, that though the author was but in his fifteenth year, he had a general notion of the affairs of Christendom, otherwise he could not have wrote of them so clearly, and yet so succinctly as he does: but let us come to the letter itself.

My most honoured Lord and Father,

'As your Lordship's long silence hath extremely 'afflicted us, so the receipt of your Lordship's letters, dated the 25th of June, hath infinitely rejoiced us; for by them we are not only assured of your Lordship's health, (for the continuation whereof I pray God day and night) but also of the leave which we have so much desired to go into Italy the first of September. I wonder that Mr Killigrew should tell your Lordship, that we wore our old cloaths, and had no money in our pockets when he was here; for I assure your Lordship, that since we came to Geneva, we have been very far from wanting either the first or the last, and that Mr Marcombes hath too great a care of us to let us want the least thing that is necessary, either for our bodies or minds: we are in his house in perfect health (thanked be God) and grow great proficients in the Mathematicks, which is a study so pleasing and profitable, that when one hath once tasted the sweetness of it, it is almost impossible not to take delight therein, and by consequence not to ply it hard. The news here are, that the Count de Soissons forces, and one of the King of France's armies having met near Sedan, the King's army was beaten, and the Count de Soissons killed. They say also, that Picolomini hath been shrewdly beaten in Germany, and that the King of France's affairs go very well in Catalonia, the Archbishop of Bourdeaux having beaten the Spanish fleet, and Tarragone being taken by one of the King's generals. Having no other news worthy the writing to your Lordship, I end my letter with them, beseeching you to believe that I lose no time here, and that in plying hard my studies and exercises, I will shew the ardent desire I have to be justly esteemed,

From Geneva, the 20th July, 1646.

My Lord,
Your most dutiful and obedient Son, and humble servant,
ROBERT BOYLE.

Superscribed. *For my most honoured Father, the Earl of Cork, at his lodgings at Court.*

[F] *With*

quired, he passed for a native of that country in more places than one during his travels (s). About the end of March be began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days, and after having surveyed that famous city, the heats disagreeing with his brother, he returned to Florence, from thence he went to Leghorn, and so by sea to Genoa (t). He made but a short stay there, and then passing through the county of Nice, crossed the sea to Antibes, from whence he went to Marseilles by land. He was in that city in the month of May 1642, when he received his father's letters, with a dreadful account of the rebellion just then broke out in Ireland, and advice likewise, that with great difficulty his Lordship had procured two hundred and fifty pounds, which he remitted his sons to enable them to return home, but of this money they never saw a farthing, for being put into the hands of one Perkins (u), a considerable trader in the city of London, he proved unfaithful to his trust, which drove these two noble youths to the utmost distress, 'till, with much ado, their Governor, Mr Marcombes, supplied them with as much as brought them to Geneva, where they continued with him for some time, and having neither supplies nor advices from England, he was obliged, in order to enable them to go home, to take up some jewels on his own credit, which they disposed of with as little loss as might be, and with the money thus produced, continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644 (w). On his arrival there he found his father dead, and though he had made an ample provision for him, as well by leaving him his manour of Stalbridge in England, as other considerable estates in Ireland, yet it was some time before he could receive any money (x). During this space he lodged with his sister, the Lady Ranelagh, and by her interest, and that of his brother Lord Broghill, he procured protections for his estates in England and Ireland, from those who had the power then in their hands (y). He also obtained their leave to go over for a short space into France, probably that he might have an opportunity of settling his accounts, with his old Governor and constant friend Mr Marcombes (z); but he did not stay long abroad, since we find him the December following at Cambridge. In the month of March, 1646, he retired to his own seat at Stalbridge, from whence he made various excursions, sometimes to London, sometimes to Oxford, applying himself as assiduously to his studies, as his own circumstances, or those of the times, would permit (a); and indeed it is very amazing to find, what a prodigious progress he made, not only in many branches of literature, but in some that have been always held the most difficult and abstruse. He omitted no opportunity, of obtaining the acquaintance of persons distinguished for parts and learning, to whom he was in every respect, a ready, useful, and generous assistant, and with whom he maintained a constant correspondence (b) [F]. He was also one of the first members of that small, but learned body, which held it's first meetings at London, then removed to Oxford, stiled by him, the *Invisible*, by themselves, the *Philosophical* College, and which, after the Restoration, were incorporated and distinguished, as they well deserved, by the title of the *Royal Society* (c). It

(s) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(t) His own Memoirs.

(u) Id. Ibid.

(w) Memoirs of the honourable Robert Boyle.

(x) His own Memoirs.

(y) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(z) This appears by a Letter of his to Lord Broghill, dated Aug. 25, 1645.

(a) Birch's Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, p. 15.

(b) See the great Collection of his Letters in the fifth Volume of his Works, which are, however, but a part of what he left behind him.

(c) See this point discussed in Bishop Sprat's learned History of the Royal Society.

[F] *With whom he held a constant correspondence.*] Of these persons who entered so early into an intimate acquaintance with Mr Boyle, and for whom he preserved his friendship as long as he and they lived, we shall mention a few. Mr Francis Tallents (who was afterwards so well known, and so much respected in the world, for that laborious performance which he published under the title of *Chronological Tables*, (9) which was the work of years) had been, while he was under-graduate, sub-tutor to several sons of the Earl of Suffolk, (one of whose daughters was married to Lord Broghill) being removed from Peter-house to Magdalen-college for that purpose, and about the year 1642 travelled abroad with them as their tutor. After his return, he became senior Fellow and President, or Vice-master, of his College, and having spent near twenty years in the University, was settled at Saint Mary's in Shrewsbury, where he was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. In the year 1670 he went a second time as tutor to two young gentlemen, Mr Boscawen and Mr Hamden. In the last part of his life he was pastor to a congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Shrewsbury, where he died April 11, 1708, in the 89th year of his age. Mr Samuel Hartlib (10) was another acquaintance of Mr Boyle's one for whom he had a great regard, and to whom he afforded considerable assistance. He was born in Prussia or in Poland, it is not easy to know which, for his father resided many years in both countries: he came over to England in 1630, and distinguished himself by many learned and useful writings, which gained him the friendship and esteem of some of the greatest men that age produced, which was so prolifick in great men; but among them there was none that either expressed a greater value for his useful qualities, or gave higher testimonies of the sincerity of his affection than Mr Boyle; and from hence arose that close and intimate correspondence, which, as it gave the greatest pleasure to them while it continued, so the publication of their letters will do honour to their memories, and be of service to the publick, as long as a true spiret of learning, and a just respect for Mr Boyle's writings, shall subsist. He was likewise very kind to Mr John Dury (11), a very worthy, well-meaning person, who spent many years, and took much pains in the prosecution of a design, which, however commendable, proved but very chimerical, which was the reconciliaton of the Lutherans and Calvinists. He was also very intimate with Dr William Petty, Mr John Beale, and many other persons distinguished by their genius and love for learning, before he had attained the age of twenty (12). It is also farther remarkable, that as he was always communicative in point of knowledge, to such as stood on a level with him in respect of fortune; so in regard to those who had no large stock of any thing but merit, he was not only civil and kind in his expressions, but useful and beneficent to them in every other respect; so that he fully justified what a great man who knew him very well said of him at this time, viz. That in his youth he had not only the proficiency, but the prudence of a man in years, and that at a time when others of his age thought of nothing but pursuing their pleasures, he made it his sole business to promote science, and delighted in nothing so much as in doing good. It was a great honour to Mr Boyle that this was said of him so early: but it was a much greater felicity, that it continued to be said of him for upwards of forty years afterwards, and that not by a few whom he obliged, or by such as hoped to be obliged, but by the world in general, and in the strongest terms by such as were acquainted with him best.

(9) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 548.

(10) See the article of HARTLIB (SAMUEL).

(11) See Worthington's Miscellanies, p. 242, 252.

(12) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 21, 22, 23.

[G] *Which*

It is no small honour to this worthy person, that when he was so young a man, his merit and knowledge gained him admittance amongst persons, the most distinguished for the acuteness of their understandings and the singularity, as well as extent, of their science. We have an account of their first institution, written by the famous Dr Wallis, which deserves the reader's attention, and is therefore placed in the notes *(d)* [*G*]. The great diligence and application of Mr Boyle, was so much the more to be esteemed and commended, as at this time his health was very much disordered by frequent fits of the stone, a disease to which he was extremely subject, and to which his sedentary life, and close application to his studies, might possibly contribute *(e)*. But notwithstanding this, and the frequent occasions he had to remove from place to place, sometimes on the score of business, at others to visit his many noble relations, yet he never suffered his thoughts to be disordered, or the designs he had formed to be broken or interrupted by any of these accidents, as appears by his having compleated three regular and excellent pieces, before he had reached the age of twenty, *viz.* his *Seraphick Love*, his *Essay on Mistaken Modesty*, and the *Swearer silenced*, to which he afterwards gave the title that it now bears, of a *Free Discourse against customary Swearing (f)*. Besides these, it plainly appears, as well from the writings he has published, as from many of his private letters, that he had made large collections upon other subjects, from some of which he afterwards drew distinct treatises *(g)*. The retired course of life, which, for the sake of his health, from the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his designs, he took a pleasure to lead, could not hinder his reputation from rising to such a height, as made him taken notice of by some of the most eminent members of the Republick of Letters; so that in 1651, we find Dr Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent Physician, dedicating to him his *History of Generation*, in which dedication he stiles him both his patron and his friend *(h)*. In 1652 he went over to Ireland, in order to visit and settle his estates in that kingdom, and there, if I am not mistaken, he met with a fall from his horse in a watery place, which gave him a very grievous fit of sickness *(i)*. He returned from Ireland to England in August 1653, but was soon after obliged to return again into that kingdom, where he spent his time but very unpleasantly, and it would have been still more so, if it had not been for the acquaintance of Dr Petty, afterwards Sir William Petty, who was his intimate friend, and, as in it's proper place will appear, one of the greatest men of that, or indeed of any other age *(k)*. In the summer of 1654 he returned to England, and put in execution a design he had formed when he was last in this kingdom, of settling at Oxford, as well for the sake of several of his ingenious friends, who resided there, as for the many and extraordinary conveniencies which the place afforded, for the prosecution of his beloved studies in peace. He chose to live there in the house of Mr Crosse an Apothecary, rather than in a college, for the sake of his health, and because he had more room for making experiments *(l)*. It was now that he found himself surrounded by a number of learned friends, who resorted thither chiefly for the same reasons that he had done, the *Invisible College*, as he called it, or *Philosophical Society*, being now transferred from London to Oxford *(m)* [*H*]. It

(*d*) It is published by Mr Hearne, in the Appendix to the Preface to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. clxi.

(*e*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 27.

(*f*) See these Pieces in the new Collection of Boyle's Works.

(*g*) This is evident from comparing these Treatises together.

(*h*) This Dedication is dated May 15, 1651, and the book was then admired as very learned and curious.

(*i*) See his Preface to his Collection of Receipts in which this is related at large.

(*k*) See the article of PETTY (Sir WILLIAM).

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 629, 630. Papers formerly in the custody of Dr Wotton. See also Dr Wallis's Letter in the following note.

(*m*) This corrects Bishop Sprat's Account in his Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 57, 58.

[*G*] *Which deserves the reader's attention, and is therefore placed in the notes.*] This letter was written by the famous Doctor Wallis to Doctor Thomas Smith, Fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, and with the rest of that great man's papers, fell into the hands of the indefatigable Mr Thomas Hearne, who has deserved so well of the publick, and whose memory has been so indifferently treated. In that letter Doctor Wallis gives an account of his own life, and therein is this remarkable passage (13). ' About the ' Year 1645, while I lived in London, at a time ' when by our civil wars academical studies were ' much interrupted in both our Universities, beside ' the conversation of divers eminent divines, as to ' matters theological, I had the opportunity of being ' acquainted with divers worthy persons inquisitive ' into Natural Philosophy, and other parts of humane ' learning; and particularly of what hath been called ' the New Philosophy, or Experimental Philosophy. ' We did by agreement divers of us meet weekly in ' London on a certain day, to treat and discourse of ' such affairs: of which number were Dr John Wilkins (afterwards Bishop of Chester), Dr Jonathan ' Goddard, Doctor George Ent, Doctor Glisson, Doctor Merret, (Doctors in Physick); Mr Sam. Foster, ' then Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, ' Mr Theodore Hank, (a German of the Palatinate, ' and then resident in London, who, I think, gave ' the first occasion, and first suggested those meetings) ' and many others. These meetings we held sometimes at Doctor Goddard's lodgings, in Wood-street, ' (or some convenient place near) on occasion of his keeping an Operator in his house for grinding glasses for ' Telescopes and Microscopes, and sometimes at a ' convenient place in Cheapside, sometimes at Gresham College, or some place near adjoining. Our ' business was, precluding matters of theology and state ' affairs, to discourse and consider of philosophical ' enquiries, and such as related thereunto, as Physick, ' Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Staticks, ' Magneticks, Chymicks, Mechanicks, and Natural Experiments, with the state of these studies as then cultivated at home and abroad: we there discoursed ' of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the ' veins, the venæ lacteæ, the lymphatick vessels, the ' Copernican hypothesis, the nature of comets and new ' stars, the satellites of Jupiter, the oval shape (as it ' then appeared) of Saturn, the spots in the Sun, and ' it's turning on it's own axis, the inequalities and ' selenography of the Moon, the several phases of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of Telescopes, ' and grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight ' of air, the possibility or impossibility of vacuities and ' nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quick-silver, the descent of heavy bodies, ' and the degrees of acceleration therein, and divers ' other things of like nature. Some of which were ' then but new discoveries, and others not so generally known and embraced as now they are, with ' other things appertaining to what hath been called ' the New Philosophy, which from the times of Galileo, at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon, (Lord ' Verulam) in England, hath been much cultivated in ' Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad as ' well as with us in England.'

(13) E Col. Smithianis, Vol. XXII. p. 38.

[*H*] *Being now transferred from London to Oxford.*] We have in the former note shewn (14), when, and how, these meetings were at first set on foot in London, and if the readers will consult the letters of Mr Boyle, interspersed through the large account of his life, prefixed to his Works, they will find undeniable evidence of the share he had in the institution of this

(14) See before, in note [*G*].

It was during his residence here, that he invented the air-pump, which was perfected for him by the ingenious Mr Hooke in 1658 or 1659, by the help of which he made such experiments, as enabled him to discover and demonstrate several qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundations for a complete theory (n). He was not, however, satisfied with this, but laboured incessantly in collecting and digesting, chiefly from his own experiments, the materials requisite for this purpose. He declared against the Philosophy of Aristotle, as having in it more of words than things, promising much and performing little; in short, giving the inventions of men for indubitable proofs, instead of the results of such enquiries, as draw the knowledge of the works of nature from nature herself (o). He was so careful in, and so zealous for, the true method of learning by experiment, that though the Cartesian Philosophy made then a great noise in the world, yet he would never be persuaded to read the works of Des Cartes, for fear he should be amused and led away with a fair pretence of reasoning, and plausible accounts of things, grounded purely on conjecture (p). But Philosophy and enquiries into nature, though they engaged his attention deeply, did not occupy it entirely, since we find that he still continued to pursue his critical studies, in which he had the assistance of some as great men as have ever flourished in this kingdom, particularly Dr Edward Pococke, Mr Thomas Hyde, and Mr Samuel Clarke (q). He had also a strict intimacy with Dr Thomas Barlow, at that time Head-Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, a man of various and extensive learning (r). He was likewise the patron of the very learned Dr John Pell, an eminent Mathematician (s); and the famous Dr John Wallis, who distinguished himself in that and other branches of learning, did him the honour to dedicate to him his excellent treatise *on the Cycloid* (t). In 1659, being acquainted with the circumstances of the learned Dr Robert Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, he bestowed on him a stipend of fifty pounds a year, and that great man thankfully acknowledged the obligations he was under to so generous a patron, in a dedication of *his Lectures*, which were printed at Oxford the same year (u). After the Restoration, he was treated with great civility and respect by the King, and with much affection and esteem by his two great Ministers, the Lord-Treasurer Southampton, and the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, by whom he was pressed to enter into Holy Orders, of which he had very serious thoughts, but at last thought fit to decline it, upon very just and disinterest motives (w) [I]. The same year he published two of his first pieces, one of which was printed at Oxford, and the other at London; the former was his *New Experiments touching the Spring of the Air* (x), which he addressed to his nephew the Lord Dungarvan, and this drew him into a controversy with Franciscus Linus, and the famous Mr Thomas Hobbes, whose objections he refuted with equal candour, clearness, and civility. The second was his Discourse *on Seraphick Love* (y), and both pieces were received with universal applause. The fame of his great learning and abilities extended itself, even at this time, beyond the bounds of our island, so that the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a Prince distinguished for learning, desired Mr

(n) Life of Dr R. Hooke, by R. Waller, Esq; p. 3. Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college, p. 170.

(o) See Mr Boyle's observations to this purpose, in almost all his Philosophic Treatises.

(p) Boyle's Life, p. 33.

(q) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(r) See his article in this Dictionary.

(s) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 461.

(t) The Latin title of this work is, *De Cycloide, & corporibus inde genitis*, and is in the Collection of his Works, published in 1699, in three Volumes, folio.

(u) See Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson, and Dr Barlow's Letter annexed.

(w) Burnet's Sermon at Boyle's Funeral.

(x) This work has borne three editions, *viz.* Oxford 1660, 8vo; Lond. 1662, 4to; with an Appendix, Lond. 1682, 4to.

(y) This, as we have shewed, was finished in 1648; it has run thro' many editions, and been translated into Latin.

this learned Society, though no mention is made of him in the passage we have cited from the writings of Dr Wallis; yet considering the distance of time between those transactions, and his relation of them, we may rather wonder that he remembered so many, than that amongst them a single name was omitted. Yet the same learned person, speaking of the removal of this Society, and the manner in which their assemblies were held at Oxford, fails not to mention Mr Boyle, as may be seen in the following passage (15). 'About the year 1648-9, some of our company being removed to Oxford, (first Dr Wilkins, then I, and soon after Dr Goddard) our company divided. Those in London continued to meet there as before, (and we with them when we had occasion to be there) and those of us at Oxford; with Dr Ward (since Bishop of Salisbury); Dr Ralph Bathurst (now President of Trinity-college in Oxford); Dr Petty (since Sir William Petty); Dr Willis (then an eminent Physician in Oxford); and divers others, continued such meetings in Oxford, and brought those studies into fashion there, meeting first at Dr Petty's lodgings (in an Apothecary's house); because of the convenience of inspecting drugs, and the like, as there was occasion; and after his remove to Ireland (though not so constantly) at the lodgings of Dr Wilkins (then Warden of Wadham-college); and after his removal to Trinity-college in Cambridge, at the lodgings of the Hon. Mr Robert Boyle, then resident for divers years in Oxford. Those meetings in London continued, and (after the King's return in 1660) were increased with the accession of divers worthy and honourable persons, and were afterwards incorporated by the name of the Royal Society, &c. and so continue to this day.'

(15) See Dr Wallis's Letter, as before cited.

[I] *Upon very just and disinterested motives.*] The great regard that the Earl of Clarendon had for the Church of England, was one great reason why he was so earnest, in persuading the Hon. Mr Boyle to enter into Holy Orders. His noble family, his distinguished learning, and, above all, his unblemished reputation, induced that great and good man to think, that any ecclesiastical preferments he might attain, would be so worthily discharged, as to do honour to the clergy, and service to the established Communion. All these arguments Mr Boyle considered with due attention, but to ballance these he reflected, that in the situation of life he was in, whatever he wrote with respect to religion, would have so much the greater weight, as coming from a layman, from a person, who, in other respects, shewed himself free from all prejudice and prepossessions, concerned only to find out truth, and to stick close thereto wherever he found it: He considered likewise, that, in point of fortune and character, he needed no accessions, and indeed he never had any appetite for either. But a certain great Prelate (16) tells us, that what had the greatest weight in determining his judgment, was, the not feeling in himself any motion or tendency of mind, that he could safely esteem a call from the Holy Ghost, which, according to the form used in the Church of England, is affirmed by such as enter into Holy Orders. Now, whoever reflects upon either of these reasons, or takes them together under his consideration, cannot but discern, that what is asserted in the text is strictly true, and that it was impossible for any man to proceed in a matter of such weight and importance to himself and to the Church, more conscientiously, and with a quicker sense of justice and honour, than he did. To this we may add, that the last mentioned scruple evidently proves that there was nothing of enthusiasm in his disposition, and, consequently, this ought to give the greater weight, and afford the higher sanction, to all that he has written.

(16) Bishop Burnet, in his Sermon at the funeral of the Hon. Mr R. Boyle.

[K] One

our author resolved to settle himself for life in London, and removed for that purpose to the house of his sister, the Lady Ranelagh, in Pall-Mall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society, to whom he gave great and continual assistance (*w*). He had likewise his set hours for receiving such as came, either to desire his help, or to communicate to him any new discoveries in science. Besides which, he kept a very extensive correspondence with persons of the greatest figure, and most famous for learning in all parts of Europe (*x*). In 1669, he published his *Continuation of new Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the Air*, to which is added, *A Discourse of the Atmospheres of Consistent Bodies*; and the same year he revised, and made many additions to, several of his former tracts, some of which were now translated into Latin, in order to gratify the curious abroad, with whom Mr Boyle stood in as high reputation, as with all the lovers of learning at home. In the succeeding year, he published a book that occasioned much speculation, as it seemed to contain a vast treasure of new knowledge, that had never been communicated to the world before, and this grounded upon actual experiments and arguments justly drawn from them, instead of that notional and conjectural Philosophy, which, in the beginning of this century, had been so much in fashion. The title of this treatise was, *Of the Cosmical Qualities of Things* (*y*), and as it is necessary, in such an article as this, to give at least one instance of an author's manner of writing, we thought it might not be improper to insist farther upon this in the notes [*O*]. About this time, Dr Peter de Moulin, the son of the famous French Divine of

(*w*) See the several pieces communicated by Mr Boyle, as printed in the Transactions, and now collected in Mr Boyle's Works, and digested in their proper order of time.

(*x*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 60.

(*y*) Printed at Oxford, in 8vo; and soon after translated into Latin.

'Physick, than ever your Society was capable of, and 'which shall add glory to our Faculty. It was, indeed, 'the Popish interest to depress the Physicians, that so 'there might be nothing of learning in the nation to 'oppress them. Civil Law is gone; the number of 'learned Divines is small; and your Royal Society hath 'destroyed the succession. But there remains enough 'to retort the shame upon the authors, and cover you 'all with ignominy. I have no more to add, but that I 'shall never quit that respect which becomes

Your most humble Servant,

HENRY STUBBE.

[*O*] *To insist farther upon this in the notes.*] The ends proposed by Mr Boyle, in the publication of all his writings, were such as equally demonstrated the uprightness of his heart, the soundness of his head, and the diffusive beneficence of his nature. The treatise, before us, was composed of several short discourses, most of which bore some relation to other tracts the author had under his hand, which were not, at that time, in a condition to see the light. But he very justly considered, that if he delayed publishing any 'till all the tracts he had written, or intended, were fit to come abroad, the world might be deprived of many excellent discoveries, at a time, when an unusual spirit of improvement prevailed. He therefore chose to send such of them abroad, from time to time, as were in the best order; and gave thereby a noble proof of his preferring the service of mankind to his own reputation. The first tract in this collection is, *an Introduction to the History of particular qualities*; then follow his *Discourses of the Systematical or Cosmical Qualities of things, Cosmical Suspicions, the Temperature of the subterraneal Region, the Temperature of the submarine Region, and of the Bottom of the Sea*. The introduction to the history of particular qualities, is preparatory to the rest; and herein the author shows, that his doctrine is not like that of the ancient philosophers, made up of sounding and unmeaning words, or simple conjectures imposed in a dogmatic stile, but a plain and practical exposition of the discoveries, which, with much labour, and no less penetration, he had made by following nature and considering her operations. In the tract concerning the cosmical qualities of things, he shews, 1. That they depend partly upon the influence of external agents, as well as the primary affections of matter; so that there are many bodies, which, in several cases, act not, unless acted upon; and some of them act either solely, or chiefly, as they are acted on by general and unregarded agents. 2. That there are certain subtile bodies in the world, which are ready to insinuate themselves into the pores of any body disposed to admit their action, or by some other way to effect it, especially if they have the concurrence of other unobserved causes, and the established laws of the universe. 3. That a body, by a mechanical change of the texture, may acquire or lose a fitness to be wrought upon by unheeded agents, and also to diversify their operation on it, by a variation of it's texture. He proposes next the following cosmical suspicions. 1. That besides those more numerous and uniform sorts of minute corpuscles, which are by some of the modern philosophers thought to compose the æther, there may possibly be some other kind of corpuscles fitted to produce considerable effects when they find bodies to be wrought on by them. 2. That several persons have discovered pestilential streams in the air, before they acted as such upon other bodies. 3. That considerable, though slow, changes in the internal parts of the earth, may occasion a variation of the mariner's needle. 4. That the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and such like phænomena, are occasioned by some cosmical law of nature; or that the planetary vortex may be not a little concerned in producing such effects. 5. That all endemical and epidemical distempers, principally depend upon the influence of those globes which move about us, and the terrestrial effluvia of our own globe. 6. That those which are thought the grand rules by which things corporeal are transacted, and which suppose the constancy of the present fabrick of the world, and a regular course of things, are not altogether so uniformly complied with, as we presume at least as to the lines according to which the great mundane bodies move, and the boundaries of their motions. 7. That on the other hand, we may, perhaps, take such things for exorbitances, and deviation from the settled course of nature, as if long and attentively observed, will be a periodical phænomena of very long intervals, but because men have not sufficient skill and curiosity to observe them, nor a life long enough to be able to take notice of a competent number of them, they readily conclude them to be but accidental extravagances, which spring not from any settled and durable causes. In the discourses concerning the temperature of the subterraneal and submarine regions, he observes, that there are different regions below the earth; that the first region of the earth is very variable, both as to bounds and temperature; that the second seems to be generally cold, in comparison of the other two; that in several places, which by reason of their distance from the surface of the earth, might be referred to, the middle region of it, the temperature of the air, is very different at the same seasons of different years; that the third region of the earth has been observed to be constantly and sensibly, but not uniformly, warm, being in some places considerably hot: that there are two different regions below the surface of the sea, the one extended from the superficies of the water as far downward, as the manifest operation of the sun-beams, or other causes penetrates; and the other from thence to the bottom; so that the upper region must vary as to it's extent, according to the difference of the climate, and the heat of the sun, or the nature of the soils about the shore, but that the lower region is generally cold; he farther tells us, that the bottom of the sea is very rough and unequal; that the water gravitates considerably upon bodies immersed in it; and that the bottom of the sea is not disturbed with storms, but that the water stagnates. We may, from this instance, fully discern the usefulness

of the same name, who had travelled with Mr Boyle's nephews, dedicated to him his Collection of Latin Poems (z). But in the midst of his studies, and other useful employments, he was attacked by a severe paralytick distemper, of which, though not without great difficulty, he got the better, by adhering strictly to a proper regimen (a). In 1671, he published *Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy, the second Part* (b), as also *A Collection of Tracts* (c) *upon several useful and important Points of Practical Philosophy*, both which works were received as new and valuable gifts to the learned world. In 1672, came abroad his *Essay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems* (d), in which, according to his usual custom, he treated an old and beaten subject in a very new and useful manner; so that it may be truly said, that he not only threw an additional light upon a very dark and difficult subject, but also pointed out the only certain method of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the nature and virtues (if any such there be) of all kinds of precious stones. He published also, the same year, another *Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air* (e), and several other useful and curious subjects, besides furnishing in this, and in the former year, a great number of short Dissertations upon a vast variety of topicks, addressed to the Royal Society, and inserted in their *Transactions*. In the year 1673, he sent abroad his *Essays on the strange Subtilty, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia, to which were added, Variety of Experiments on other Subjects* (f). The same year, Anthony Le Grand dedicated to him his *History of Nature* (g), which he published in Latin, and in this dedication the author gives a large account of the great reputation which Mr Boyle had acquired in foreign parts. In 1674, Mr Boyle published *A Collection of Tracts on the Saltness of the Sea, the Moisture of the Air, the natural and preternatural State of Bodies*, to which he prefixed, *A Dialogue concerning Cold* (h). In the same year, he sent abroad a piece that had been written near ten years before, intituled, *The Excellency of Theology compared with the Natural Philosophy, in an Epistolary Discourse to a friend* (i). This treatise, in which are contained a multitude of curious and useful, as well as just and natural, observations, was written in the time of the great plague, when the author was forced to go from place to place in the country, and had little or no opportunity of consulting his books. He also communicated to the world, the same year, another *Collection of Tracts, comprehending some Suspicions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadversions upon Mr Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum, A Discourse of the Cause of Attraction by Suction* (k), in which several pieces, as there are many new discoveries made, so several old errors, and groundless notions, are refuted and exploded. In 1675, he printed *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion, by T. E. a Layman, to which was annexed, a Discourse about the Possibility of the Resurrection, by Mr Boyle* (l). The reader will observe, that the former, as well as the latter, was of his writing, only he thought fit to mark that with the final letters of his name, and though the first of these Discourses promises a second part, that however, was not published. Amongst other pieces that he this year communicated to the Royal Society, there were two papers connected into one discourse, that deserve particular notice; the former was intituled, *An Experimental Discourse of Quicksilver growing hot with Gold* (m); the other related to the same subject, both of them containing discoveries worthy of so great a man, and facts that only on his credit could be believed [*P*]. In 1676, Mr Boyle published his

(z) The title of this book was *Petri Molinæi* P.F. ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ *Poematum libelli tres*, Cant. 1670. 8*vo*.

(a) See his own Account of this matters in his letter to John Mallet, Esq; in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 61.

(b) Printed at London, in 4*to*; re-printed, but with the old title, 1739.

(c) Printed at London, in 4*to*.

(d) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and soon after translated into Latin, by which it became generally known and esteemed abroad.

(e) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(f) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and translated into Latin.

(g) The title of this book ran thus, *Historia Naturæ variis experimentis & Ratiociniis elucidata, secundum Principia Stabilita, in Institutione Philosophiæ edita ab eodem Authore*, Lond. 1672, 8*vo*.

(h) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(i) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and afterwards translated into Latin.

(k) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(l) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(m) Philosophical Transactions, No. CXXII. p. 515.

usefulness and precision, as well as the curiosity and novelty, of Mr Boyle's writings; whence we may easily discern, how much they contributed, not only to the improvement of learning, and advancement of knowledge, by their contents, but by their example also; since the just fame that he acquired by his sagacious discoveries, and the freedom and candour with which he divulged them, induced many others to follow his steps, to the inexpressible benefit of such as are studious of true Philosophy.

[*P*] *Facts that only on his credit could be believed.*] All who are, in the least, acquainted with the writings of those who stile themselves Hermetick Philosophers, or, as they are commonly called, Alchemists, cannot be ignorant of the distinction they make between Common and Philosophick Mercury: or that many of them, amongst other qualities which they assign to their nobler kind of mercury, insist that this is one, *viz*. It will not only mix with, but upon being intermixed, will grow hot with gold. This such writers, as have endeavoured to overthrow the principles of the Alchemists, have absolutely denied; and it has even been given up by some of the modern writers upon that science themselves (30). But our noble author, who had a zeal for nothing but truth, and no aversion to any notions or principles whatever, that were not inconsistent therewith, thought it became him to acquaint the Royal Society with some discoveries he had made upon this subject many years before; and therefore communicated to their secretary some papers he had drawn up on this head, in which, besides his own excellent observations, are contained certain experiments that clearly determine the point, and put it beyond dispute, that there are various kinds of mercury, which may be so prepared as to mix, and to become hot with gold; that is, by the action of the particles of these two metals themselves upon each other, without the assistance of any other ingredient or of fire. But let us hear what himself says on that subject (31): 'Some years 'after I was in possession of this mercury, I found, in 'some of their books, that Chymists call Philosophers, 'some dark passages, whence I then guessed their 'knowledge of it, or of some other very like it; and in 'one of them I found, though not all in the very same 'place, an allegorical description of it, the greatest 'part of which was not very difficult for me to under'stand; but not finding there, any notice taken of the 'property of this mercury to grow hot with gold, I 'was induced to suspect, that either they had not the 'knowledge of it, or judged it unfit to be spoken of. 'But you will, I suppose, expect from me rather narra'tives than conjectures. And, indeed, it is but reason'able, that having but mentioned to you a phænome'non, whose credibility is by many denied; I should 'take notice of some circumstances fit to bring credit to 'it; and I shall the less grudge the pains of setting 'down several particular phænomena, because, I pre'sume you have not met with them; and because also it 'may gratify some of your chymical friends, who may 'have, or discover, some noble mercury, by helping them 'to examine it, and to try whether it resembles ours.

'That, I might not then be imposed on by others; 'I several times made trial of our mercury, when I 'was all alone. For when no body was by me, nor " probably

(30) The mystical Doctrines of the Sons of Hermes explained, p. 15.

(31) Boyle's Works, Vol. II, p. 557.

justly admired then, so it has been always in great esteem since, and may be truly said to have been the first work published, that gave inquisitive men any real light into the subjects which are therein examined. His Majesty, King Charles II. had now an opportunity of shewing his own great judgment in men, from his esteem and affection towards Mr Boyle; for Dr John Meredith, Provost of Eaton, dying in August 1665, the King, unasked and unsollicited, appointed Mr Boyle for his successor (*n*). This was certainly, all circumstances considered, the fittest employment for him in the kingdom; yet after mature deliberation, though contrary to the advice of his friends, he absolutely declined it, because he thought the duties of the employment might interfere with his studies; he was unwilling to quit that course of life, which, by experience, he found so suitable to his temper and constitution; and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into Holy Orders, which he was persuaded was necessary to qualify himself for it (*o*). In this year, and in the next, he was pretty much exercised in looking into an affair that made a very great noise in the world, and the decision of which, from the high reputation he had gained, was in a manner universally expected from Mr Boyle. The case was this, one (*p*) Mr Valentine Greatraks, an Irish gentleman, persuaded himself that he had a peculiar gift of curing diseases by stroking, in which, though he certainly succeeded often, yet he sometimes failed, and this occasioned a great controversy, in which most of the parties concerned addressed themselves to Mr Boyle, who conducted himself with such wisdom and prudence, as to get out of this affair without any loss of credit, which, all things considered, cannot but be esteemed a very high proof of his wisdom [*M*]. In 1666, Dr John Wallis addressed

(*n*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 334.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*p*) See the Hist. of the County of Waterford, by Mr C. Smith, p. 365.

[*M*] *Cannot but be esteemed a very high proof of his wisdom.*] As there is nothing more common, than for persons who take upon them to perform extraordinary and supernatural things to lose their own credit, and become ridiculous, instead of acquiring an extensive and lasting reputation; so it has often fallen out, that upon the appearance of such persons, and the noise which such kind of pretensions will always make: Men of great parts and learning who have either too hastily given their opinion, or have given it under the particular biass of some favourite notion, which such phænomena seem to confirm, have deeply suffered in their credit likewise, and by a single false step lost that consideration and regard, which, with much labour, and by many services rendered to the publick, they might, with great difficulty, have acquired (23). This Mr Valentine Greatraks was an Irish Gentleman of a good family and competent fortune, of a serious, or rather of a melancholy temper; and at the time of his coming into England, about thirty-seven years of age; about three years before he had an impulse on his mind that he could cure the King's Evil, which his wife, who was a notable woman, and from a charitable principle, had applied herself to the study of Surgery and Physick, treated as a fancy; but Mr Greatraks persisted in it, and upon some trials performed such extraordinary things, as in that kingdom made a very great noise; upon which he was cited into the Bishop's Court at Lismore; and not having a Licence for practising, he was forbid to lay hands on any for the future, which prohibition, however, he did not obey. In January 1665-6, the Earl of Orrery invited him into England, in hopes he might be able to cure the Viscountess of Conway, who had been for many years afflicted with an inveterate head-ach (24). He repaired for this purpose to her Lord's seat at Ragly in Warwickshire; and though he failed in his attempt, in respect to the Lady, yet his performances, in those parts, were so extraordinary, that Mr Stubbe, of whom we shall have occasion to say a great deal in the next note, thought fit to write a Treatise upon this subject intituled, *The miraculous Conformist: or, an Account of several marvellous Cures performed by the stroking of the Hands of Mr* Valentine Greatarick; *with a physical discourse thereupon, in a Letter to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, Esq; *with a Letter relating to some other of his miraculous Cures attested by* E. Foxcroft, M. A. *and Fellow of King's-College in* Cambridge. The letter to Mr Boyle is dated at Stratford upon Avon, Feb. 18, 1665-6. Wherein, after giving an account of the person about whom his Treatise was wrote, and the cures which he had seen him perform, he lays down this position, that God had bestowed upon Mr Greatraks a peculiar temperament, or composed his body of some particular ferments, the effluvia whereof being introduced sometimes by a light, sometimes by a violent friction, should restore the temperament of the debelitated parts, reinvigorate the blood, and dissipate all heterogeneous ferments out of the bodies of the diseased by the eyes, nose, mouth, hands, and feet. The rest of his piece is spent in explaining the nature and manner of this gentleman's working upon his patients for their cure: Mr Stubbe did not send, as in decency he ought, his manuscript to Mr Boyle, but a printed book, which he received on the eighth of March following in the evening. The very next day Mr Boyle wrote him a very long, a very learned, and a very judicious letter upon the subject, which was never published, 'till it appeared in his life prefixed to his works; and it is certainly one of the clearest testimonies of his vast abilities and extensive knowledge that is any where extant; for it appears from the letter itself, that he both read Mr Stubbe's Book in haste, and wrote himself in much hurry, being obliged to take horse to go out of town; yet, considered in any light, this letter will appear a very extraordinary performance, as being wonderfully correct in the diction and stile, remarkably clear in the method and form, highly judicious in the observations and remarks, and full of many pertinent and curious facts cited in support of whatever he advanced; the whole shewing such an admirable frame of mind, and such a temper with respect both to the evidence of cures on the one hand, and the difficulties attending the inferences drawn from those accounts on the other, as cannot but fill the reader's mind with a very high idea of the author's candour and prudence, as well as of his deep penetration, and his various and profound knowledge (25). A very little after, the reputation of Mr Greatraks was very warmly attacked, as it was supposed, by Mr David Lloyd Reader of the Charter-house, in a pamphlet entitled, *Wonders no Miracles; or Mr* Valentine Greatraek's *Gift of Healing examined, upon Occasion of a said Effect of his stroking, March the seventh, 1665, at one Mr* Cressett's *House in Charter-house-yard, in a Letter to a Reverend Divine living near that place.* This obliged Mr Greatraks to write a vindication of himself, against the imputations thrown upon him by this discourse, which he accordingly did, under the title of *A Brief Account of Mr* Valentine Greatraks, *and divers of the strange cures by him lately performed. Written by himself, in a Letter addressed to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, Esq; *Whereunto are annexed, the Testimonials of several eminent and worthy Persons, of the chief Matters of Fact therein related.* This letter is dated May the eighth 1666, and at the conclusion he intimates his design, when he had an opportunity, to answer all the queries which Mr Boyle had put to him, in a paper delivered into his hands, and which he was not then at leisure to satisfy: To this letter are subjoined testimonials by Mr Boyle, Dr Denton, Dr Fairclough, Sir William Smyth, Sir Nathaniel Hobart, and many other persons of distinction: He retured, not long afterwards, to Ireland, and though he lived there many years, yet I do not find, that he kept up the reputation of performing those strange cures which gained him the title of *the Stroker*, and has procured his name a place even in our general histories (26). But in this his case is very singular and remarkable, that, even on the strictest inquiry, no sort of blemish was ever thrown upon

(23) Hist. of the County of Waterford, p. 365.

(24) See his own Pamphlet addressed to Mr Boyle.

(25) See this Letter of Mr Boyle's at large, in his Life, p. 47.

(26) See Echard's Hist. of England, p. 127.

addreſſed to Mr Boyle *An Hypotheſis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea* (*q*). The famous Phyſician, Dr Thomas Sydenham, dedicated to him, in the ſame year, his *Method of curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Obſervations* (*r*), a little piece, written in Latin, and truly worthy of ſo great a man. Himſelf likewiſe publiſhed that year, his (*s*) *Hydroſtatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments for the moſt part phyſical and eaſy*, which he ſent abroad at the requeſt of the Royal Society, thoſe experiments having been made at their deſire about two years before. He alſo publiſhed that year another celebrated treatiſe of his, intituled, *The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy, illuſtrated by Experiments*; a treatiſe which did equal honour to the quickneſs of his wit, the depth of his judgment, and his indefatigable pains in ſearching after truth. We muſt likewiſe obſerve, that both in this, and in the former year, he communicated to his friend, Mr Oldenburgh, ſeveral curious and excellent ſhort treatiſes of his, upon a great variety of ſubjects, and others tranſmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which are printed and preſerved in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society (*t*). It is very obſervable, that in the warm controverſy raiſed in relation to that Society, Mr Boyle eſcaped all cenſure, which is more extraordinary, conſidering that Mr Stubbe, who was the great antagoniſt of the learned Hiſtorian of that Society, was one who ſet no bounds to his rage, and ſeemed to make it a point, to raiſe his reſentment in proportion as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this cholerick and furious writer had ſo high an eſteem for Mr Boyle, that at the very time he fell upon the Society in a manner ſo inexcuſable, he failed not to write frequently to our author, in order to convince him, that how angry ſoever he might be with that body of men, yet he preſerved a juſt reſpect for his great learning and abilities, and a true ſenſe of the many favours he had conferred upon him (*u*) [*N*]. About this time, our

(*q*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XVI. p. 264.

(*r*) The Latin title of this Treatiſe was, *Methodus curandi Febres propriis Obſervationibus ſuperſtructa*, Lond. 1668, 8*vo*, Iter. 1668.

(*s*) At London, in 8*vo*; it was alſo publiſhed in Latin.

(*t*) See Boyle's Life, p. 54.

(*u*) See inſtances of this in note [*N*].

upon his character; nor did any of thoſe curious and learned perſons, who eſpouſed his cauſe, draw any imputation upon themſelves; though at the ſame time it muſt be allowed, that there were ſeveral very eminent and knowing Virtuoſi, who could not be brought to have any great opinion of his performances, but were rather inclined to attribute all he did to the bare efficacy of Friction (27). We ſhall, perhaps, have occaſion, in another place, to examine this affair more cloſely, as deſigning no more, at preſent, than to ſet this matter in a clear light, ſo far as our author was concerned therein.

(27) Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, p 369.

[*N*] *True ſenſe of the many favours he had conferred upon him.*] It would far exceed the bounds of a note, ſhould we attempt to give any account of this Henry Stubbe, who was a frequent and voluminous writer. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that he was a conſtant antagoniſt to the famous Mr Glanville, and a declared enemy to the Royal Society (28), which makes it wonderful, that he ſhould preſerve any meaſures towards Mr Boyle, which, however, he did, at a time when he loſt all decency, as well as patience, in regard to others; as appears very clearly from the following paſſage, taken from a letter of his to Mr Boyle, dated from Warwick December 17, 1669, in relation to Dr Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society (29). 'At the ſeſſion of 'parliament you will ſee a cenſure upon certain paſſages 'in the hiſtory, with a defence of the cenſure, approved 'by as eminent Divines as this nation yields, which will 'convince you, how juſtly I ſay, that the hiſtory ſubverts the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of England. 'I never did any thing more unwillingly, than to 'enter upon Divinity; though, now, the XXXIX Articles, and Homilies, and the Proteſtant Religion, be 'the ſubject I defend againſt Popery and Socinianiſm. 'I underſtood of the King's diſpleaſure at me, and 'that he ſaid ſome ſevere things, but I was not troubled at it much, being content rather to ſerve him, 'than to flatter him. I did expect to have been impriſoned when I firſt undertook it, and therefore 'contrived how I might be freed again, never purpoſing to decline the other trouble. But, when I bring 'the caſe before the Commons, I am ſure I ſhall here 'be powerfully abetted, and the Society will have the 'worſe, and whatever they do before will add to my 'plea then; you will ſee, before Twelfth-day, that no 'inconſiderable perſons will ſpeak favourably of my 'intention, and avow the bravery and neceſſity of the 'performance. But I determined not to engage them 'to diſcourſe their minds before the book came out.' ——To this letter he adds the following remarkable Poſtſcript: 'I had forgot to ſuggeſt one thing to the 'conſideration of your Society, that, perhaps, it may 'be manifeſted at the Parliament, that the hiſtorian, 'by this book, is chargeable with high-treaſon, and that 'there want not ſuch as think, if your Society own it, 'they incur a *Præmunire*; ſo that whatever they may 'imagine to draw upon me (though I may ſuffer a 'while) will fall worſe on them, when the world takes 'notice of the ground of their actings againſt me, 'and that they do all this, whom I had repreſented in 'my preface as unconcerned in the conteſt.' It is amazing that ſo angry, and ſo raſh a writer, ſhould be able to create any conſiderable oppoſition to ſo learned and great a body, embarked in ſo juſt, ſo generous, and ſo publick-ſpirited an undertaking as reaſon and good ſenſe, then, and as the happy ſucceſs of their labours, and a long, and uninterrupted experience now demonſtrate the ſcheme of the Royal Society to be: Yet the ſame writer, in another letter to Mr Boyle dated June the fourth, 1670, not without ſome foundation of truth, boaſts of having brought over numbers, and even ſome of thoſe very great and conſiderable perſons, to his ſentiments; and very plainly tells our author, that he was the only man to whom he intended to give any quarter. 'What I believe you could never have apprehended is come to paſs; the body of the nation, and 'all learned men abet me; the two Univerſities (eſpecially that of Cambridge, which was moſt inclined to 'novelty) avow my quarrel; and they that favoured 'Experimental Philoſophy judge thoſe Virtuoſi unfit to 'proſecute it: The Biſhop of Chicheſter reads againſt 'them, and intends to hold his lecture a year or two, 'and that for this reaſon to overthrow the eſteem of 'them. The concourſe to hear him is ſuch as the 'Univerſity never ſaw before. The Elect of Bath is as 'much as any for me, and againſt Glanvile. In ſum, 'all men apprehend it is now their intereſt to oppoſe 'the Royal Society. I know not what any Phyſicians 'may, as the mode is, tell you to your face, but 'except it be ſuch as Dr Sydenham and young Cox, 'I believe not one lives, that doth not condemn your 'Experimental Philoſophy, and either the College, or 'Sir Alexander Fraſer, and the principal of them, intend me a letter of thanks for what I have done, 'with the liberty to print it, and perhaps others will 'follow the precedent; and how conſiſtent theſe 'things are, with the repute of the Society you adhere 'unto, judge you?—The Biſhop of London hath licenſed that againſt Sprat once more, and approved the 'preface and dedication to both Univerſities, wherein 'the paſſages are more ſevere than any yet publiſhed '—being reſolved to keep the controverſy hot 'till the 'Royal Society ſubmit to the terms I propoſe, and 'then they had as good diſſolve. I acquaint you with 'theſe things, that you may conſult your own eaſe, and 'let theſe comedians ſtand or fall alone; and then 'whatever reply, I ſhall, at the requeſt of the Phyſicians at London, make to you, ſhall be as amicable 'as it is poſſible, and, if it pleaſe God to continue us a 'nation, perhaps, you ſhall ſee a nobler project for the 'advancement of uſeful knowledge, in reference to

(28) See a large Account of him in Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 560, 663, 666.

(29) See theſe Letters in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 56—59.

Mr Southwell, then Resident at Florence, to acquaint Mr Boyle with his desire of holding a correspondence with him (z). In 1661, he published his *Physiological Essays and other Tracts* (a), which added greatly to the esteem, that all true lovers of learning had for his knowledge in things of this nature. Some time after, he sent abroad another curious and excellent work, intituled, *The Sceptical Chymist* (b), which was printed at Oxford; but several treatises that are mentioned in this and the former work, as being in great forwardness, and which the world very impatiently expected, were afterwards lost in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the great fire. In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland, was obtained from the King in Mr Boyle's name, though without his knowledge, which did not hinder his interesting himself very warmly, for procuring the application of these impropriations, to the promoting true religion and learning (c). He interposed likewise, in favour of the corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England, and was very instrumental in obtaining a decree in the Court of Chancery, for restoring to that corporation an estate, which had been injuriously re-possessed by one Col. Bedingfield, a Papist, who had sold it to them for a valuable consideration (d). His activity in matters of this nature was so much the more honourable, as he was naturally inclined to, and, generally speaking, followed that inclination in leading a private and retired life. But whenever the cause of virtue, learning, or religion, required it, his interest and endeavours were never wanting, and, by the peculiar blessing of Providence, were seldom employed but with success. In 1663, the Royal Society being incorporated by King Charles II, by letters patent dated the twenty-second of April (e), Mr Boyle was appointed one of the Council, and as he might be justly reckoned amongst the founders of that learned body, so he continued one of it's most useful and industrious members, during the whole course of his life [K]. In the month

(z) See Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 403, 404.

(a) At London in 4to. They were printed again, in 1669, 4to, with large additions, and translated into Latin.

(b) At Oxford, in 8vo. Again, at the same place, 1679, with considerable additions, in 8vo.

(c) Boyle's Life, p. 40.

(d) Baxter's Sermon at the Funeral of Henry Ashurst, Esq; p. 46.

(e) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 134.

[K] *One of it's most useful and industrious members during his whole life.*] We have already mentioned the beginnings of this great Society, and now from the History of it written by the incomparable pen of Bishop Sprat, who, having first mentioned the occasional meetings at Oxford and at London, proceeds then to give us the following account of the manner in which this Society was reduced to that state in which we now behold it. 'These gentlemen (says he, meaning those 'who had formerly met for their mutual improvement 'in Philosophical (17) studies) finding the hearts of 'their countrymen enlarged by their joys, and fitted 'for any noble proposition, and meeting with the concurrence of many worthy men, who, to their immortal honour, had followed the King in his banishment, Mr Erskine, Sir Robert Moray, Sir Gilbert Talbot, &c. began now to imagine some greater 'thing, and to bring out experimental knowledge from 'the retreats in which it had long hid itself, to take 'it's part in the triumphs of that universal Jubilee. 'And indeed, Philosophy did very well deserve that 'reward, having been always loyal in the worst of 'times. For though the King's enemies had gained 'all other advantages, though they had all the garrisons, and fleets, and ammunitions, and treasures, 'and armies, on their side, yet they could never, by 'all their victories, bring over the reason of men to 'their party. While they were thus ordering their 'platform, there came forth a treatise which very much 'hastened it's contrivance, and that was, a proposal 'by Master Cowley of erecting a Philosophical college. 'The intent of it was, that in some places near London, there should liberal salaries be bestowed on a 'competent number of learned men, to whom should 'be committed the operations of natural experiments. 'This model was every way practicable, unless, perhaps, in two things, he did more consult the generosity of his own mind than of other mens, the one 'was, the largness of the revenue with which he 'would have his college at first endowed; the other, 'that he imposed on his operators a second task of 'great pains, the education of youth. The last of 'these, is, indeed, a matter of great weight, the 'reformation of which ought to be seriously examined 'by prudent men. For it is an undeniable truth, 'which is commonly said, that there would be need 'of fewer laws, and less force, to govern men, if 'their minds were rightly informed and set straight 'while they were young and pliable. But, perhaps, 'this light is not so proper for experimenters to undergo, for it would not only devour too much of their 'time, but it would go near to make them a little more 'magisterial in Philosophy than became them, by being 'long accustomed to command the opinions, and direct the manners, of their scholars. And as to the 'other particular, the large estate which he required 'to the maintenance of his college, it is evident, that 'it is so difficult a thing to draw men in to be willing 'to divert an antient revenue, which has long run in 'another stream, or to contribute out of their own 'purses, to the supporting of any new design, while 'it shews nothing but promises and hopes, that in 'such cases, it were (it may be) more advisable to begin upon a small stock, and so to rise by degrees, 'than to profess great things at first, and to exact too 'much benevolence all in one lump together. However, it was not the excellent author's fault, that he 'thought better of the age than it did deserve. His 'purpose in it was like himself, full of honour and 'goodness, most of the other particulars of his draught 'the Royal Society is now putting in practice.—— 'Their purpose is, in short, to make faithful records 'of all the works of nature or art, which can come 'within their reach; that so the present age, and 'posterity, may be able to put a mark upon the errors 'which have been strengthened by long prescription; 'to restore the truths that have lain neglected; to 'push on those which are already known to more various uses; and to make the way more passable to 'what remains unrevealed. This is the compass of 'their design. And to accomplish this, they have 'endeavoured to separate knowledge of nature from 'colours of rhetorick, the devices of fancy, or the 'delightful deceit of fables. They have laboured to 'enlarge it, from being confined to the custody of a 'few, or from servitude to private interests. They 'have striven to preserve it from being overpressed by 'a confused heap of vain and useless particulars, or 'from being streightened, and bound too much up, 'by general doctrines. They have tried to put it 'into a condition of perpetual increasing, by settling 'an inviolable correspondence between the hand and 'the brain. They have studied to make it not only 'an enterprize of one season, or of some lucky opportunity, but a business of time; a steady, a lasting, a 'popular, an uninterrupted work. They have attempted to free it from the artifices, and humours, 'and passions, of sects; to render it an instrument 'whereby mankind may obtain a dominion over 'things, and not only over one another's judgments; 'and, lastly, they have begun to establish these reformations in Philosophy, not so much by any solemnity of laws, or ostentation of ceremonies, as by solid 'practice and examples, not by a glorious pomp of 'words, but by the silent, effectual, and unanswerable 'arguments of real productions.'—— After a very large account of the qualifications of their Members, the manner of their enquiry, their weekly assemblies, their way of registering, and the communication and assistance they have received from persons of eminence both at home and abroad, he proceeds thus (18): 'But I make haste to that which ought to be esteemed 'the

(17) Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 58.

(18) Ibid p. 133.

month of June 1663, he published his *Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy (f)*, which consisted of several Essays on useful and curious subjects, in which they are handled with great freedom, from a just zeal for truth, and for the common benefit of mankind, the points which he had always in view when he took his pen in hand. These pieces, thus published, were, as himself tells us, written on several occasions, to several persons, and at different times; but as, notwithstanding this, they had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of sending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that satisfaction, which particular friends had testified on the perusal of them in writing. These were followed by *Experiments and Considerations upon Colours*, to which was added, a Letter, containing *Observations upon a Diamond that shines in the Dark (g)*, a Treatise full of curious and useful remarks, on the hitherto unexplained doctrine of light and colours; in which he shews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration, and may be said to have led the way to that mighty genius, who has since set that important point in the clearest and most convincing light possible. He likewise published this year, his *Considerations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures (h)*, which was extracted from a much larger work, intitled, *An Essay on Scripture*, that was afterwards published by P. P. A. G. F. I. that is, Peter Pett, Attorney-General for Ireland, afterwards Sir Peter Pett, a man of great reading, a voluminous writer, but of an unsettled judgment, for whom, on account of his well meaning and upright intention, Mr Boyle had a great regard (i). In 1664, Mr Boyle was elected into the company of Royal Mines (k), and was all this year taken up in the prosecution of various good designs, and more especially in promoting the affairs of the corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England, which, in all probability, was the reason that he did not send abroad this year any treatises, either of Religion or Philosophy. In 1665, came abroad his *Occasional Reflections upon several Subjects (l)*, to which is prefixed, *A Discourse concerning the Nature and Use of such Kind of Writings.* This piece, though now published, had been written many years before, when the author was a young man, at times, and under circumstances, when few would have written any thing, and none could have written better. The attack made upon it, therefore, by a ludicrous writer, may be truly affirmed to be as cruel and unjust, as it is trivial and indecent [L]. A short time after, he published (m) *Experiments and Observations relative to an Experimental History of Cold, with several pieces thereunto annexed.* This work of his, as it was justly

(f) It was printed at Oxford, 1663, 4to; and again in the same size in 1664.

(g) Printed at London in 8vo, and re-printed at the same place, in the same size, 1670. It was also translated into Latin.

(h) Printed at London in 8vo; at Oxford, 1665, in Latin; and again at London in 1675.

(i) See his Dedication to Lord Altham, of his father, the Lord Anglesey's, Memoirs of his Life.

(k) See Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 328.

(l) Printed at London in 8vo; re-printed in 1669, in the same size; translated into Latin, but never published.

(m) Printed at London in 8vo; re-printed there in 1683, in 4to.

'the very life and soul of this undertaking, the protection and favour of the King and the Royal Family. When the Society first addressed itself to his Majesty, he was pleased to express much satisfaction that this enterprize was begun in his reign. He then represented to them the gravity and difficulty of their work, and assured them of all the kind influence of his power and prerogative. Since that, he has frequently committed many things to their search; he has referred many foreign rarities to their inspection; he has recommended many domestick improvements to their care; he has demanded the result of their trials in many appearances of nature; he has been present, and assisted with his own hands, at the performing of many of their experiments, in his garden, his parks, and on the river. And besides, I will not conceal, that he has sometimes reproved them for the slowness of their proceedings, at which reproofs they have not so much cause to be afflicted that they are the reprehensions of a King, as to be comforted that they are the reprehensions of his love and affection for their progress. For a testimony of which royal benignity, and to free them from all hinderances and occasions of delay, he has given them the establishment of his letters patents (19).'—— By these letters patents, William Viscount Brouncker, Chancellor to the Queen, was appointed the First President; and the following persons of the Council, *viz.* Sir Robert Moray, Knight, one of his Majesty's Privy-Council in Scotland; Robert Boyle, Esq; William Brereton, Esq; eldest son to the Lord Brereton; Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, Chancellor to the Queen-mother; Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight, Master of the Jewel-house; Sir Paul Neile, Knight, one of the Ushers of the Privy-Chamber; Henry Slingsby, Esq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; Sir William Petty, Knight; Timothy Clark, Doctor of Physick, and one of his Majesty's Physicians; John Wilkins, Doctor of Divinity; George Ent, Doctor of Physick; William Erskyne, Esq; one of his Majesty's Cup-Bearers; Jonathan Goddard, Doctor of Physick; William Ball, Esq; Matthew Wren, Esq; John Evelyn, Esq; Thomas Henshaw, Esq; Dudley Palmer, of Gray's-Inn, Esq; Abraham Hill, of London, Esq; and Henry Oldenburgh, Esquire.

(19) Ibid. p. 134.

[L] *To be cruel and unjust, as it is trivial and indecent.*] The piece mentioned in the text is addressed to *Sophronia*, under which name he concealed that of his beloved sister the Viscountess of Ranelagh (20). The thoughts themselves are on a vast variety of subjects, written in the course of ten years or more; some, indeed, upon trivial occasions, but all with great accuracy of language, much wit, more learning, and with a wonderful strain of moral and pious reflection. It was this that exposed him to the single harsh censure that ever was passed upon him, and that too from the pen of a very ingenious wit, the late Dean Swift (21), who, to ridicule these discourses, wrote *A pious Meditation upon a Broomstick, in the Style of the Honourable* ROBERT BOYLE. This piece is so well known that I need say no more of it, but perhaps it may afford some amusement to the reader, to be told, that from this very Treatise of our great author, Dr Swift borrowed the first hint of his Gulliver's Travels. The passage upon which this conjecture is founded is very short, and therefore we will insert it; but it is necessary to premise, that some of these occasional thoughts are written by way of dialogue, and in that *upon eating of Oysters* (22), one of the persons introduced therein speaks thus: 'You put me in mind of a fancy of your friend Mr Boyle, who was saying, that he had thoughts of making a short romantick story, where the scene should be laid in some island of the southern ocean, governed by some such rational laws and customs, as those of Utopia or the New Atalantis; and in this country he would introduce an observing native, that upon his return home from his travels made in Europe, should give an account of our countries and manners under feigned names, and frequently intimate in his relations, (or in his answers to questions that should be made him) the reasons of his wondering, to find our customs so extravagant, and differing from those of his own country. For your friend imagined, that by such a way of exposing many of our practices, we should ourselves be brought unawares to condemn, or perhaps laugh at them, and should at least cease to wonder, to find other nations think them as extravagant, as we think the manners of the Dutch and Spaniards, as they are represented in our travellers books.'

(20) See this Treatise amongst Boyle's Works, in the new edition, 1744, in the second Volume.

(21) Swift's Works, Vol. II. p. 35.

(22) See Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 220.

[M] Cannot

his *Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities* (n), by several Discourses on a great variety of subjects, and, amongst the rest, he treats very largely, and, according to his wonted method, very accurately, of Electricity. He had been for many years a Director of the East-India company, and very useful in this capacity to that great body, more especially in procuring their charter, and the only return he expected for his labour in this respect, was, the engaging the Company to come to some resolution in favour of the propagation of the Gospel, by means of their flourishing factories in that part of the world; and, as a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as in him lay, for that purpose, he caused five hundred copies of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, in the Malayan tongue, to be printed at Oxford, and sent abroad at his own expence, as appears from the Dedication prefixed by his friend Dr Thomas Hyde to that translation, which was published under his direction (p). There came abroad, the same year, a Miscellaneous Collection of his Works in Latin, printed at Geneva, but without his knowledge, of which there is a large account given in the Philosophical Transactions (q). In 1678, he communicated to Mr Hooke, afterwards Dr Hooke, the short Memorial of some

(n) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(p) This Dedication is dated from the Publick Library at Oxford, Sept. 24, 1677.

(q) No. CXXX. this account is penned by Hen. Oldenburgh, Esq; then their Secretary.

‘probably dreamed of what I was doing; I took to one part of the mercury, sometimes half the weight, and sometimes an equal weight of refined gold, reduced to a calx or subtile powder. This I put into the palm of my left hand, and putting the mercury upon it, stirred it, and pressed it a little with the finger of my right hand, by which the two ingredients were easily mingled, and grew not only sensibly, but considerably hot, and that so nimbly, that the incalescence did sometimes come to it's height in about a minute of an hour, by a minute clock. I found the experiment succeed whether I took altogether or but half as much gold as mercury, but the effect seemed to be much greater when they were employed in equal weight; and to obviate a suspicion, which, though improbable, might possibly arise, as if the immediate contact of the ingredients, and the skin produced a sense of heat, which was not due to the action of the metals upon one another: I had the curiosity to keep the mixture in a paper, and found not it's interposition to hinder me from feeling the incalescence, though it much abated the degree of my sense of it.

‘I tried also the same mercury with refined silver reduced to a very fine powder, but I could not perceive any heat or warmth at all, though I am apt to think, that if I had had a sufficient quantity of leaf-silver to have made the experiment with, I should, after some time, have produced an incalescence, though much inferior to what the same quantity of mercury would produce with gold, but this is only upon the bye. I shall now add, that to the end I might not be thought to impose upon myself, I did not make trial in my own hand, when it was in different temper as to heat and cold, but I did it in the hands of others, who were not a little surprized and pleased at the event. And this I did more than once or twice, by which means I had, and still have, divers witnesses of the truth of the experiment, whereof some are noted persons, and especially him to whom I last shewed it, which you will easily believe, when I tell you it is the learned secretary of the Royal Society, to whom having given the ingredients, I desired him to make the experiment in and with his own hands, in which it proved successful, within somewhat less than a minute of an hour.’ (The same experiment was afterwards tryed by the Lord Viscount Brouncker, President of the Royal Society.) ‘And that which makes this incalescence the more considerable is, that being willing to husband my mercury, a great part of which had been, as I guessed, stolen from me before I employed it; I made these trials but with a drachm at a time, which scarce amounts, in quantity, to the bigness of half a middle sized bean; whereas, if I could have made the experiment with a spoonful or two of quicksilver, and a due proportion of gold, it is probable the heat would have been intense enough, not only to burn one's hand, but perchance to crack a glass-vial; since I have sometimes had of this mercury so subtile, that when I employed but a drachm at a time, the heat made me willing to put it hastily out of my hand.

‘These things being matters of fact, I scruple not to deliver them; but I would much scruple to determine thence, whether those that are *mercurii corporum*, and were made, as Chemists presume, by extraction only from metals and minerals, will each of them grow hot with gold, as, if I much mistake not, I found antimonial mercury to do. And much less would I affirm, that every metalline mercury (though never so disposed to incalescence) or even that of silver or gold itself, is the same with that which the Chrysopæan writers mean by their Philosophick mercury, or is near so noble as this. Nay, I would not so much as affirm, that every mercury obtained by extraction, even from the perfect metals themselves, must needs be more noble and fit (as Alchemists speak) for the Philosophick work, than that which may with skill and pains be at length obtained from common mercury, skilfully freed from it's recrementitious and heterogeneous parts, and richly impregnated with the subtile and active ones of congruous metals or minerals. These, and the like points, I should, as I was saying, much scruple at offering to determine in this place, where what I designed to deliver was historical, though I have not thought it impertinent to glance at the points lately mentioned, because those glances may intimate things conducive to the better understanding of what I have said, and have to say, in this paper.’

It is very evident, from what we have cited, that our author had no sort of prejudices or prepossessions whatever; he very well knew, under what suspicions all the Alchemistal writers lay, and no body was a better judge than himself how far they deserved it: but this did not hinder him from reading, examining, and making use of their writings, or from publishing to the world the truths that he found in them, amongst which there was scarce any of greater fame or importance, than this singular discovery. To be convinced of this, the reader need only to be told, that as soon as the Transactions of the Royal Society, in which these papers were contained, became publick, the judicious Sir Isaac, then only Mr Newton, thought fit to write a letter to Mr Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society, thereupon, in which, after taking some pains to shew, that very possibly this particular kind of mercury might act otherwise upon gold than by the subtility of it's parts, he shows a great concern lest the secret of making it should be divulged, and the reasons he gives for this are of such a nature, that the curious reader will think himself obliged to me for transcribing them (32). ‘But yet, says he, because the way by which mercury may be so impregnated, has been thought fit to be concealed by others that have known it, and therefore may possibly be an inlet to something more noble, not to be communicated without immense damage to the world, if there should be any verity in the Hermetick writers; therefore I question not, but that the great wisdom of the noble author will sway him to high silence, 'till he shall be resolved of what consequence the thing may be, either by his own experience, or the judgment of some other that thoroughly understands what he speaks about, that is, of a true Hermetick Philosopher, whose judgment (if there be any such) would be more to be regarded in this point, than that of all the world beside to the contrary, there being other things besides the transmutations of metals, (if those great pretenders brag not) which none but they understand. Sir, because the author desires the sense of others in this point, I have been so free as to shoot my bolt; but pray keep this letter private to yourself, *&c.*’

(32) See the Extract of this curious Letter, in Boyle's Life by Birch, p. 65.

some *Observations* made upon *an artificial Substance that shines without any preceding Illustration* (*r*), which that gentlemen thought fit to make publick. He publiſhed, in the ſame year, his *Hiſtorical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elixir* (*s*). This made a very great noiſe both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the moſt remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen, the facts contained in which would have been eſteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other [*Q*]. In the year 1680,

(*r*) LectionesCutlerianæ, No. ii. p. 57.

(*s*) Printed at London in 4to, and being become exceedingly ſcarce, was re-printed after the firſt edition, 1739.

[*Q*] *Would have been eſteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other.*] This diſcourſe, like the *Sceptical Chymiſt*, and many other of our author's works, is penned in the way of dialogue; and the narrative is delivered by *Pyrophilus*, who, in diſcourſing with a learned Society informs them, that he had met with ſuch an Anti-Elixir by accident, for that viſiting a great Virtuoſo, he there met with a ſtranger who had been a great traveller, and upon aſking him, whether, in any of the Eaſtern countries he had viſited, he met with Chymiſts, he anſwered that he had, and that, though leſs numerous in thoſe countries, they were not at all leſs learned than in Europe; this produced a long converſation, and as is uſual among Sages, a very cloſe intimacy between them; inſomuch that at his departure from England, which happened not long after, the ſtranger gave *Pyrophilus* a little piece of paper folded up, which, he ſaid, contained all that he had left of a rarity he had received from an Eaſtern Virtuoſo, which, he intimated, did give him occaſion both to remember the donor, and to exerciſe his thoughts in uncommon ſpeculations. Before he made any experiment, he reſolved to take a witneſs or two, and made choice of an experienced Doctor of Phyſick, well ſkill'd in ſeparating and coppelling of metals, for his aſſiſtant, to whom he did not reveal all that he expected from this trial, but told him, that he had received a powder from a foreign Virtuoſo, which, he was told, had a power of rendering brittle, the moſt flexible and malleable of metals, gold itſelf. But as we are now come to the experiment, we muſt (for the ſake of certainty) make uſe of our author's own expreſſions, who, in the perſon of *Pyrophilus*, proceeds in theſe words (33). 'Having 'thus prepared him not to look for all that I myſelf 'expected; I cautiouſly opened the paper, I lately 'mentioned, but was both ſurprized, and troubled (as 'he alſo was) to find in it ſo very little powder; that 'inſtead of two different trials, that I deſigned to 'make with it, there ſeemed very ſmall hope left that 'it would ſerve for one (and that but an imperfect one 'neither). For there was ſo very little powder, that 'we could ſcarce ſee the colour of it (ſave, that as far 'as I could judge, it was of a darkiſh red); and we 'thought it, not only dangerous, but uſeleſs to attempt 'to weigh it, in regard we might eaſily loſe it, by 'putting it into and out of the ballance; and the 'weights we had, were not ſmall enough for ſo deſpicable a quantity of matter, which, in words, I eſti'mated at an eighth part of a grain; but my aſſiſtant '(whoſe conjecture, I confeſs, my thoughts inclined to 'prefer) would allow it to be, at the moſt, but a 'tenth part of a grain: wherefore, ſeeing the utmoſt 'we could reaſonably hope to do, with ſo very little 'powder, was to make one trial with it; we weighed 'out, in different ballances, two drams of gold, that 'had been formerly Engliſh coin; and that I cauſed, 'by one that I uſually employ, to be cuppelled with a 'ſufficient quantity of lead, and quarted, as they 'ſpeak, with refined ſilver, and purged *aqua fortis*, 'to be ſure of the goodneſs of the gold. Theſe two 'drams I put into a new crucible, firſt carefully neal'ed, and having brought them to fuſion, by the meer 'action of the fire, without the help of borax, or 'any other additament (which courſe, though ſome'what more laborious than the moſt uſual, we took to 'obviate ſcruples) I put into the well melted metal, with 'my own hand, the little parcel of powder lately men'tioned, and continuing the veſſel in the fire for above 'a quarter of an hour, that the powder might have 'time to diffuſe itſelf every way into the metal; we 'poured out the well melted gold into another cruci'ble, that I had brought with me, and that had been 'gradually heated before to prevent cracking. But, 'though, from the firſt fuſion of the metal, to the 'pouring out, it had turned in the crucible like ordi'nary gold, ſave that once my aſſiſtant told me, he 'ſaw, that for two or three moments it looked almoſt 'like an opal; yet I was ſomewhat ſurprized to find, 'when the matter was grown cold, that though it 'appeared upon the ballance, that we had not loſt any 'thing of the weight we put in, yet inſtead of fine 'gold, we had a lump of metal of a dirty colour, and 'as it were overcaſt with a thin coat, almoſt like half 'vitrified litharge, and ſomewhat to increaſe the won'der, we perceived that there ſtuck to one ſide of the 'crucible, a little globule of metal, that looked not 'at all yellowiſh, but like coarſe ſilver, and the bot'tom of the crucible was overlaid with a vitrified 'ſubſtance; whereof one part was of a tranſparent 'yellow, and the other of a deep brown inclining to 'red, and in this vitrified ſubſtance I could plainly per'ceive ſticking, at leaſt, five or ſix little globules that 'looked more like impure ſilver, than pure gold. In 'ſhort, this ſtuff looked ſo little like refined, or ſo 'much as ordinary gold, that though my friend did 'much more than I marvel at this change, yet, I con'feſs, I was ſurprized at it myſelf. For though, in 'ſome particulars, it anſwered what I looked for, yet 'in others it was very different from that which the 'donor of the powder had, as I thought, given me 'ground to expect. Whether the cauſe of my diſap'pointment, were, that (as I formerly intimated) this 'Virtuoſo's haſte, or deſign, made him leave me in the 'dark; or whether it were that finding myſelf in want 'of ſufficient directions. I happily pitched upon ſuch 'a proportion of materials, and way of operating, as 'were proper to make a new diſcovery, which the ex'cellent giver of the powder had not deſigned, or 'perhaps thought of.——Having rubbed it upon a 'good touchſtone, whereon we had, likewiſe, rubbed 'a piece of coined ſilver, and a piece of coined gold, 'we manifeſtly found, that the mark left upon the 'ſtone, by our maſs, between marks of the two 'other metals, was notoriouſly more like the touch of 'the ſilver, than that of the gold; next having knocked 'our little lump with a hammer, it was according to 'my prediction found brittle, and flew into ſeveral 'pieces. Thirdly, (which is more) even the inſides of 'thoſe pieces looked of a baſe, dirty colour, like that 'of braſs, or worſe, for the fragments had a far greater 'reſemblance to bell-metal, than either to gold or ſil'ver. To which we added this fourth, and more con'ſiderable examen, that having carefully weighed 'out one dram of our ſtuff (reſerving the reſt for trials 'to be ſuggeſted by ſecond thoughts) and put it upon 'an excellent new, and well nealed coppel, with about 'half a dozen times it's weight of lead; we found 'ſomewhat to our wonder, that though it turned very 'well like good gold, yet it continued in the fire above 'an hour and a half (which was twice as long as we 'expected); and yet, almoſt to the very laſt, the fumes 'copiouſly aſcended, which ſufficiently argued the 'operation to have been well carried on; and when 'at laſt it was quite ended, we found the coppel very 'ſmooth and entire, but tinged with a fine purpliſh 'red (which did ſomewhat ſurprize us); and beſides 'the refined gold, there lay upon the cavity of the 'coppel ſome dark coloured recrements, which we 'concluded to have proceeded from the deteriorated 'metal, not from the lead. But when we came to 'put our gold again into the ballance, we found it 'to weigh only about fifty-three grains, and conſe'quently to have loſt ſeven, which, yet, we found to 'be fully made up by that little quantity of recrements 'that I have lately mentioned, whoſe weight, and fixi'ty, compared with their unpromiſing colour, did not 'a little puzzle us, eſpecially becauſe we had not 'enough either of them, or of leiſure, to examine their 'nature. To all which circumſtances I ſhall ſubjoin 'this, that to prevent any ſcruples that might ariſe 'touching the gold we employed, I cauſed a dram 'and a half, that had been purpoſely reſerved out of 'the ſame portion, with that which had been debaſed; 'I cauſed this (I ſay) to be, in my aſſiſtant's preſence, 'melted by itſelf, and found it, as I doubted not but 'I ſhould do, fine and well coloured gold.——I 'ſhall

(33) Boyle's Works, Vol. IV. p. 16.

1680, he sent into the world the following tracts, viz. *The Aerial Noctiluca, and a Process of a factitious self-shining Substance* (*t*); besides which, he published also some small Discourses upon different subjects. It was upon the thirtieth of November, in this year, that the Royal Society, as a proof of their just sense of his great worth, and, of the constant and particular services, which, through the course of many years, he had rendered to their Society, made choice of him for their President; but he being extreamly, and, as himself says, peculiarly tender in point of oaths, declined the honour done him, by a letter addressed to Mr Professor Hooke of Gresham-college (*u*). He was also, within the compass of this year, a considerable benefactor towards the publishing Dr Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (*w*), as he very readily was, on the like occasion, to every performance calculated for the general use and benefit of mankind. In 1681, he published his *Discourse of Things above Reason* (*x*), and the same year he was engaged in endeavouring to promote the preaching and promulgation of the Gospel amongst the Indians, bordering upon New England. In 1682, came out his *New Experiments and Observations upon the Icy* Noctiluca, *to which is added,* A Chymical Paradox, *making it probable that their Principles are transmutable, so that out of one of them others may be produced* (*y*). The same year, he communicated to the publick the *second Part* of his *Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix* (*z*), containing several other Discourses. He published, in 1683, nothing that I find, except a short letter to the Rev. Dr John Beale (*a*), in relation to the making *fresh water* out of *salt*, published at the request of the patentees, who were embarked in Mr Fitzgerald's project for that purpose, the proposals for which were addressed to Mr Boyle, and the author acknowledges therein, the obligations he was under to him for his assistance. In the succeeding year, 1684, he printed two very considerable works, the first (*b*) was, his *Memoirs for the Natural History of Human Blood*; and his second, *Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies* (*c*), divided into two parts; the first relating to animals, the second to solid bodies; and his Works being now grown to a very considerable bulk, the celebrated Dr Ralph Cudworth, whose praise alone was sufficient to establish any man's title to fame, wrote to him in very pressing terms, to make an entire Collection of his several Treatises, and to publish them in a body, and in the Latin tongue, in his own life-time; as well out of regard to his reputation, as to the general interest of mankind, and the peculiar satisfaction to the learned world (*d*). In 1685, he obliged the world with his *Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of* Mineral Waters (*e*), *with Directions as to the several Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and useful Remarks, as well as several curious Experiments.* He gave the world also, in the same year, another excellent

(*t*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*u*) See this Letter, dated Pall-Mall, Dec. 16, 1680. Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 74.

(*w*) See the Preface to the second Volume of that Work.

(*x*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*y*) At the same place, and in the same size.

(*z*) At the same place, and in the same size.

(*a*) This Letter is involved in a Treatise intituled *Salt water sweetened*, London, 1683, 8vo.

(*b*) Printed at London, in 8vo; and afterwards translated into Latin.

(*c*) Printed at the same place, and in the same size; as also in Latin, under the title of *Tentamen Porologicum.*

(*d*) This Letter is dated Oct. 16, 1684.

(*e*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

'shall also inform you, that having provided myself of 'all the requisites to make Hydrostatical trials (to 'which, perhaps, I am not altogether a stranger); I 'carefully weighed, in water, the ill looked mass (be-'fore it was divided for the coppelling of the above-'mentioned dram), and found, to the great confirma-'tion of my former wonder and conjectures, that in-'stead of weighing about nineteen times as much, as 'a bulk of water equal to it, it's proportion to that 'liquor was but that of fifteen, and about two thirds to 'one, so that it's specifick gravity was less by about one 'third, than it would if it had been pure gold.—With-'out launching into different speculations, or making 'use of disputable hypotheses, it seems evident enough, 'from the matter of fact, faithfully laid before you, 'that an operation very near, if not altogether as 'strange, as that which is called projection, and in the 'difficultest points much of the same nature with it, 'may safely be admitted. For our experiment plain-'ly shews, that gold, though confessedly the most ho-'mogeneous, and the least mutable of metals, may be, 'in a very short time (perhaps not amounting to many 'minutes) exceedingly changed both as to malleable-'ness, colour, homogeneity, and, which is more, spe-'cifick gravity; and all this by so very inconsiderable 'a portion of injected powder, that since the gold that 'was wrought on, weighed two of our English drams, 'and consequently an hundred and twenty grains, an 'easy computation will assure us, that the medicine did 'thus powerfully act, according to my estimate (which 'was the modestest) upon near a thousand times (for 'it was above nine hundred and fifty) it's weight of 'gold, and according to my assistant's estimate did (as 'they speak) go near upon twelve hundred; so that if 'it were fit to apply to this anti-elixir (as I formerly 'ventured to call it) what is said of the true elixir by 'divers of the chemical philosophers, who will have 'the virtue of their stone increased in such a propor-'tion, as that, at first, it will transmute but ten times 'it's weight, after the next rotation an hundred times, 'and after the next to that, a thousand; our powder 'may, in their language, be stiled a medicine of the 'third order.'—He concludes thus: 'I presume, that 'it will not be the less liked, if I add, that I will al-'low the company to believe, that as extraordinary 'as I perceive most of you think the phænomena of 'the lately recited experiment; yet, I have not (be-'cause I must not do it) as yet acquainted you with the 'strangest effect of our admirable powder.'

We have been the more careful in stating the whole detail of matters of fact, in Mr Boyle's own words, because, notwithstanding this is stiled an anti-elixir, and the operation itself a degradation of gold; yet some of the students in Hermetick Philosophy, have conjectured, from a variety of passages in this narration, all of which have been retained in this note, that this was, in reality, the true elixir, and that the powder employed in the experiment might possibly be recovered with some addition, as well as part of the gold. This, they imagine, is hinted at in the very last words relating to the concealed wonders of this extraordinary powder, which they interpret in their own favour; and if, after this hint, the reader will peruse the whole over again, or take the trouble of recurring to the discourse, at large, as it stands in the collection of our honourable author's works, he will be the better able to judge, how far this conjecture is, or is not founded. It may not be improper to add, that as Mr Boyle in many places intimates, that he did not absolutely disbelieve the possibility of transmutation, he must have had some very strong reasons to incline his opinion that way; and it is not easy to assign a stronger than this, if the conjecture, before mentioned, has any foundation in truth. But whether it has or has not, this discourse will lose nothing of it's merit, since taking it in what light one will, the experiment is one of the most extraordinary that has ever been mentioned; and cannot fail of leading a judicious person into such reflections, as will give him a greater insight into the true nature of metals, than almost any thing upon the subject, that has been published in our own or any other language.

excellent work, intituled, *An Essay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion; with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Discourse of some hitherto little-regarded Causes of the Insalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and it's Effects* (*f*), than which, none of his treatises were ever received with greater or more general applause. He published, in the same year, *A Dissertation on the Reconciliableness of Specifick Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy*, to which he added, a Discourse of the *Advantages* attending the use of *simple Medicines* (*g*). To these Philosophical, he added a most excellent Theological Discourse, *Of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wisdom and Power* (*h*), being a part of a much larger work, which he signified to the world, to prevent any exception from being taken at the abrupt manner of it's beginning. At the entrance of the succeeding year, 1686, came abroad his *Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of NATURE* (*i*), one of the most important and useful pieces that ever fell from his pen, and which will be always admired and esteemed, by such as have a true zeal for Religion and intelligible Philosophy. In the month of June, the same year, his friend Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Lord Bishop of Sarum, transmitted to him from Holland, his account of his travels through France, Switzerland, and Italy, which were afterwards published. In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, intituled, *The Martyrdom of* Theodora *and* Dydimia (*k*), came from the press to the hands of the publick. In 1688, he obliged the world with a most curious and useful treatise, intituled, *A Disquisition into the final Causes of Natural Things* (*l*), *and whether, if at all, with what Caution a Naturalist should admit them.* To which is added, *An Apendix about vitiated Sight.* In this piece he treats with great judgment and perspicuity, many of the deepest and most abstracted notions in Philosophy and Religion, so as to give satisfaction to the candid, without running into any offensive notions, in the opinion even of the most critical reader; which is a felicity, that, in cases of this nature, has very rarely attended the writings of any other author than Mr Boyle; whose care was equal to his quickness, and whose caution hindered him from hazarding any thing, that might shock weak minds or tender consciences. In the month of May, this year, our author, however unwillingly, was constrained to make his complaint to the publick, of some inconveniences under which he had long laboured, which he did by an *Advertisement addressed to J. W.* (*m*), to be communicated to such of his friends as are Virtuosi, to inform them of the loss of many of his writings, and that it might serve as an explanatory preface to some of his mutilated and unfinished pieces. One cannot well conceive any thing, that gives a higher or more expressive notion of the worth and excellency of this great man, than this paper, which, had it come from any other person, would have been either regarded as a common and trivial advertisement, or as a very glaring mark of self-conceit and vanity; but, in reference to Mr Boyle, it appears so necessary to himself, that it could not be omitted; of such importance to the publick, that it can never be forgot; and so cautiously digested, as to raise our admiration and esteem for it's author [*R*]. He began now to find, that his health,

(*f*) At the same place, in the same size; reprinted in 1690.

(*g*) Printed at London, in 8vo; and published in Latin the next year.

(*h*) At the same place, in the same size; afterwards translated into Latin.

(*i*) Printed at London, in 8vo; again 1687, in Latin, 12mo.

(*k*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*l*) At the same place, and in the same size.

(*m*) See Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 78, 79.

[*R*] *As to raise our esteem for it's author.*] In this advertisement, Mr Boyle, in the first place, gives the immediate reason of his being obliged to publish it, which was to satisfy the lovers of learning in general, as well as the circle of his own friends and acquaintance in particular, why he did not perform the several promises he had made of publishing many discourses upon curious and useful subjects; and some that were absolutely necessary to the elucidation of pieces which he had already given to the publick (34). The fact was, that numbers of these were lost, or rather stolen from him. When he first began to write, he digested his materials in paper books, but he soon found the inconvenience of this, by their vanishing in such a manner, that he often lost a whole discourse at a time: He had then recourse to loose sheets, which he thought more secure, because it would be difficult to carry away any consecutive part of a discourse; but in this too he was mistaken, for after taking this method he lost four or five centuries of experiments, which were to have been inserted in his works; and besides this, seven or eight centuries of notions, remarks, explications, &c. yet even these losses were light in comparison of another that befel him by a very odd accident. He had a flat chest of drawers made on purpose for the security of his finished writings, and such as he judged to be already in or near a condition of being sent to the press; and his servant breaking a bottle of oyl of vitriol, the liquor run over the top of the chest, so that notwithstanding the drawers were immediately taken out, and the writings out of them, many whole treatises were entirely discharged, and the rest so spoiled in many places, that it was very difficult for him to set them right again. These misfortunes put him upon publishing such treatises, as he had most at heart, as quickly as it lay in his power, and in the best manner the expedition with which he was obliged to write, would admit. In order to this, having first settled the heads of these discourses, he wrote them by way of titles, upon different sheets of paper, and transferred his materials under those heads, as his conveniency would allow, chusing rather to run the hazard of some mistakes and imperfections, than that the world should be deprived of what, with infinite labour, he had collected for the service of learning and of mankind. At the same time that he did this, he thought it incumbent upon him to acquaint the world with these facts aud reasons, not only that they might, in some measure, account for the seeming improprieties in the conduct of writings; but also that he might render them more intelligible, and that this advertisement might, as he declared he intended it should, serve as a kind of preface to his mutilated works: neither were these all hardships that he met with as an author (35), for many persons, both at home and abroad, copied his works without naming him; inserted his experiments with a few trivial alterations as their own, and arrogated to themselves several of his inventions: yet all these difficulties could not either disgust, or discourage him from continuing to serve the publick, as far as lay in his power. He knew the importance of his own discoveries; he was sensible of their consequence to posterity; and he had a true notion of the obligations, that a man is under, not to suffer the lights he has acquired, either by study, or communication, to perish with him; and it was these considerations that induced him to quicken his endeavours to fulfil his duty, as he found his strength decay, and, like a faithful servant, employ even his very last moments for the benefit of the Republick of Letters, which he considered as a society that did the greatest honour to human nature. Such were the real sentiments of Mr Boyle! which can never be insisted upon too long, and which it is impossible to commend enough.

(34) See the Advertisement at large in the Appendix to Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 142.

(35) See these facts collected from his own Papers, in the Life of Mr Boyle, p. 79.

health, notwithstanding all his care and caution, began sensibly to decline, and his strength to decay, which put him upon devising every method that was possible, for husbanding his time for the future for the benefit of the learned world. In doing this, he preferred generals to particulars; and the assistance of the whole Republick of Letters, to that of any branch, by what ties soever he might be connected therewith. It was from this view, that he no longer communicated particular discourses, or new discoveries to the Royal Society, because this could not be done, without withdrawing his thoughts from tasks which he thought of still greater importance (*n*). It was the more steadily to attend to these, that he resigned his post of Governor of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England; nay, he went so far as to signify to the world, that he could no longer receive visits as usual, and all this that he might have leisure to put his papers in order, to supply the blanks he had left in many of his treatises, and to repair the deficiencies in others (occasioned by the falling upon them of corrosive liquors); that, as he had been useful to the publick during the whole course of his life, so the vast collections he left behind him (of the importance of which he was the best judge) might not prove useless after his decease (*o*). This was certainly an instance of learned patriotism, worthy of admiration at least; and, if such a genius should ever rise again, of imitation. Among the other great works, which, by this means, he gained time to finish, there is great reason to believe, that one was a Collection of Elaborate Processes in Chemistry, concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend, which is still extant, but the piece itself was never published, nor some other curious tracts relating to the same subject, found amongst his papers, which has been considered as an irreparable loss, to such as have a fondness for these kind of studies (*p*) [*S*]. In 1690, he published his *MEDICINA HYDROSTATICA: or, Hydrostatics applied to the Materia Medica, shewing how, by the Weight that divers bodies used in Physick have in Water, one may discover whether they be genuine or adulterate.* To which is subjoined, *A previous Hydrostatical Way of estimating Ores* (*q*). He informs us, in the postscript of this treatise, that he had prepared materials sufficient for a second volume, which he promised, but it never appeared. He published, however, this year, another most excellent work, which bore the following title: *The* Christian Virtuoso (*r*); *shewing, that by being addicted to Experimental Philosophy, a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian. The first Part. To which are are subjoined, I. A Discourse about the Distinction that represents some Things as above Reason, but not contrary to Reason. II. The first Chapters of a* Discourse, *intituled,* Greatness of Mind *promoted by* Christianity.

(*n*) He published an advertisement to this purpose by advice of his Physician, Sir Edmund King.

(*o*) See the Preface to the Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, in five Volumes, fol. Printed for A. Millar, London, 1744.

(*p*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 81.

(*q*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*r*) Printed in the Savoy, 8vo.

[*S*] *Such as have a fondness for these kind of studies.*] The person to whom Mr Boyle addressed the letter mentioned in the text, is to us unknown, but the reason and design of his letter is expressed in the text. What the nature was of that valuable work, which he committed to the charge of this friend, and which has been most unkindly withheld from the publick, will best appear in his own words (36), which, at the same time that they express his generous concern for, and love to, mankind, sufficiently explain how great a treasure we have lost. 'As to those, *says he*, who think it strange, that among my other experiments, about metals and minerals, I have not produced those gainful ones, that Alchemists call *particulars*; it may, I hope, suffice to represent, that being a bachelor, and, through God's bounty, furnished with a competent estate for a younger brother, and freed from any ambition to leave my heirs rich; I had no need to pursue luciferous experiments, to which I so much preferred luciferous ones, that I had a kind of ambition (which I now perceive to have been a vanity) of being able to say, that I cultivated Chemistry with a disinterested mind, neither seeking, nor scarce caring for, any other advantages by it, than those of the improvement of my own knowledge of nature, the gratifying the curious and industrious, and the acquists of some useful helps, to make good and uncommon medicines.

'If I may be allowed to judge of courses by the success, the entertainment that the publick has been pleased to give my endeavours to serve it, will not make me repent of the way I have made choice of to do it in. But, however, since I find myself now grown old, I think it is time to comply with my former intention, to leave a kind of Hermetick legacy to the studious disciples of that art, and to deliver candidly, in the annexed paper, some processes, Chemical and Medicinal, that are less simple and plain, than those barely luciferous ones I have been wont to affect, and of a more difficult and elaborate kind, than those I have hitherto published, and more of kin to the noblest Hermetick secrets, or, as Helmont stiles them, *Arcana Majora*. Some of these I have made and tried, others I have, though not without much difficulty, obtained by exchange, or otherwise, from those that affirm they knew them to be real, and were themselves competent judges, as being some of them disciples of true adepts, or otherwise admitted to their acquaintance and conversation. Most of these processes are clearly enough delivered, and of the rest there is plainly set down, without deceitful terms, as much as may serve to make what is literally taught to be of great utility, though the full and compleat uses are not mentioned, partly because, in spite of my Philanthropy, I was engaged to secrecy as to some of these uses, and partly because I must ingenuously confess it, I am not yet, or perhaps ever shall be, acquainted with them myself. The knowledge I have of your great affection for the publick good, and your particular kindness for me, invites me, among the many Virtuosi in whose friendship I am happy, to intrust the following papers in your hands, earnestly desiring you to impart them to the publick faithfully, and, without envy, *verbatim*, in my own expressions, as a monument of my good affections to mankind, as well in my Chemical capacity, as in the others, wherein I have been sollicitous to do it service.'

But besides these papers, committed to the care of one whom he esteemed his friend, he left also very many behind him at the time of his death, relating to Chemistry, which, by a letter directed to one of his executors, it appears he desired might be inspected by three Physicians whom he named, that such of them as were most valuable might be preserved (37). The strongest mark, however, that he gave of his peculiar regard for Chemistry, was procuring, in the year 1689, the repeal of a dormant statute, passed in the fifth year of Henry IV, against the multiplying of gold and silver, which hindered all the disciples of the school of Hermes from practising in England, the penalty in that law being no less than felony (38). In that by which it was repealed, directions are given, that whatever gold or silver shall be obtained by this art, or extracted from other metals, shall be brought to the royal mint in the Tower of London (39), and be paid for, according to the current price of bullion.

(36) See this Letter in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 81.

(37) Letter from Mr John Warr, sen. to his son Mr John Warr, jun. dated July 16, 1692.

(38) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 83.

(39) See the Statute.

Christianity. In the advertisement prefixed to this work, he mentions a *second part* of the *Christian Virtuoso*, which he had begun, and which is actually published in the last edition of his Works, that is to say, imperfect, as he left it, with an Appendix to the first part (*s*). He communicated about this time, to Mr De la Crose, a very ingenious gentleman, who published a periodical Work, intituled, *The History of Learning: An Account of some Observations made in the great Congregation of Waters, by lowering Bottles down into the Sea, six hundred feet deep from the Surface* (*t*). This experiment was made on the second of January 1677-8, by a Captain of a man of war, a man of very good sense, in the presence of a great many other persons, and was, in the judgment of Mr Boyle, a thing of too great value to be lost, and therefore he took this method of preserving it. We are now come to the very last of his works published in his life-time, which was in the spring of the year 1691, and bore this title: *EXPERIMENTA & OBSERVATIONES PHYSICÆ* (*u*), *wherein are briefly treated of several Subjects relating to Natural Philosophy, in an experimental Way.* To which is added, *A small Collection of Strange Reports.* This is called in the title page *the first part*, and amongst his papers there were found the *second* and *third* parts, but whether compleat or not, I cannot say (*w*). As for his posthumous Works, they shall be mentioned in a note [*T*]. About the entrance of the summer of the year last mentioned, he began to feel such an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of settling all his affairs; and accordingly, on the eighteenth of July he signed and sealed his last Will, to which he afterwards added several codicils (*x*). In the month of October following his distempers increased, which might, perhaps, be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illness of his dear sister the Lady Ranelagh, with whom he had lived many years in the greatest harmony and friendship, and whose indisposition brought her to the grave on the twenty-third of December following. She was, in all respects, a most accomplished, and most extraordinary, woman; so that her brother might very justly esteem it the peculiar felicity of his life that he had such a sister, and, in her, so useful a friend, and so agreeable a companion (*y*). He did not survive her above a week, for on the last day of the year 1691, or, as most authors account it, on Wednesday December the 30th, at three quarters past twelve at night, he departed this life, in the sixty-fifth year of his age (*z*), and was buried on the seventh of January following, at the upper end of the south side of the chancel of St Martin's in the Fields in Westminster, near the body of his beloved sister, Katharine Viscountess Ranelagh (*a*). His funeral was decent, and as much without pomp as it was possible, considering the number of persons of distinction that attended it, besides his own numerous relations. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, and there are many, who think his performance on that occasion the best he ever published [*U*]. As

(*s*) In the 5th Volume of Boyle's Works.

(*t*) Hist. of Learning for the month of July, 1691, p. 57, 58.

(*u*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(*w*) See an Account of Mr Boyle's MSS. not printed, in the first Volume of his Works.

(*x*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 84.

(*y*) See her Character by Bishop Burnet.

(*z*) Mr Warr's MSS.

(*a*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 85.

[*T*] *His posthumous Works, they shall be mentioned in a note.*] These treatises were either such as were found amongst Mr Boyle's papers after his deceafe, or were deposited elsewhere, on a confidence of their not being sent abroad during his life-time. The titles of them follow: I. *The General History of the Air, designed and begun* (40). Concerning the nature and value of this work, we have the testimonies of two of the most ingenious persons of that age, the famous Mr Locke, and the judicious Mr Molyneux, the former, in a letter to the latter, says: 'Though this 'treatise was left imperfect, yet I think the very de'sign of it will please you, and it is cast into a method, 'that any one who pleases may add to it, under any 'of the several titles, as his reading or observation 'shall furnish him with matters of fact. If such men 'as you, who are curious and knowing, would join, 'to what Mr Boyle has collected and prepared, what 'comes in their way; we might hope, in some time, 'to have a considerable History of the Air, than 'which, I scarce know any part of Natural Philosophy 'would yield more variety and use. But it is a sub'ject too large for the attempts of any one man, and 'will require the assistance of many hands, to make 'it a History very short of complete.' Mr Molyneux, in his answer, writes thus: 'I am extreamly obliged 'to you for Mr Boyle's book of Air, which lately 'came to my hands. It is a vast design, and not to 'be finished but by the united labours of many heads, 'and indefatigably prosecuted for many years, so that 'I despair of seeing any thing complete. However, 'if many will lend the same helping hands that you 'have done, I should be in hopes; and certainly 'there is not a chapter in all Natural Philosophy, of 'greater use to mankind than what is here pro'posed (41).' II. *Medicinal Experiments: or, a Collection of choice Remedies, for the most part simple, and easily prepared* (42). We shall have occasion to speak of this hereafter. III. *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country, great or small, drawn out for the use of Travellers and Navigators* (43): To which are added, *Other Directions for Navigators, &c. with particular Observations of the most noted Countries in the World. By another hand.* These *General Heads*, were first printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, being drawn up by Mr Boyle at the request of the Royal Society. The other Directions, added in this edition, were drawn up by various persons, at divers times, by order of the Royal Society, and printed in different numbers of the *Philosophical Transactions* (44), but being in pursuance of the plan sketched out by Mr Boyle, were very properly annexed to the preceding ones. IV. *A Paper of the Honourable Robert Boyle's, deposited with the Secretaries of the Royal Society, and opened since his death; being an Account of his making the Phosphorus, &c.* printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* (45). V. *An Account of a Way of examining Waters as to Freshness and Saltness, to be subjoined as an Appendix to a lately printed Letter, about sweetened Water*, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* (46). VI. *A Free Discourse against Customary Swearing, and a Disswasive from Cursing* (47). VII. *Medicinal Experiments: or, a Collection of choice Remedies, chiefly simple, and easily prepared, useful in Families, and fit for the Service of Country People. The third and last Volume published from the Author's Original MSS. Whereunto is added, Several other useful Notes explicatory of the same* (48). The first edition of this book was printed in 1688, under the title of *Receipts sent to a Friend in America*; in 1692 it was reprinted, as we have said before, with the addition of a second part, and a new preface. So that this was, as the title page expresses, the third and last volume, and they have been all three several times reprinted since, in a single volume, and were justly accounted a very excellent collection, and by much the best in their kind. Our author had also drawn up some other pieces of a like nature, as appears from the list of his manuscripts, but these are now missing.

[*U*] *His performance on that occasion the best he ever published.*] His Lordship made choice, upon this

(40) Printed at London, 1692, 4*to*.

(41) Locke's Posthumous Works.

(42) London, 1692, 12*mo*.

(43) Printed at London, 1692, 12*mo*.

(44) No. II. p. 186. No. XVIII. p. 315. No. XIX. p. 330.

(45) No. CXCVI. p. 583.

(46) No. CXCVII p. 627.

(47) Printed at London, 1695, 12*mo*.

(48) Printed at London, 1698, 12*mo*.

As to the perſon of this great man, we are told that Mr Boyle was tall but ſlender, and his countenance pale and emaciated (*b*). His conſtitution was ſo tender and delicate, that he had divers ſorts of cloaks to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air, and in this he governed himſelf by his thermometer (*c*). He eſcaped, indeed, the ſmall-pox, during his life, but for almoſt forty years, he laboured under ſuch a feebleneſs of body, and ſuch lowneſs of ſtrength and ſpirits, that it was aſtoniſhing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write, as he did. He had likewiſe a weakneſs in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehenſive of ſuch diſtempers as might affect them. He imagined alſo, that if ſickneſs ſhould confine him to his bed, it might raiſe the pains of the ſtone to a degree which might be above his ſtrength to ſupport, ſo that he feared leſt his laſt minutes ſhould prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution and apprehenſion he was obſerved to live in. But, as to life itſelf, he had that juſt indifference to it, which became ſo true a Chriſtian. However, his ſight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died, and when death came upon him, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him,

(*b*) Mr Evelyn's Letter to Dr Wotton, March 29, 1696.

(*c*) From the information of Sir Hans Sloane, Bt.

this occaſion, of a text extremely appoſite to his ſubject, viz. *For God giveth to a man that is good in his ſight, wiſdom, knowledge, and joy* (49). In the firſt part of this diſcourſe, he explains very clearly and ſolidly, the meaning of the words which we have juſt cited, by ſhewing, what was meant by *a man good in the ſight of God*, and deſcribing the nature of the *wiſdom, knowledge, and joy*, beſtowed upon him as his reward. He then enters on the ſecond part of it, the application of this doctrine to the honourable perſon deceaſed, of whom, he tells us, he was the better able to give a character, from the many happy hours he had ſpent in converſation with him, in the courſe of nine and twenty years. He gives a large account of Mr Boyle's ſincere and unaffected piety, and more eſpecially of his zeal for the Chriſtian religion, without having any narrow notions concerning it, or miſtaking, as ſo many do, a bigotted heat in favour of a particular ſect, for that zeal which is the ornament of a true Chriſtian. He mentions, as a proof of this, his noble foundation for Lectures, in defence of the Goſpel againſt infidels of all ſorts, the effects of which have been ſo conſpicuous, in the many volumes of excellent Diſcourſes, which have been publiſhed in conſequence of that noble, and truly pious, foundation. He had, ſays our Prelate, deſigned it in his life-time, though ſome accidents did, upon great conſiderations, divert him from ſettling it, but not from ordering it by his Will, that a liberal proviſion ſhould be made for one, who ſhould, in a very few well-digeſted Sermons, every year ſet forth the truth of the Chriſtian religion in general, without deſcending to the ſubdiviſions among Chriſtians, and who ſhould be changed every third year, that ſo this noble ſtudy and employment might paſs through many hands, by which means many might become maſters of the argument. He was at the charge of the tranſlation and impreſſion of the New Teſtament into the Malyan tongue, which he ſent over all the Eaſt-Indies. He gave a noble reward to him that tranſlated Grotius's incomparable book, of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, into Arabick, and was at the charge of a whole impreſſion, which he took care ſhould be diſperſed in all the countries where that language is underſtood. He was reſolved to have carried on the impreſſion of the New Teſtament in the Turkiſh language, but the Company thought it became them to be the doers of it, and ſo ſuffered him only to give a large ſhare towards it. He was at 700 *l.* charge in the edition of the Iriſh Bible, which he ordered to be diſtributed in Ireland; and he contributed liberally, both to the impreſſion of the Welſh Bible, and of the Iriſh Bible for Scotland. He gave, during his life, 300 *l.* to advance the deſign of propagating the Chriſtian Religion in America; and as ſoon as he heard, that the Eaſt-India Company were entertaining propoſitions for the like deſign in the Eaſt, he preſently ſent 100 *l.* for a beginning, as an example, but intended to carry it much further, when it ſhould be ſet on foot to purpoſe. When he underſtood how large a ſhare he had in impropriations, he ordered very large ſums to be given to the incumbents in thoſe pariſhes, and even to the widows of thoſe who were dead, before this diſtribution of his bounty. He did this, twice in his life-time, to the amount of above 600 *l.* and ordered another diſtribution, as far as his eſtate would bear, by his will. In other reſpects, his charities were ſo bountiful, and ſo extenſive, that they amounted, as this Prelate tells us, from his own knowledge, to upwards of one thouſand pounds a year. ——But that part of his diſcourſe, which concerns us moſt, is the copious and eloquent account he has given us of this great man's abilities. —— (50). 'His knowledge, *ſays he*, was of ſo vaſt an extent, that 'if it were not for the variety of vouchers in their ſeveral ſorts, I ſhould be afraid to ſay all I know. He 'carried the ſtudy of the Hebrew very far into the 'Rabbinical writings, and the other Oriental languages. He had read ſo much of the Fathers, that 'he had formed out of it a clear judgment of all the 'eminent ones. He had read a vaſt deal on the Scriptures, and had gone very nicely through the whole 'controverſies of Religion, and was a true maſter of 'the whole Body of Divinity. He read the whole 'compaſs of the Mathematical Sciences; and, though 'he did not ſet himſelf to ſpring any new game, yet 'he knew even the abſtruſeſt parts of Geometry. 'Geography in the ſeveral parts of it, that related to 'Navigation or travelling; Hiſtory and books of travels were his diverſions. He went very nicely 'through all the parts of Phyſick, only the tenderneſs 'of his nature made him leſs able to endure the exactneſs of anatomical diſſections, eſpecially of living 'animals, though he knew theſe to be moſt inſtructing. But for the hiſtory of nature, ancient and modern, of the productions of all countries, of the virtues and improvements of plants, of ores and minerals, and all the varieties that are in them, in different climates; he was by much, by very much, the 'readieſt and the perfecteſt I ever knew in the greateſt 'compaſs, and with the trueſt exactneſs. This put 'him in the way of making all that vaſt variety of experiments beyond any man, as far as we know, that 'ever lived. And in theſe, as he made a great progreſs in new diſcoveries, ſo he uſed ſo nice a ſtrictneſs, and delivered them with ſo ſcrupulous a truth, 'that all who have examined them, have found, how 'ſafely the world may depend upon them. But his 'peculiar and favourite ſtudy was Chemiſtry, in which 'he engaged with none of thoſe ravenous and ambitious deſigns, that draw many into them. His deſign was only to find out Nature, to ſee into what 'principles things might be reſolved, and of what 'they were compounded, and to prepare good medicaments for the bodies of men. He ſpent neither 'his time, nor fortune, upon the vain purſuits of high 'promiſes and pretenſions. He always kept himſelf 'within the compaſs that his eſtate might well bear. 'And as he made Chemiſtry much the better for his 'dealing in it, ſo he never made himſelf either the 'worſe or the poorer for it. It was a charity to 'others, as well as an entertainment to himſelf, for 'the produce of it was diſtributed by his Siſter and 'others, into whoſe hands he put it. I will not here 'amuſe you with a liſt of his aſtoniſhing knowledge, 'or of his great performances this way, they are 'highly valued all the world over, and his name is 'every-where mentioned with moſt particular characters of reſpect. I will conclude this article with 'this, in which I appeal to all competent judges, that 'few men (if any) have been known to have made ſo 'great a compaſs, and to have been ſo exact in all the 'parts of it as he was.'

(49) Eccleſ. ii. 26.

(50) Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 36, 37.

him, with so little pain, that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame (*d*). The simplicity of his diet, was, in all appearance, that, which preserved him so long beyond all men's expectation. This he practised so strictly, that, in a course of above thirty years, he neither eat or drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature, and was so regular in it, that he never once transgressed the rule, measure, and kind, which were prescribed him. In his first addresses, when he was to speak or answer, he sometimes hesitated a little rather than stammered, or repeated the same word, and this, as it rendered him slow and deliberate, so, after the first effort, he proceeded without the least interruption in his discourse (*e*). He was never married, but Mr Evelyn was assured, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary Earl of Monmouth, and that to this passion was owing his *Seraphick Love*. But it does not appear, from any of his writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind (*f*). To say the truth, he seems to have been persuaded that he was born for nobler purposes than the ordinary lot of men, or at least, if he was not so persuaded, his actions were such as may so persuade us. We have, by the help of those industrious and worthy persons who had already provided the materials, followed him from his infancy to the grave, with that degree of wonder, reverence, and respect, which his knowledge, virtue, and piety, demand (*g*). The learned Prelate who preached his funeral sermon, and one who seldom wanted words when he meant to describe any character, owns himself at a loss in the performance of this last duty to Mr Boyle. We may, therefore, with greater reason excuse ourselves, as well on account of the great length of this article, as the difficulties that lie in the way of framing a character for one, whose memory, like the paintings of a great master, has been meliorated by time, and is now, not the object barely of admiration, but of veneration also. He was a man, who, in the beginning of his life, raised such hopes as hurt themselves, for those who considered him most attentively, scarce thought it possible that they should be answered, and yet, without fear of flattery, we may affirm, that these, even these, hopes, were exceeded. He attained the vigour of his age in those deplorable times, when the Church and State lay buried in confusion, which gave him so true a notion of the vanity of titles, and the danger of power, that he not only never courted either, but was industrious in shunning both. He made Philosophy the business of his life, from the two noblest motives that man could possibly conceive, the desire of doing good to others, and of manifesting the goodness of that Divine Being who is the parent of all. Yet, full of these serious and sublime intentions, he not only condescended to behave, in all the common offices of life, like other men, but even with a peculiar civility, which he shewed especially towards foreigners, by whom he was often visited, and who never went away from him but with full satisfaction. His temper was naturally hasty, but he corrected this so early in his youth, that except now and then in his countenance, it was never discerned afterwards. The sweetness of his disposition, and that meekness of mind which discovered itself in all he did, never led him into any of those faults, which usually attend the excess even of these amiable qualities. He could be warm when there was a proper occasion for warmth, that is, in the cause of truth, which he always vigorously defended; and we have an instance of his zeal for the essentials of religion, of which it would be an injury done his fame not to take notice [*X*]. The extensiveness of his knowledge surpassed every thing but his modesty,

(*d*) See Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 31.

(*e*) Mr Evelyn's Letter above-mentioned.

(*f*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 86.

(*g*) See the note [Y] at the close.

[*X*] *Of which it would be an injury done to his fame not to take notice.*] As great as Mr Boyle's moderation and charity was, in respect to all the different sects in which Christianity was divided, yet he was a constant member of the Church of England, and went to no separate assemblies; but, some time before the Restoration (51), either out of curiosity, or, perhaps, from some more weighty motive, he went to Sir Henry Vane's house in order to hear him, who, at that time, was at the head of a new sect, who called themselves Seekers; neither was this visit of his attended with any disappointment, for he there heard him preach, in a large thronged room, a long sermon on the text of Dan. xii 2. *And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* The whole scope of Sir Henry's sermon was to shew, that many doctrines of religion that had long been dead and buried in the world, should, before the end of it, be awakened into life, and that many false doctrines, being then likewise revived, should, by the power of truth, be then doomed to shame and everlasting contempt. When Sir Henry had concluded his discouse, Mr Boyle spoke to this effect to him before the people; That being informed, that in such private meetings, it was not uncustomary, for any one of the hearers who was unsatisfied about any matters there uttered, to give in his objections against them, and to prevent any mistakes in the speakers or hearers, he thought himself obliged, for the honour of God's truth, to say, that this place in Daniel, being the clearest one in all the Old Testament for the proof of the resurrection, we ought not to suffer the meaning of it to evaporate into allegory; and the rather, since that inference is made by our Saviour in the New Testament, by way of asserting the resurrection from that place of Daniel in the Old. And that, if it should be denied that the plain and genuine meaning of those words in the Prophet, is to assert the resurrection of dead bodies, he was ready to prove it to be so, both out of the words of the text and context in the original language, and from the best expositors both Christian and Jewish. But that, if this be not denied, and Sir Henry's discourse of the resurrection of doctrines true and false, was designed by him only in the way of occasional meditations from those words in Daniel, and not to enervate the literal sense as the genuine one, then he had nothing further to say. Mr Boyle then sitting down, Sir Henry rose up and said, that his discourse was only in the way of such occasional meditations, which he thought edifying to the people; and declared, that he agreed that the literal sense of the words was the resurrection of dead bodies: and so that meeting broke up. Mr Boyle afterwards speaking of this conference to Sir Peter Pett, observed, that Sir Henry Vane, at that time, being in the height of his authority in the State, and his auditors at that meeting, consisting chiefly of dependants on him, and expectants from him, the fear of losing his favour, would, probably, have restrained them from contradicting any of his interpretations of Scripture, how ridiculous soever. 'But I (said Mr Boyle) having 'no

(51) Sir P. Pett's Papers relating to Mr Boyle.

modesty, and his desire of communicating it, which appears equally in all his compositions; for in them we may discern his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing, and this, not from any timid apprehensions of opposition, but from a benevolent inclination to instruct without severity, and to part with wisdom as freely as he had received it. He had the justest conception of truth that the human mind can frame; so cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid, in the opinion of all true judges, the least imputation of credulity; and, on the other hand, so well acquainted with the power of nature, that he never presumed to set any limits thereto, or hindered any accession of knowledge, by that sort of incredulity which sometimes attends superior learning. In a word, considered in every light, as a man, as a Philosopher, as a Christian, he came as near perfection as the defects of human nature would allow, and though he never sought it, yet the most universal praise, both at home and abroad, waited on his labours living, and have constantly attended his memory; for it may be truly said, that never any fame was more unquestioned, than that of Mr Boyle's both was, and is; and we may with great safety add, that as he is the peculiar honour of his family, and the great glory of this nation, so foreigners, who cannot contend with us in these points, endeavour to outvie us in their commendations [Y]. In treating this subject, we have, perhaps, gone too far,

'no little awes of that kind upon me, thought myself 'bound to enter the lists with him, as I did, that 'the sense of the scriptures might not be depraved.'

[Y] *Endeavour to outvie us in their commendations.*] We have already observed, that even, in his life-time, the fame of Mr Boyle was so great, that it reached very distant countries, whither his books reached also; and this drew upon him a multitude of visits at home, which, however inconvenient, he bore as long as his health would permit, from the remembrance, as he said, of the satisfaction he had received when admitted to the sight of such as he had an inclination to converse with, when abroad (52). In this he succeeded to the honours that were paid to the great Chancellor Bacon, who foreigners visited as the glory of this country; (and he succeeded, likewise, to that civility and condescension for which that excellent person beforementioned was distinguished) so that Mr John Hughs had reason to say, after observing that Mr Boyle was born the same year that Lord Bacon died, *he was the person designed by nature, to succeed to the labours and enquiries of that extraordinary Genius* (53). But to proceed to the proper business of this note: The Virtuosi in Italy were among the first who did justice to his merit, and they are still as sensible of the obligations the learned world are under to him for his labours, as it is possible for men to be. Thus the famous Redi, who was himself a great cultivator of Experimental Philosophy, makes no scruple of affirming, that there never was any man so great in this way as our author; and that, perhaps, there never will be his equal in discovering natural causes (54). It would be easy to cite many other authors of the same country to the like purpose; but to avoid prolixity we forbear, and shall content ourselves with observing, that in the Popish *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, published at Rome, by order of the Sacred College, dated the twenty-second of December 1700, he is stiled a most worthy member of the Royal Society, though, at the same time, three of his books are forbid to be read, viz. *His Considerations on the stile of the Scriptures; His Seraphick Love*, and *his Great Veneration that Man's Intellect owes to God* (55). The most considerable of the German writers have shewn the utmost deference for this great man and his writings; as for instance, the most learned Daniel Morhoff mentions him frequently in his Polyhistor (56), and always with the highest applause. Stollius also commends him, but seems not to have been well acquainted with his works, or with his history, since he tells us, he was an English Knight, and expresses a great concern, that Bishop Burnet's funeral sermon on this great man had not been translated into Latin, or into High Dutch, that the excellence of his private character might be the better known (57). Mangetus applauds him highly, and assures us, that he was informed by an English clergyman, who was afterwards a Bishop, that a person, in a mean dress, came into our author's laboratory and made projection, adding, that himself had seen some of that gold; which story I have the rather mentioned, because I take it to be the best authority that can be mentioned for it, though it is very current amongst the lovers of Alchemy, who pretend that Mr Boyle was converted by this experiment (58) It would require a considerable volume to set down the commendations that have been bestowed upon him by the French writers only; and, therefore, we shall content ourselves with mentioning only a few of the latest. I will begin with Count Marsilli, who, though an Italian by birth, addressed the most famous of his works to the French Academy of Sciences, of which he was a Member; he opens that work with observing (59), that the famous Robert Boyle was the first who thought of examining the sea, and making us acquainted with so considerable a part of the terraqueous globe. He mentions his treatise *de Fundo Maris*, and adds, that probably his death, or some other accident, hindered the Republick of Letters from receiving the advantage of his farther observations upon that subject; for, says he, it is apparent from many of his other writings, that he knew perfectly well how to finish whatever he once took in hand. The judicious Mr Bayle, as he had frequent occasion to mention the works of Mr Boyle in his Literary Journal, so he never loses the opportunity of paying both to him and them the respect that they deserve (60). The judicious Rapin speaks of him, as the worthy successor of the great Lord Bacon, and one to whom the learned world was extremely indebted for his care and industry in the improvement of Experimental Philosophy. Father Regnault, after copying from him a multitude of experiments, is pleased to say (61), 'Mr Boyle has contributed so much the more by experiments like these, 'to the discovery of the truth, in as much as he has 'taken pains, not only to relate his discoveries, and 'the manner in which he made them, but has informed 'us, likewise, in what he failed, as well as in what 'he succeeded. What he tried to no purpose, prevents our making such trials again; what he tryed 'with effect serves us as well as him, verifies his discoveries, and puts us in the road of making new 'ones.' The famous Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy speaks of our author with the utmost veneration, he stiles him a great and judicious Chemist, one who was acquainted with all the secrets of that art; and says, that it was purely out of respect for his high character, that he forbore placing him amongst the alchemistical writers (62); yet in his chronological table, he gives him his just place, and the praises which he deserves (63). We will conclude his eulogies by foreign writers, with the character bestowed upon him by the judicious Boerhaave. Among the writers, says he, who have treated of Chymistry, with a view to Natural Philosophy and Medicine, we may reckon among the chief, the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; through all his writings (64). Such is the extent of this admirable writer's fame, and such the honour he has done his age and nation in foreign countries, where his reputation will extend itself in the same proportion with true Science, and his glory last as long as there shall subsist a true spirit of learning.

But after all, the greatest justice that has been done his memory, we may safely ascribe to the care and industry of some very learned and worthy persons at home. Dr Shaw's (65) Abridgment, and his admirable character of our author and his philosophy, is a monument worthy even of him, and which nothing could surpass, but the late noble collection of the author's own works (66), with the accurate life prefixed to them by

(52) Burnet's Sermon at Boyle's Funeral.

(53) Spectator, No. 554.

(54) Francisci Redi Experimenta Naturalia, p. 38, 39.

(55) Index Librorum Prohibit. Rom. 1704, 12mo, p. 383.

(56) Polyhistor. Literar. Philosoph. & Practic. I. i, ii. 2. I. 6, 4, 20. II. 1, 5, 7. II. 1, 15, 16. II. 2, 1, 7, &c.

(57) Gottlib. Stol. Introduct. in Histor. Literar. p. 676, 677.

(58) Biblioth. Chemic. Vol. II. in Præfat.

(59) Histoire Physique de la Mer, p. 1.

(60) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom. I. p. 79, 665, 726.

(61) L'Origine ancienne de la Physique nouvelle, Tom. III. p. 162.

(62) Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetiq. Tom. I. p. 416.

(63) Ibid. p. 482.

(64) Boerhaave's Chemistry, Vol. I. p. 55.

(65) In three Volumes in 4to, digested under proper heads, illustrated with notes, and other improvements. The second edition was published in 1738.

(66) In five Volumes, fol. 1744, cited through this article.

far, but whoever considers it attentively, will easily excuse a fault that it was almost impossible not to commit, and for which we can only atone, by confessing, that all we have, or could say, is so much below his merit, that it serves only to express our sense of it, and our desire of rendering him that justice, which, without abilities equal to his own, can never be performed.

by the Reverend Dr Birch, from the materials provided for Bishop Burnet and Dr Wotton; and those invaluable additions which were communicated by the Reverend and Learned Mr Henry Miles of Tooting in Surrey, Fellow of the Royal Society, who has, on all occasions, expressed a zeal for our author's memory, worthy of the trust reposed in him by Mr Thomas Smyth, late an Apothecary in the Strand, who lived with Mr Boyle seventeen years, and in whose hands his manuscripts were deposited (67). To all these I am greatly indebted for the materials from which this article is composed; and it is from a due sense of gratitude, and thankfulness, that I pay these publick acknowledgments, as having never enjoyed a higher satisfaction, than while using my utmost endeavours to place the life and character of this illustrious person, in such a light as may render it worthy the acceptance, and in some measure, of the approbation of posterity. E

(67) See Dr Birch's Preface to his Life of Mr Boyle.

BOYLE (CHARLES) Earl of Orrery in the kingdom of Ireland, and Baron of Marston in the county of Somerset in Great Britain, was the second son of Roger, the second Earl of Orrery, by the Lady Mary Sackville, daughter to Richard Earl of Dorset and Middlesex (*a*). He was born in 1676, in the month of August, but upon what day of the month does not appear, at his father's house in Chelsea (*b*). So much care was taken of his education in his junior years, that when he was but fifteen he was fit for the university, and was accordingly entered as a Nobleman of Christ-Church in Oxford, in 1690 (*c*). He had for his tutors there, the celebrated Dr Francis Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and the reverend Dr Freind. His application to study was so vigorous, and withal so constant, that his friends were not a little apprehensive it might prove dangerous to his constitution, which was none of the strongest (*d*). But, however, Mr Boyle was not much affected with such representations; he knew that science was an higher blessing than life, and was persuaded that death was not a greater evil than ignorance. In short, his passion for letters was so strong and so sincere, that it gained him high reputation in the university, and recommended him so much to the famous Dr Aldrich, then at the head of that learned society, that it was originally for his use he drew up his learned Compendium of Logick, now read at Christ-Church, and in which he stiles him *the great ornament of our college* (*e*). The first work that fell from the pen of our illustrious student, was *The Life of LYSANDER*, translated from the Greek of Plutarch, in which performance he shewed his skill in that language, and the happy talent he possessed of writing well in his own (*f*) [*A*]. It was this that induced Dean Aldrich, who made a custom of publishing annually some good author or other, to recommend to Mr Boyle the care of a new edition of the Epistles of Phalaris, to which Mr Boyle applied himself with diligence, and sent it abroad in the beginning of 1695 (*g*). This book became accidentally the cause of a very long and furious dispute, in which, whoever lost, it is certain Mr Boyle gained a great deal of reputation, and wrote so extremely well in defence of his performance, that his adversary, from suspecting the Epistles of Phalaris to be none of his, because they were written with so great skill, began, from the learning shown in Mr Boyle's pieces, to doubt whether they were of his composing [*B*]. His father being dead, and

(*a*) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, towards the close.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1066.

(*d*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 156.

(*e*) *Magnum ædis nostræ Ornamentum*, are the Dean's words.

(*f*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 157.

(*g*) Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni, Epistolæ, Oxon. 1695, 8*vo*.

[*A*] *The happy talent he possessed of writing well in his own.*] We have Mr Budgell's authority upon this head, in terms much stronger than have been made use of in the text, and this makes it necessary to explain the matter here. Mr Budgell's words are (1); 'The first thing he published while he was a student at Christ-Church, was a translation of the life of Lysander, as it now stands in our English Plutarch's lives.' It is indeed very true, that we have a Translation of Plutarch's lives by several hands, which was undertaken by the advice, carried on by the assistance, and the first volume of it published and dedicated by the immortal Dryden, to the Great Duke of Ormond, grandfather to the late Duke (2); but it is certain, that this work was undertaken in 1683, consequently when Mr Boyle was but in the eighth year of his age, and seven years before he came to the university; it is true indeed, that there have been various editions of the book since, and it is not impossible that alterations might be made in some of these editions; but in that which I have before me, printed in 1711, the life of Lysander (3), which is in the third volume; is translated by William Leman, Master of Arts, of Cambridge. I apprehend therefore there is some mistake, and that this life of Lysander, by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq; was written only, and not printed; because I cannot conceive how it should be left out of subsequent editions, if it had been inserted in any so early as 1694; at least of this opinion I shall remain 'till I am convinced of the contrary, by being so happy to meet with an edition, in which this Life, by Mr Boyle, is inserted. But I think it very probable, that such a translation as this, might be his first work; because I have heard from other hands, that he translated one of the orations of Demosthenes, which is certainly published, though I cannot take upon me to say with certainty, which of those orations it is; though I was once possessed of a copy, in which that oration was marked by the hand of the gentleman, from whom I received that information (4); and I very well remember that it was observed, this translation was not only very exact, but the harmony and turn of the periods were so happily preserved, that it had all the spirit and beauty of an original. I therefore presume that his perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue, being first manifested by the translation of the life of Lysander, or some such exercise, induced Dean Aldrich to put him upon that work, of which mention has been made in the text, and a farther account will be given in the ensuing note.

(1) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 157.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1104.

(3) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. III. p. 156.

(4) The Rev. Mr Knipe, Canon of Christ-Church.

[*B*] *To doubt whether they were of his composing.*] As the history of this controversy has been already given in a former part of this work, I shall not detain the reader long upon it here (5). While Mr Boyle was preparing his edition, he had directed that the copy he made use of, should be collated with the manuscript in the King's Library, of which Doctor Bentley was the keeper; and it was accordingly collated as far as the fortieth epistle; but the Doctor being then about to go out of town, demanded the manuscript from Mr Bennet, Mr Boyle's bookseller; which hindered it's being

(5) See note [*D*] in the article of BENTLEY (RICHARD).

and having himself quitted the university, he began to think of entering on the stage of publick life, and accordingly, in 1700, was chosen member for the town of Huntington, which, however, was attended with a petition, and as he spoke in support of his own election with great vivacity, this brought on a dispute of another nature with Mr Wortley (*h*). In short, they fought in Hyde-Park, in a gravel-pit near the gate which now leads to Grosvenor-square, where, though he had the advantage, his loss of blood was so great by the wounds he received, that he fell into a languishing condition, from whence it was with difficulty that he recovered (*i*). He was chosen twice afterwards for the same place, but his elder brother Lionel, Earl of Orrery, dying on the twenty-third of August 1703, without issue (*k*), he succeeded to that title, and entering into the Queen's service, had a regiment given him, at the head of which he distinguished himself so remarkably, that on the thirteenth of October, 1705, he was elected on of the Knights Companions of the most ancient order of the Thistle (*l*). In the spring of the succeeding year, he married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to the Earl of Exeter, by whom he had his only son John, who succeeded him in his honours and estates; but his Lady did not survive many years (*m*). He was raised to the rank of a Major-General in the year 1709, and was sworn one of her Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council. At the famous battle of the wood, he gave the strongest proofs of his intrepid courage, remaining at the head of his regiment in the warmest part of the action, 'till the victory was compleat, which, as it was one of the most glorious, so it was the dearest bought of any in that war (*n*). His Lordship had also the honour of being appointed the Queen's Envoy to the States of Brabant and Flanders, in which quality he resided at Brussels, with an appointment of ten pounds *per diem*, and having discharged that trust with equal spirit and diligence, her Majesty was pleased, by letters patents dated the tenth of September, in the tenth year her reign, to raise him to the dignity of a British Peer, by the title of Lord Boyle, Baron of Marston in Somersetshire (*o*). On the accession of the late King to the throne, his Lordship was not only continued in his military command as Colonel of the British Fuzileers, but was also made one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, and on the third of December 1714, was constituted Lord-Lieutenant, and Custos-Rotulorum of the county of Somerset, having at that time, an equal share in his Majesty's confidence and favour (*p*). However, in the year 1716, while the King was a Hanover, his regiment was taken from him, upon which his Lordship thought proper to resign his post of Lord of the Bed-chamber.

(*h*) Parliamentary Register.

(*i*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 202.

(*k*) See the former article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, towards the close.

(*l*) Peerage of England, Tom. IV, p. 259.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*n*) See the article CHURCHILL (JOHN) Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) See the Preamble to his Patent in Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 259.

(*p*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 211.

being perfectly collated; of which Mr Boyle having complained in his preface, Dr Bentley took it so ill, that he was resolved to demolish the reputation which Mr Boyle had gained by publishing this work (6). It is certain, that Suidas, Stobæus, and Photius, looked upon these epistles as genuine, and that some very great modern critics were of the same opinion; which certainly might justify the publishing a new edition of them. There were certain other circumstances, that gave edge to the Doctor's resentment; and amongst these, we may reckon the following passage (7) in Sir William Temple's *Essay upon ancient and modern Learning*, dedicated to the University of Cambridge. 'It may perhaps be further affirmed in favour of the 'Ancients, that the oldest books we have, are still in 'their kind the best. The two most antient that I 'know of in prose, among those we call profane au'thors, are Æsop's fables, and Phalaris's epistles, both 'living near the same time, which was that of Cyrus 'and Pythagoras. As the first has been agreed, by all 'ages since, for the greatest master in his kind; and all 'others of that sort, have been but imitations of his 'original; so I think the epistles of Phalaris, to have 'more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius 'than any others I have ever seen, either antient or 'modern. I know several learned men, or that 'usually pass for such, under the name of criticks, 'have not esteemed them genuine, and Politian, with 'some others, have ascribed them to Lucian: but 'I think he must have little skill in painting, that can'not find out this to be an original; such diversity of 'passions upon such variety of actions, and passages of 'life and government; such freedom of thought, such 'boldness of expression, such bounty to his friends, 'such scorn of his enemies, such honour of learned 'men, such esteem of good, such knowledge of life, 'such contempt of death, with such fierceness of na'ture, and cruelty of revenge, could never be repre'sented but by him that possessed them; and I esteem '*Lucian* to have been no more capable of writing, than 'of acting, what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find 'the scholar or the Sophist; and in all the other, the 'tyrant and the commander.' Mr William Wotton, a very knowing as well as a very learned man, having written against this celebrated piece of Sir William Temple; Dr Bentley subjoined to his friend's book, his dissertation upon the epistles of Phalaris, in which he gives a character of them, diametrically opposite to that before quoted (8). 'It would be endless, says he, 'to shew all the silliness and impertinency, in the 'matter of these epistles; for take them in the whole 'bulk, they are a fardle of common-places, without 'either life or spirit, from action and circumstance. 'You feel by the emptiness and deadness of them, 'that you converse with some dreaming pedant, with 'his elbow on his desk; not with an active ambitious 'tyrant, with his hand on his sword, commanding a 'million of subjects; all that takes or affects you, is a 'stiffness, statelineſs, and operoseness of stile; but as 'that is improper and unbecoming in all epistles, so 'especially it is quite aliene from the character of 'Phalaris, a man of business and dispatch.' To this Dissertation Mr Boyle replied with great spirit and learning, and the controversy soon grew so warm, that many, and those too no inconsiderable authors, engaged therein with great heat and violence; the truth of the matter was, that it became rather a party quarrel, between the friends and enemies of Christ-Church in Oxford, than a serious dispute, as to the genuineness of Phalaris's epistles; so that the criticks being on one side, and the wits on the other; it became very difficult, if not impossible, to know whether truth was with either; after all, perhaps, neither side was absolutely wrong or right; for as on the one hand, it could scarce be affirmed that Mr Boyle and his friends had cleared their author of all objections; so the most that could be said on the other side was, that Dr Bentley had shown these epistles were originally writ in another Dialect, and were in some places interpolated, which does by no means prove them spurious. A very learned and very judicious writer, I mean Dr Henry Felton, said a very just, and at the said time, a very handsome thing upon our author's dispute, with which we shall conclude this account of it (9). *Perhaps* (says he) Mr Boyle's *book in defence of* Phalaris, *will be charged upon some* sophist *too, yet taking it for genuine at present; if we own Doctor* Bentley *is the better critick, we must acknowledge his antagonist is much the* genteelest writer.

(6) The title of which at large ran thus: *Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epistolæ. Ex MS. recensuit, versione, annotationibus, & vita insuper Authoris donavit* Car. Boyle, *ex Æde Christi.*

(7) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 166.

(8) Dissertation on Phalaris's Epistles.

(9) Dissertation on reading the Classicks, and forming a just Stile, p. 59.

[C] Of

Bed-chamber. After this time his Lordship did not meddle much with publick affairs (*q*). He did indeed attend the House of Peers very constantly when in town, and voted agreeably to his sentiments, in regard to all matters of importance; but notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and great experience, he was no speaker (*r*). Things continued in this situation for some years, but upon the breaking out of what was called Layer's plot, his Lordship was so unfortunate as to fall under the suspicion of the Government, and on the twenty-seventh of September 1722, his Lordship was seized at his house at Britwel, at the same time that his Secretary, who was then in town, was taken into custody likewise, and his papers, in both places, were secured (*s*). He was brought up to town immediately, and examined before the Privy-Council, after which he was committed to the Tower. Upon the sitting of the Parliament about a month afterwards, the consent of the House of Lords was asked and obtained, for continuing his confinement. This lasted the longer, by reason of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act for a twelvemonth, and was so much the harder upon his Lordship, as his constitution was weak, and the small share of health he had, was chiefly preserved to him by the use of constant exercise (*t*). After six months imprisonment, upon the application of the learned Dr Mead, setting forth, how low he was reduced by a confinement in the highest degree dangerous to one of his tender constitution, he was admitted to bail, the present Earl of Burlington, and the late Lord Carleton, becoming sureties, each in twenty thousand pounds, and his Lordship entering into a recognizance of thirty thousand more, for his appearance (*u*). But after the strictest enquiries, there was nothing found that could be esteemed a sufficient ground for a prosecution of any kind; so that, after passing through the usual forms, he was absolutely discharged. This accident is thought to have had considerable effects upon his declining constitution, though he survived it several years, and maintained the same freedom, liveliness, and sweetness of temper to the last, dying unexpectedly, after a very short indisposition, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1731, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, extremely beloved and regretted (*w*). He resembled in his temper and character, and not a little also in his fortunes, his illustrious ancestor the first Earl of Orrery. Like him, he was an Author, a Soldier, and a Statesman. His parts were very quick, and yet, with much vivacity, he was capable of close thinking, and profound meditation. His learning was solid, not pedantick, and though he did not affect the orator in publick, yet, in private conversation, no man spoke with greater ease to himself, or pleasure to those who heard him (*x*). His studies were of a mixed nature, and his application to them much greater than the world imagined, of which, however, convincing proofs remain [C]. As an officer, he was generally esteemed and beloved, for with a courage fearless of danger, he had as much prudence and circumspection as those who had much greater experience. His soldiers loved him entirely, his superior officers admired and confided in him, his Sovereign knew him fit for, and trusted him in, the most important negotiations (*y*). As a Statesman, his notions were perfectly clear, as his intentions were entirely upright. He had a just concern for the interest, honour, and glory of his country, which he manifested upon all occasions, without courting popularity, or fearing power. He was a lover of learning, and a friend to learned men; an excellent master, a tender father, and beneficent to all with whom he had any thing to do. His frailties were few, and those of a nature the most excusable, as proceeding chiefly from his constitution, and tending rather to his own detriment than to that of others (*z*). He was happy in the general esteem of his country, and in the particular affection borne him by his frends, which was the less to be wondered at, since he was himself remarkably steady in his affections, and never thought any difference of fortune could justify the slightest declension in friendship, but with all his warmth of this kind, he had a coldness in another which was no less extraordinary; he not only forgave, but forgot, injuries, and never revenged them otherwise, than by rendering unexpected services to those from whom he had received them.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*r*) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 657.

(*s*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 317.

(*t*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*u*) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 738.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 261.

(*x*) From the information of those who were his intimate acquaintance.

(*y*) See the Preamble to his patent, before cited.

(*z*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 248.

[C] *Of which however convincing proofs remain.*] We have already seen, what he could perform when a very young man; and it is not easy to suppose, that if his genius for learning had not been somewhat extraordinary, a man of Dean Aldrich's figure and character in the world, would have paid him such compliments, as he did in his preface to his *Compendium of Logic* mentioned in the text; nor can one readily imagine, that the wits would have so warmly, and so unanimously, have espoused his cause, if they had not been fully satisfied of his having a good title to be one of the number. He wrote a comedy, entitled, *As you find it*, which was acted with great applause, and is now printed (10); though, I think, he would never allow it in his life-time; the only fault that was ever found with this performance, is, (as Mr Budgell truly says) that it has *too much wit*; and if this censure has occasioned that dearth, that has since happened, we ought not to be too forward in commending his lordship's play to posterity. He wrote also songs and occasional poems, particularly a copy of verses prefixed to Dr Garth's *Dispensary*; and a prologue to Mr Southern's play, called *the Fate of* Capua; but these were only amusements for his vacant hours; and his favourite studies were of another nature, as sufficiently appears in that noble instrument which bears his name, and will make it known to distant nations and latest ages. A machine contrived to represent, mechanically, the Solar System, according to the sentiments of the new Astronomers, and the bare execution of which is said to have gone very near turning the head of the ingenious artificer who made it (11). His lordship had also a strong inclination towards Physick, which induced him not only to buy, and read, whatever was published upon that subject, but put him also upon obtaining from his friends Botanical and Physical accounts of herbs and drugs when they resided in foreign countries. These circumstances abundantly justify all that is said of him in the text, and clearly demonstrate, that he was an honour to his family, and to his country. E

(10) In the second Volume of the Works of Roger Earl of Orrery.

(11) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 236.

BOYSE, BOYS or BOIS (JOHN) an eminent Divine, and one of the Translators of the Bible, in the reign of King James I (*a*). He was the son of Mr William Bois, Rector of West Stowe near St Edmunds-Bury in Suffolk; and his mother was descended of an ancient and honourable family in that county, and was also in herself a valuable woman, as we learn from our author in a short character he drew of her [*A*]. This John Bois who was their only surviving son, was born at Nettlestead in Suffolk, January 3, 1560 (*b*). He spent his infancy in the house of his father, who taught him with great industry the first rudiments of learning, insomuch that when John had attained the age of five years, he read the Bible in Hebrew, and not only wrote that language intelligibly, but in a fair and elegant character by that time he was six (*c*). He went afterwards to Hadley school, where he contracted an intimate acquaintance with John Overall, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, Bishop of Norwich, and his colleague in the Translation of the Bible (*d*), as the reader will hereafter find. At the age of fourteen he was sent to the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted of St John's College, March 1, 1575, under the tuition of Mr Henry Coppinger. There he quickly distinguished himself by his great skill in the Greek language, of which he gave a strong instance by writing letters therein to the master and senior fellows, when he had been but half a year at college, and thereby obtained a scholarship (*e*). He afterwards applied himself to his studies so closely, that it was common for him in the summer time, to go to the University Library at four in the morning, and continue there 'till eight in the evening without any intermission (*f*). He was elected Fellow when he had the small-pox, and was (to preserve his seniority) carried wrapped up in blankets to be admitted (*g*). He first intended to have applied himself to Physick, but fancying himself affected with every disease of which he read, he quitted that science for Divinity, and on June 21, 1583, he was ordained Deacon, by Dr Freake Bishop of Norwich, and the next day, by virtue of a dispensation, Priest (*h*). He was chief Greek Lecturer in his college ten years together, all which time he read diligently every day, and for several years he voluntarly read a Greek Lecture at four in the morning in his own chamber, which was frequented by most of the fellows. On the death of his father, he succeeded him in the rectory of West Stowe; but his mother going to live with her brother, he resigned that preferment, though he might have kept it with his fellowship (*i*). At the age of thirty-six, he married the daughter of Mr Holt, Rector of Boxworth, and succeeded him in that living October 13, 1596; and on his quitting the University, the college gave him 100 *l.* His wife being very young, and himself wholly addicted to his studies, their affairs took an unhappy turn, so that finding himself deeply in debt, he was forced to sell his choice collection of books, which afflicted him so much, that he had thoughts of quitting his native country. He was however soon brought to a reconciliation with his wife, and they lived together many years after, in perfect harmony [*B*]. When he began to be acquainted with the neighbouring clergy, he agreed with twelve of them to meet every Friday at one of their houses by turns, to give an account of their studies, and to make a joint improvement of their several labours (*k*). He usually kept some young scholar in his house, for the instruction of his own children, and the poorer sort of the town, as well as for the benefit of several gentlemens children who were sent to board with him. When King James I. directed a new translation to be made of the Bible, by persons of the greatest learning, as well at London as the two Universities; Mr Bois was elected one of the Cambridge Translators, and not only performed his own, but also the part that was assigned to another with great reputation, though with no profit, for, except his commons, he had no allowance made him for his close attendance from Monday morning to Saturday evening, in the discharge of this employment (*l*). As this was an undertaking worthy of it's royal author, so it was admirably conducted, and at length brought to a happy conclusion [*C*]. Four years were spent in this first service, and then three

(*a*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 153. Fuller's Worthies in Suffolk, p. 71. Cambridge Worthies, MS. p. 191.

(*b*) Life of our author by Dr Anthony Walker, in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. p. 38, —42.

(*c*) Some pieces of his writing at that age, were formerly in the hands of the Rev. Mr Dowsin, late Rector of Cottenham in the Isle of Ely.

(*d*) Fuller's Ch. History, Book x. p. 45.

(*e*) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 42.

(*f*) Dr Walker was informed of this fact, by his contemporaries at Cambridge.

(*g*) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) We have these particulars from Dr Walker's own knowledge.

(*k*) Most of these circumstances were collected from the author's notes, in his Almanacks and other books.

(*l*) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 47.

[*A*] *Short character he drew of her.*] Her brother was patron of West Stowe, to which he presented our author's father. The account which Mr Bois himself gives of his Mother, was written in her Common-Prayer book, in the words following (1). 'This 'was my mother's book, my good mother's book. 'Her name was first Mirabel Poolye; and then afterwards Mirabel Bois; being so called by the name 'of her husband, my father, William Bois; who 'lived in the Ministry diverse years, and was buried 'at a village, not above four miles from St Edmund's 'Bury, called West Stowe, where he had been pastor, 'and remained so 'till the time of his death. My mother over lived my father about ten years. For being 'much alike in years when they married; my father 'died anno ætatis suæ lxviii, and my mother lxxviii, 'plus minus. She had read the Bible over twelve 'times, and the Book of Martyrs twice; besides 'other books not a few.' It was his custom to write such kind of notes (agreeable to their nature) in all his books, many instances of which are still in the hands of the curious (2).

(1) Walker's Life of our author, in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. lib. viii. p. 38, 39.

(2) The author of this note has seen several of these *Memoranda* in the hands of clergymen at Cambridge, Ely, and other places.

[*B*] *In perfect harmony.*] The village of Boxworth lies in the hundred of Papworth, in the county of Cambridge, and at the distance of about five miles from that university. It was an advowson which he enjoyed in right of his wife; who, together with the living, was bequeathed to him by her dying father. He lived with the former 45, and enjoyed the latter 47 years. We are told by the writer of his life, that notwithstanding this accident at the beginning of their wedlock, yet Mr Bois continued to leave all domestick affairs to her management; which shews how sincerely he was reconciled, notwithstanding the loss of his library touched him to the quick; for besides his having in it almost every Greek author then extant, he sold it to a loss as great as the sum to which the debt paid by what it produced, amounted (3). Such are frequently the deplorable distresses of men of great merit and too much modesty!

(3) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. p. 46.

[*C*] *Brought to a happy conclusion.*] The history of this translation of the Bible, which is that still in use, deserves particular notice. There had been several before, and great objections had been made against them all. The first was that of William Tyndall, which brought himself, as well as his book, to the flames

three copies being sent from Cambridge, Oxford, and Westminster, to Court, a new choice was

(4) Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 183.

flames (4). However, the people of England were so well pleased with his performance, that, to get it out of their hands, the Bishops made a new translation, to which a learned and pious preface, written by Archbishop Cranmer, was prefixed, together with King Henry VIII's instructions; and to give it still greater credit, it was recommended to the people by a royal proclamation, dated May 6, 1541 (5). In the reign of Edward VI. there was another translation, printed in 1549; but this, as well as the former, was not devided into verses. Queen Elizabeth directed a commission to several Bishops, commanding them to review both translations, and by their care came out a third, called from thence the Bishops Bible (6), which had hitherto been used; but after the Hampton-Court conference, King James determined to remedy the defects then complained of, carried immediately into execution a design (7) he had before meditated, of procuring a fourth translation; which he committed to the care of forty-seven reverend and learned persons, divided into six companies, in the following manner (8). I. The Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, first and second books of Samuel, first and second books of Kings, to be translated by ten persons at Westminster, *viz.* 1. Lancelot Andrews, D. D. Dean of Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. 2. John Overall, D. D. Dean of St Paul's, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. 3. Hadrianus a Saravia, D. D. 4 Dr Clarke, Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, Preacher in Canterbury. 5. Dr John Laifield, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Rector of St Clement Danes; he being well skilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on, with regard to the fabrick of the Tabernacle and Temple. 6. Dr Leigh, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Rector of Allhallows, Barking. 7. Mr Francis Burgley. 8. Mr King. 9. Mr Thompson. 10. Mr William Bedwell, of Cambridge, Vicar of Tottenham High Cross. II. The first and second books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, to be translated by eight persons at Cambridge, *viz.* 1. Mr Lively. 2. Mr John Richardson, Fellow of Emanuel College, afterwards D. D. Master first of Peter House, and then of Trinity College. 3. Mr Laurence Chaderton, afterwards D. D. Fellow of Christ's, and Master of Emanuel College. 4. Mr Dillingham, Fellow of Christ's College. 5. Mr Roger Andrews, afterwards D. D. Brother to the Bishop of Winchester, and Master of Jesus College. 6. Mr Harrison, Vice-Mester of Trinity College. 7. Mr Robert Spalding, Fellow of St John's College, and Professor of Hebrew. 8. Mr Andrew Byng, Fellow of Peter House, and Hebrew Professor before Mr Spalding. III. The four greater, twelve lesser Prophets, and the Lamentations to be translated by seven persons at Oxford, *viz.* 1. Dr John Harding, President of Magdalen College. 2. Dr John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College. 3. Dr Thomas Holland, Rector of Exeter College, and Regius Professor. 4. Dr Richard Kilby, Rector of Lincoln College. 5. Mr Miles Smith, afterwards D. D. and Bishop of Gloucester; he wrote the preface to the translation. 6. Mr Richard Brett, beneficed at Quainton in Buckinghamshire. 7. Mr Fairclough. IV. The Apocrypha to be translated by seven persons at Cambridge, *viz.* 1. Dr John Duport, Prebendary of Ely, and Master of Jesus College. 2. Dr William Brainthwait, first Fellow of Emanuel College, and afterwards Master of Gonvil and Caius College. 3. Dr Radclyffe, one of the senior Fellows of Trinity College. 4. Mr Samuel Ward, Fellow of Emanuel College, afterwards D. D. and Master of Sidney College, and Margaret Professor of Divinity. 5. Mr Andrew Downes, Fellow of St John's College, and Greek Professor. 6. Mr John Bois, Rector of Boxsworth in Cambridgeshire. 7. Mr Ward, Fellow of Queen's College, and afterwards Prebendary of Chichester, and Rector of Bishop Waltham in Hampshire. V. The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and Apocalypse, to be translated by eight Persons at Oxford, *viz.* 1. Dr Thomas Ravis, Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of London. 2. Dr George Abbot, Master of University College, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. 3. Mr Eedes. 4. Mr Thomson. 5. Mr Henry Savile. 6. Dr Peryn. 7. Mr Ravens. 8. Mr Harmer. VI. The Epistles to be translated by seven at Westminster, *viz.* 1. Dr William Barlow, of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, Dean of Chester, and afterwards successively Bishop of Rochester and Lincoln. 2. Dr Hutchenson. 3. Dr Spencer. 4. Mr Fenton. 5. Mr Rabbet. 6. Mr Sanderson. 7. Mr Dakins. To these learned persons his Majesty was pleased to give the following instructions. 1. The ordinary Bible, read in the church, commonly called the Bishops Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. 2. The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly used. 3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, *viz.* As the word Church, not to be translated Congregation, &c. 4. When any word hath diverse significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of faith. 5. The division of the chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require. 6. No marginal notes to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew, or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fully be expressed in the text. 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one scripture to another. 8. Every particular man of each company, to take the same chapter or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree, for their part, what shall stand. 9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book, in this manner they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously; for his Majesty is very careful in this point. 10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons; to which, if they consent not, the difference shall be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work. 11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment in such a place. 12. Letters to be sent from every Bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that hand, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Oxford, or Cambridge. 13. The directors in each company to be the Dean of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the King's Professors in the Hebrew and Greek, in each University. 14. These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops Bible, *viz.* Tindall's, Matthews's, Coverdale's, Whitchurche's Geneva. Besides these directions, three or four of the most ancient and grave Divines, in either of the Universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice Chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the Heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule, above specified. It was very far from being King James's intention, that these learned persons should remain unrewarded, as appears by his letter to the Bishop of London, after the death of Dr Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein he observes, that many of the intended translators had either no ecclesiastical preferment, or else so very small, as little suited their deserts; wherefore he requires him to write to the Archbishop of York, and to all the Bishops of his own Province, not to present to any Prebend or Parsonage, above the value of twenty pounds per annum, either in their own patronage, or that of any person whatsoever, 'till they certified his Majesty thereof, that he might commend some of these learned men thereto; and his Majesty further takes notice, that he had given the like directions as to any that were in his own gift (9). In respect to our author particularly, the King shewed his good will to him, by nominating him one of the Fellows of his new college at Chelsea, tho' he never had any

(5) Heylyn's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 9.

(6) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 406.

(7) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 590, 591.

(8) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Book x. p. 45.

(9) Registr. Whitgift, fol. 155. C.

was made of six to revise the whole, that is two from each assembly. Mr Downes and Mr Bois were sent from Cambridge, and meeting their fellow-labourers at Stationer's-hall; they went through this second part of their task in nine months, having each from the company of Stationers during that time, thirty shillings a week (*m*). He afterwards assisted Sir Henry Savile, in the laborious undertaking of publishing the works of St Chrysostom, in which he was very indefatigable, though in this too he was not very fortunate, for a present of a single copy, was the whole reward of many years labour (*n*) [*D*]. His reputation was now at a greater height than his fortune, which being taken notice of by Dr Lancelot Andrews then Bishop of Ely, he was pleased to bestow on him, unasked, a Prebend in his Church, into possession of which he entered August 25, 1615 (*o*). This was his last preferment, and he behaved himself therein with exemplary prudence and piety, preaching in his own course duly, and readily assisting others at their request (*p*). He was remarkably careful after his removal to Ely, that his parish should not suffer, and as to his scrupulous regard for the rites of the Church, an extraordinary instance will be found in the notes [*E*]. He spent the last twenty-eight years of his life in this easy retirement, abating a part, and continuing as his strength would give him leave the rest, of his labours; in his youth he was a great walker, and liked this exercise to the last; even in his old age he studied eight hours in a day, and though the greatest part of his writings were at the request, and for the service of his friends, yet he left a great many manuscripts behind him in his own study [*F*], particularly a Commentary on almost all the books of the New Testament. He constantly went to church twice if not thrice a day; his charity was very extensive, and rather beyond than according to his abilities. He was a kind master, and a good though in some respects a severe parent, a plain practical preacher, and though he composed his sermons with great diligence, yet in the pulpit he did not use notes. He shewed his loyalty in the worst of times, those in which it was esteemed patriotism to forget all duty to the father of his people, and affection to the Church when she was in the deepest distress (*q*). His wife died two years before him, and though he supported the loss with temper and moderation, yet he thence forward declined, and finding himself near his end, ordered that he should be carried into the room where his wife died, and there five hours after he departed this life, on January 14, 1643, in the 84th year of his age (*r*). His funeral was celebrated with much decency on the sixth of February following, Mr Thurston of St John's preaching upon that occasion; his second son, and his younger daughter, survived him; the rest being three sons and two daughters, died before him. As to his

(*m*) Fuller's Ch. History, lib. x. p. 45.

(*n*) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 49.

(*o*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 277. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 50.

(*p*) Cambridge Worthies, p. 191.

(*q*) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 49—58.

(*r*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 277.

any benefit thereby, that foundation taking no effect (10); on the contrary it may be presumed, that the very naming him to this might exclude him from other preferment.

[*D*] *Of many years labour.*] This disappointment was owing to the death of Sir Henry Savile, who, as our author gathered from an expression of his, that *he knew no reason why they two should not live together*, intended to have made him Fellow of Eaton. This is certain, that at the end of the work, Sir Henry was pleased to manifest a greater approbation of our author's notes, than of those of Mr Downes, which so disgusted that otherwise great man, that he took a pique to our author, and was never reconciled to him, even to the day of his death; tho' Mr Bois had always a great respect for him, and spoke of him upon all occasions, as a person to whom he had great obligations (11).

[*E*] *In the notes.*] There was a child dropt in his parish by some straggling people, of an age beyond that in which infants are commonly baptized, and yet too young to give testimony of it's own Christianity. There being therefore probability on both sides, and certainty on neither, he applied to Dr Nicholas Felton, then Bishop of Ely, for his direction, but received no satisfactory answer. He dealt to the same purpose with his successor, Dr Henry Buckeridge, but with as little success, and as ineffectual were his applications to Dr Francis White; yet this did not discourage him from informing Dr Matthew Wren, when he became Bishop of Ely, of all that had passed, and receiving his orders to baptize her, he went with great satisfaction from Ely to Boxworth, to perform it, when the woman was 29 years of age, before which time he would never admit her to the holy communion, but had taken care she should be instructed in the principles of religion (12), that she might be fit to receive it when this obstacle was removed, which thus, by his care, was at length effected.

[*F*] *In his own study.*] Besides the five years he spent in translating the Bible, and his tedious labours about the edition of St Chrysostom, his notes on the New Testament, and critical remarks on Greek authors, sent him by his friends, he left behind him as many leaves in manuscript, as might tell against the many days of his long life. The author of his life having, shewn how indefatigable he was in his studies, enters into a very curious account of his manner of living, which, for the sake of sedentary persons, deserves to be taken notice of. He made but two meals, dinner and supper, between which, if well, he never so much as drank. After meat he was very careful in picking and rubbing his teeth, by which means he carried them almost all to his grave. After dinner he either sate or walked an hour before he went into his study. Fasting he used occasionally, sometimes twice in a week, sometime once in three weeks. Towards the latter end of his life he would not study after supper, but diverted himself with chearful conversation for two hours, at which time he would divert his friends with harmless and entertaining stories, of which he had a great fund (13). He had a saying in his mouth frequently, which he learned from Tully, *viz. A mis-spent youth, leaves a spent body to old age* (14). According to which rule his person, even at the time of his decease, gave evidence of his having lived virtuously and soberly in the days of his youth; for his brow was without wrinkles, his sight was quick, his hearing sharp, his countenance fresh, his head not bald, and his body perfectly sound, a rupture only excepted, which accident, when it first befel him, a person skilled in the cure of that distemper, told him, he could not survive half a year, in hopes of getting a considerable sum out of him, for renewing, which he pretended was in his power, of a lease so near expiring. But the Doctor, either having no opinion of this man's skill, or not thinking his own case so desperate, declined his assistance, and defeated his prediction, by living twenty years, without any great inconvenience. When he was a young student at Cambridge, he received from the learned Dr Whitaker, these three rules for avoiding those distempers which usually attend a sedentary life, to which he adhered with equal constancy and success. The *first* was to study always standing, the *second* never to study in a window, the *third* never to go to bed with his feet cold (15). At that time of day, when hard studying was the only road to reputation, at our Universities, the finding out such rules, and transmitting them to their disciples, was common amongst great men.

(10) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Book x. p. 52.

(11) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. lib. viii. p. 49.

(12) Ibid. p. 51.

(13) Ibid. p. 54.

(14) *Intemperans & libidinosa adolescentia, effœtum corpus tradidit senectuti.* Tull. de Senect.

(15) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 55.

his character; his life and labours sufficiently shew what it was. Sir Henry Savile stiles him, the most ingenious and most learned Mr Bois (*s*). Anthony Wood honours him with the title of Profound, and stiles him elsewhere an excellent Grecian and Divine (*t*), neither was his worth unknown to foreigners, only Mr le Clerc has thought fit to censure him for being a warm churchman (*u*). But as learned and accurate a critick as he, has given our author a much better character (*w*). That work of his which occasioned these remarks by foreign authors, is so little known here, that without producing their authorities I believe I should scarce be credited in affirming it has been published, and therefore I shall mention all I have met with on this subject in the notes (*x*) [*G*]. It is not impossible that other pieces of his may be also published, for it is certain that he left behind him many treatises in the hands of his friends, besides those that were found after his death in his study. He wrote a most admirable Latin stile, as appears particularly from a letter of his that is yet extant to Sir Henry Savile, in which he gives a character of the writings of St John Chrysostom, and freely offers his service towards the preparing an accurate edition of the writings of that father for the press (*y*). It is our duty to discover as much as is possible of the latent works of such learned and laborious persons, that we may not seem less attentive to their merits than strangers, who with great reverence preserve, and are ready with due praises to publish whatever small pieces come to their hands, of eminent English authors, by means of their correspondence abroad; whence it frequently falls out, that such of our writers as have composed in Latin, are better known in foreign countries than in their own, and are, generally speaking, treated with great esteem and respect, unless it may be by some hasty critick, or warm controversial writer, who censures them for maintaining opinions opposite to his, which however is the common fate of the great men in all countries, who have distinguished themselves in the republick of letters (*z*), and more especially of such as, like our author, apply themselves to the reviewing as well as reviving antient writers, and vindicating them from those hasty judgments, which later authors may have passed upon them. The greatest foe to all scholars is a false critick, but he is most so to a true one.

(*s*) In Præfat. Oper. S. J. Chrysost.

(*t*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 467. Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 153.

(*u*) Bibliotheque Universelle, Tom. XVI. p. 68.

(*w*) See this farther explained in note [*G*].

(*x*) Vid. Joh. Christoph. Wolf. in Curis Philolog. Tom. I. Præfat. p. 11.

(*y*) Pauli Colomesii Opuscula, p. 161, 162.

(*z*) See note [*B*] in the article of BLOUNT (Sir THOMAS POPE).

[*G*] *I have met with on this subject in the notes.*] The account we have of this work in Dr Walker's life of our author runs thus (16). 'He had written 'notes upon the four Evangelists, and the Acts of the 'Apostles, which bear this title, *Collatio veteris Interpretis cum quibusdam aliis recentioribus*. In these 'his scope and drift was, *ut haberet Mater Ecclesia 'propriam loquendi formulam*. He intended to have 'gone all through the New Testament; but when the 'Bishop of Winchester died, (who was his encourager 'therein) like King Henry the Sixth's builders (of whose 'work suddenly ended with his life, the *half sawn* 'stone in King's College chapel-yard, according to 'tradition, remains a monument, he desisted, having 'entered but a little way into the epistle to the Ro-'mans. Nor is it a marvel that that clock should 'leave striking, whose weights were taken off.' This may help to discover about what time Dr Walker penned our author's life, for evident it is, he wrote it before this work was published, as it afterwards was under the following Title. *JOHANNIS BOISII Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio in IV Evangeliis, et Actis Apostolorum. Londini*, 1655, 8vo. But there was a very few printed, so that it has been for a long time excessively scarce. The very learned Isaac Casaubon mentions the great performance on St Chrysostom with respect, and in terms which shew how much he approved the author's design, and how well pleased he was with it's execution (17). Mr Le Clerc went out of his way on purpose to censure our author, as not professing to give us any extract of his work, but contenting himself with pronouncing his judgment on him and his book, by saying, *He was a great enemy to the* Nonconformists, *and condemns all that they approve, rather out of a spirit of party, than for any solid reasons* (18). But he might as well have said, he was an enemy to any other set of men from whom he differed in opinion; since this is the sole evidence he can give of this enmity, for Mr Bois never engaged in any controversy against them. But the judicious and candid Mr Colomies, who was much better acquainted with our literary history than any foreigner, except the ingenious and learned Mr Des Maizeaux, gives us quite another account of the book, and of the man. He says, that he had very learnedly defended the *Helena* of the Papists, by which he means the *Vulgat Translation* of the New Testament, which, as he very justly observes, *Albericus Gentilis* had done before, in a book written expresly for that purpose (19). It may not be amiss to observe here, that this very learned Frenchman is somewhat mistaken, in calling our author Prebendary of Canterbury. It is indeed true, that there was one Dr John Boyse Dean of Canterbury, and contemporary with our author (20), who was also a man of learning, and an author; but he did not write the piece he referred to on this occasion, and consequently we must admit, that there is an error in the name, which may be the more easily pardoned, because in the title-page of the book in question, our author is not stiled Prebendary of Ely, probably because the book was printed in the time of the usurpation, when such distinctions were studiously omitted. E

(16) Ibid. p. 53.

(17) If. Casaubon. Epist. p. 85.

(18) Bibliotheque Universelle, Tom. XVI. p. 68.

(19) Pauli Colomesii Opuscula, p. 162.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Kent, p. 84.

BRACTON (HENRY de), a most celebrated English Lawyer and Judge in the XIIIth century. According to the sentiments of a certain Antiquary, this worthy writer was a native of Devonshire (*a*) [*A*]. He studied in his younger years at Oxford, and became a Doctor of both Laws. He afterwards applied himself to the study of our own laws, and became so considerable by his knowledge in them (*b*), that King Henry III, made him one of his Judges itinerant in the 29th year of his reign, that is about the year 1244 (*c*), and

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 52.

(*b*) Bale Script. Illustr. M. Bryt. Cent. III. cap. xcviii. p. 282. edit. Basil. 1557. Pits, Relat. Angl. p. 310.

(*c*) Dugdale in Chron. Ser. p. 13.

[*A*] *This worthy writer was a native of Devonshire.*] This was first asserted by Sir William Pole, in his Description of Devonshire, which is still in MS (1). From him Mr Prince took it, who tells us farther, that in all probability he was born in the parish of Bracton or Bratton, near Oakhampton. That there was an antient Devonshire family of his name is out of doubt (2), neither it is at all improbable, that the Judge might be of it. Yet none of these writers pretend to say what became of his descendants, except that Mr Prince conjectures, his line might end in an heiress, who married one of the Cary family, because he finds the arms of Bracton quartered amongst many others by the Lord Hunsdon (3).

(1) Ap. Prince's Worthies of Devon.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Keep's Monument. Westmon. p. 327.

[*B*] At

and being still highly in his favour, about ten years afterwards he gave him the Earl of Derby's house in London, to serve him for his habitation in town, 'till the heir of that Earl became of age *(d)*. Many of our modern writers have observed from Bale and Pits, that he was made Chief Justice of England, which post he is said to have held twenty years *(e)*. Some doubts have been raised about this fact, because the accurate Sir William Dugdale takes no notice of this promotion, which however is reported on better authority than these late writers are aware of, as will be shewn in the notes [*B*]. He exercised his great office with much honour and integrity, at a time when other Judges acted in a very different manner *(f)*. That which hath chiefly contributed to render him famous to posterity, is his excellent work of the Laws of England, to which it is said he himself gave the title of *Brito (g)*, and hence perhaps so many mistakes happened in writing his name [*C*]. This work as it is one of the antientest, so it has been always esteemed, one of the most accurate and methodical treatises on our laws [*D*]. Some authors however who have quoted it very freely, have strangely mistaken the writer's meaning; and some who have pretended to criticise them, instead of mending matters have made them much worse [*E*]. We have no kind of certainty as to the time of our author's death; yet Bale and

(*d*) Id. Origin. Jurid. p. 56.

(*e*) See this article in the General Dictionary.

(*f*) Sir R. Cotton, in his Short View of the Long Reign of Henry III.

(*g*) Leland, de Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

[*B*] *As will be shewn in the notes.*] We owe to Sir William Dugdale all the few dates which we have been able to insert in this life. In his Chronica Series, he tells us, that in the 29th of Henry III, Henry de Bracton and others were constituted Justices Itinerant, for the counties of Nottingham and Derby (4), and in the 30th of the same reign, for the counties of Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland, and Lancaster (5). In another place he recites the writ, whereby the King grants him the custody of the house of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, which bears date at Winchester, 25th of May, in the 38th of the said King (6). As to his being Chief Justice, it was first mentioned by the celebrated John Leland (7), and he tells us plainly, that he found it in one of the MSS. of our Judge's book, then preserved in a certain library. Hence also Bale took it, for he does not mention him in the first edition of his book, printed in 1549, because probably he had not the opportunity of consulting Leland's book, but in the edition of Basil, in 1557 (8), he transcribes Leland very exactly. Pits wrote after him only according to his usual custom, he runs out into a long panegyrick on the Judge's virtues (9), for which however he had no other warrant than what he met with in Bale. One thing is observable, that these writers call our author *Bractonus* in Latin, whereas Leland calls him *Brachedunus*, which is one reason, perhaps, why his authority has been by many people overlooked. If we should suppose that he was made Chief Justice, when he had the house given him at London, we must then place his death in anno domini 1273, that is in the first year of Edward I. which agrees perfectly well with the other authorities, and with the dates in his own writings.

(4) Page 13.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Origin. Jurid. p. 56.

(7) De Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

(8) Page 282.

(9) Page 310.

[*C*] *So many mistakes happened in writing his name.*] Bishop Nicholson tells us, that his name was variously written in the records nearest his own time, wherein, says he, we find him called Bratton, Breton, Bretton, Briton, Britton, and Brycton (10), he might have added a great many more, since at this time he took his name to be John, confounding him with John Breton, Bishop of Hereford, who was a Doctor of both laws, and who wrote a very large work, concerning the laws of England (11). It is to Leland we owe the knowledge of our author's giving the title of Brito to his work (12), which he found in the before-mentioned MS. though it is generally entitled, de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ. In his first chapter, our author tells us fairly, that, 'whereas England was 'governed by unwritten customs; which differed in 'several places, these laws were liable to frequent 'misconstructions, not only from the ignorance of 'those who took upon them to decide before they 'were well versed in the laws, but also from the arrogance of others, who taking advantage of these 'differences, sought rather to follow their own opinions, than the laws, therefore, for the sake of the 'less knowing, he, the said *Henry de Bracton*, had 'resolved to reduce these things into a regular method, 'under proper heads, of which he desires the reader's 'favourable acceptance (13).' There are indeed some variations in the MSS. even in this passage, however we may be sure that Brachdon, Bracton, or Bratton, was certainly his name, and that all the other appellations must either be referred to his book, or to the before-mentioned Bishop. As to his christian name, there never was any dispute about it, Bishop Nicholson's calling him John (14), being a plain mistake, and not the only one neither into which he has fallen about our author, either for want of reading his work, or for want attending to what he read, as will sufficiently appear in some of the following notes.

(10) English Historical Library, Part iii, p. 139. Lond. 1699.

(11) Vide Bale de Script. in Vit. Joan. Briton.

(12) De Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

(13) De Legib. fol. 1.

(14) Page 139.

[*D*] *Methodical treatises on our laws.*] We have already given the title of this book, wherein our author professes to treat of the laws and customs of England, and therefore we need not repeat it. It is divided into five books, and those again, except the two first Books, into several tracts, of which the third contains two, the fourth seven, and the fifth five. The method is plainly the same with that of the Emperor Justinian (15), as Bishop Nicholson observes from the preface to one of the printed editions (16), but it is a great mistake to say he begins with the several legal methods of procuring properties, for this is the subject of his second book. In the first he speaks of the division of things, of law in general, of the several kinds of laws, of personal distinctions, and of several kinds of estates. Then he shews how property may be lawfully acquired, how it is to be maintained and defended, and how recovered. Throughout the whole there runs a proper register of writs, and whatever he delivers as law, is justified by the report of cases adjudged, so that it is not easy to conceive how a more regular, or useful book could be composed at the time in which he lived. The author's great deference for the Papal power is the only thing that can be objected to him, and for this the author of the preface endeavours to account, by saying that Bracton wrote but a little after King John had resigned his crown to the Pope, in which Bishop Nicholson follows him precisely, tho' without quoting (17). But unluckily Bracton sets this excuse aside, since by the records he cites, it is plain that he did not set pen to paper 'till between fifty and sixty years after that event (18), and consequently he could not be much influenced thereby. The true reason of his writing in this stile, was his being himself a Canonist, and because in those days the laws of the land favoured the Papal power, the error therefore was in them, and not in him, so that any excuse is needless. The first printed edition of Bracton is at London, in 1569 in folio. In 1640 it was printed in 4to, and great pains was taken, by collating various MSS. to make the text as perfect as might be, of which we have a large account in the preface. There is also a table of various readings, and an excellent one of contents. Mr Selden mentions our author frequently in several of his works, particularly in his Titles of Honour (19). It may not be amiss to observe, that his remarks relate to the first edition, which was indeed very faulty.

(15) V........ per T. N. ad edit. Lond. 1640, 4to.

(16) English Historical Library, Part iii. p. 140.

(17) Page 141.

(18) Lib. iii. Tract. ii. c. xxxvii. §. 12. fol. 159.

(19) ———— 1614, 4to, p. 263, 270, 281, 334.

[*E*] *Instead of mending matters have made them much worse.*] The trial and murder of King Charles I. were things of such an extraordinary nature, that we need not wonder those who had any hand in acting or defending them, should have recourse to any such passages in our law books as might seem to warrant things of this nature. Serjeant Bradshaw therefore, who was President of the High Court of Justice, cited Bracton in his speech at giving sentence (20) on the King. But Milton, in his defence of the people of England against Salmasius (21), quotes him more precisely, his words are these. 'Our antient and famous

(20) See his Speech in the State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 993.

(21) Defens. Popul. Anglican. &c. edit. Lond. 1652, 4to, cap. viii. p. 155.

and Pits seem to place him too high, when they say he flourished in 1240, since we are sure he did not write his book 'till after the year 1262 (h), perhaps not 'till ten years after, so that propably he survived his master, and died in the reign of Edward I. It is very true, that in Hollinshead (i), he is mentioned in the list of learned men, who flourished under the reign of Henry, and nothing is said of him under that of Edward; but this does not prove that he did not out-live King Henry, but that he did not long out-live him, or make a great figure under his son, which is allowed so to be; and at this distance of time, we must, in reference to such things, with probable conjectures, learn to be content.

(h) Bracton de Legib. edit. Lond. 1640, 4to, fol. 159.

(i) The Chronicles of England, Vol. III. p. 276.

'mous Lawyer Bracton, in his first book, chap. 8. '*There is no King in the case*, says he, *where will rules* '*the roast; and law does not take place.* And in his 'third book, chap. 9. *A King is a King so long as* '*he rules well; he becomes a tyrant when he oppresses* '*the people committed to his charge.* And in the same 'chapter, *the King ought to use the power of law and* '*right, as God's Minister and Vice-gerent; the power* '*of wrong is the devil's, and not God's; when the* '*King turns aside to do injustice, he is the Minister of* '*the devil* (22).'——A little after he says. 'Since 'our Kings therefore are liable to be judged, whether 'by the name of Tyrants or of Kings, it must not be 'difficult to assign their legal Judges. Nor will it be 'amiss to consult the same authors upon that point. 'Bracton, book 1. chap. 16. Fleta, book 1. chap. '17. *The King has his superiors in the Government:* *The law, by which he is made King, and his Court, to* *wit, the Earls, and the Barons: Comites (Earls)* *are as muth as to say, Companions; and he that has a* *Companion, has a Master; and therefore if the King* *will be without a bridle, that is, not govern by law,* *they ought to bridle him* (23). It is no wonder that such as were no Lawyers, knew not how to answer these authorities.' To avoid losing time therefore, we shall pass by their answers, and give the reader the passages from which Milton makes his citations at large in Bracton's own words, and then the reader will easily judge, what weight his authority ought to have. The first quotation is from a section which has this title. *De Dignitate Regis et quod Rex non habit parem*, that is, *Of the Royal dignity, and that the King hath no equal* (24). The whole section runs thus, *Sunt et sub Rege Milites, &c.* 'There are under the King Knights 'or military persons, who are chosen to exercise arms, 'that with the King and the Nobility they may fight 'and defend their country, and the people of God. 'There are also under the King freemen, and such as 'are subject to them, but all are under him, and he is 'under none save God alone, for he hath no equal in 'his kingdom, otherwise the maxim would fail, an 'equal over his equal hath no authority; much less 'can he have any greater, or his superior, for then he 'must be beneath his subjects, and inferiors cannot be 'equal to superiors. The King therefore ought not to 'be under man, but under God and the law, and un'der the law because the law makes him King. The 'King ought to respect the law, because the law re'spects him, by giving him dominion and authority, '*for he is not a King were will, but where the law* '*prevails.* And that he ought to be under the law, 'as he is God's Vice-gerent evidently appears from 'his likeness to, in this respect, Jesus Christ, who 'came here upon earth, because the all-merciful God, 'when he resolved to restore lost mankind, made 'choice rather of this method of destroying the works 'of the devil, not by the force of power, but of 'justice, and so would have him under the law, that 'he might redeem those who were under the law, de'clining to use force, but rather reason and judgment; 'and so the blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of our 'Lord, though by a singular privilege, she was above 'law, yet to give an example of humility, refused not 'submission to the legal institutions. In like manner 'the King, that his power may not be without re'straint, though there is none greater in his kingdom 'to do justice, ought, in submitting thereto, to shew 'the same readiness as the meanest of his subjects. But 'if any claim be made against him, as his writ cannot 'run against himself, the method must be by petition 'that he would correct and amend his own act, which 'if he doth not do, it is sufficient punishment for him 'that he must be accountable unto God. For no man 'must presume to dispute his actions, much less to 'controul them.' Milton's next citation is from a section of our author's, wherein he proposes to speak of the King's ordinary jurisdiction. He tells us it consists in his acting as God's Vice-gerent, this he says is the duty and office of a King, whereas he who governs tyrannically, is the minister of the devil (25). Thence he takes occasion to shew of how great importance it is to Kings themselves, that they consider the dignity of their office and act suitably thereto. Immediately after he adds, 'But if a King be destitute of this know'ledge he destroys himself, because from a corrupt 'head there must descend corruption to the members, 'and if there be not sense and spirit in the governing 'member, it follows, that the rest cannot long per'form their functions.' As to the last citation it is drawn from that part of Bracton's book, wherein he is speaking of Royal Charters, and the best way to understand his true sense is to consider his own words (26). 'None, says he, can judge either of the King's 'Act or of his Charter, so as to make the deed of our 'Lord the King void. But a person may say that the 'King ought to do justice, and in so doing that he 'acts right, and if he acts otherwise wrong, and then 'it is incumbent upon him to redress the injury, that 'he and his Justices may avoid punishment, at the 'judgment of the living God. *For the King hath for* '*his superior God, as also the law by which he is made* '*King. Likewise his Court, consisting of Earls and* '*Barons, the former being stiled Comites, because they* '*are as it were companions of the King, and he who* '*hath a companion hath a Master, wherefore if the* '*King be without a bridle, that is without law, then* '*ought they to bridle him, lest they as well as the King,* '*be without bridle, and in this case the subjects cry out* '*and say, O Lord Jesus Christ, put a bit, and bridle* '*in their jaws, and restrain them; to which our Lord* '*shall answer, I will call a strong nation from afar,* '*a nation whom they have not known, and whose lan*'*guage they are ignorant of, and they shall destroy* '*them, and root them out from the earth, even such* '*shall their Judges be, because they refuse to judge* '*their subjects justly, and in the end, they shall be* '*bound hand and foot, and be thrown into a lake of* '*fire, and utter darkness, where there shall be weep*'*ing and gnashing of teeth.*' It must be allowed that nothing in this passage of Bracton justifies a coërcive power over the person of the King, because we must understand it in such a sense as is agreeable to the passage first cited from him; and so it appears, that if Bracton be consistent with himself, the scope of his book must be inconsistent with that doctrine, which Mr Milton cites him to support. A late editor of another very antient law writer, who entitled his book Fleta (27), I mean the very ingenious Mr Clarke of the Middle-Temple, observes, that both his author and Bracton have been cited by some magnifiers of royal power, as favourable to the boundless authority of Kings. But as he rightly observes, such authors are always to be understood, in a legal sense (28), and indeed it were to be wished, that Kings and subjects would regulate their conducts, according to the maxims of our old law books, wherein the former are said to be absolute in doing good, and incapable of doing evil, because none can be legally warranted by them so to do; as on the other hand, the latter are exhorted to a constant and perpetual obedience because it is for their own good. Before we take leave of Bracton, it may not be amiss to observe, that one of the most authentick MSS of this work of his was burnt in the fire which happened in the Cotton Library at Ashburnham-house, October the twenty-third, 1731 (29).

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(22) A Defence of the People of England, by John Milton, 1695, 8vo, p. 194.

(23) Ibid. p. 195.

(24) Bracton de Legibus, lib. i. cap. viii. §. 5. fol. 5, 6.

(25) Lib. iii. Tract. i. cap. 9. §. 3. fol. 107. b.

(26) Id. lib. i. cap. xvi.

(27) Lond. 1735, folio.

(28) Page 28. note *b*.

(29) Report from the Committee appointed to view the Cotton Library, p. 92, xii.

BRADFORD (John) a faithful Professor of, and valiant sufferer for, the Reformed Religion, under the cruel persecutions of Popery, in the reign of Queen Mary. He was born in the former part of King Henry the VIII's reign, of genteel parents, in the town of Manchester in Lancashire, where he received good education, not only in the Latin tongue, but arrived to great perfection in writing and accompts, so that he had few equals in those parts (*a*), for his qualifications of that kind. These excellencies of the perfections he had attained to, recommended him to the service of Sir John Harrington, a noble Knight, in great esteem with that King, and his son Edward VI. under whom he was divers times Treasurer, and Pay-Master of the English forces, and builder of the military works or fortifications at Boloign in France (*b*); where Mr Bradford's dexterity in writing, his exactness in auditing accompts, and readiness of dispatch, rendered him a very useful and much approved clerk, so that it was scarce to be told, whether either lived to the other more beloved, or more profitable (*c*). He passed several years in this employment, lived in great credit, made a splendid appearance, and was in a fair way both to wealth and worship. Nor was he only entrusted with the care of transacting his master's business with the pen, but with his purse also; so that he appears rather his Deputy than his Clerk, from his own words; where speaking of one Master Thomas Hussey of Lincolnshire, who was some time an officer in the Duke of Norfolk's family, his coming to visit and confer with him, by private directions from the Prelates, when Bradford was, several years after, under their examination at St Mary Overies for his opinions in religion; and saying, he would speak with me, says Bradford, for old acquaintance sake, he adds. 'For I was at Muttrel journey a Pay-master; in which he was, and had 'often received money at my hands (*d*).' And this seems to have been in the year 1544, when King Henry provoked beyond patience, at the assistance which the King of France afforded the Scots against him, went thither with an army in person, conquered Boloign, and articled afterwards that it should not be restored 'till he was paid eight hundred thousand crowns (*e*). We have met with but one author who has discovered, and that with a commendable sincerity, the real occasion of Mr Bradford's changing this secular, for a religious course of life. 'Tis certainly one of the most remarkable circumstances in it; for to know how men came by the vicissitudes of their fortune or condition, is one of the most instructive and desirable particulars in their memoirs; and that incident being communicated to the world by an intimate acquaintance of his, it therefore highly deserved to have been revived by all who have related his story. Yet Fox, Holland, Fuller, and others, by whom he has been most largely commemorated, have been silent in this important occurrence; whether thro' their being unacquainted with it, or any needless tenderness towards his memory; as if a flaw in his private character, could diminish the merit of his suffering so heroically in a publick one, we leave for others to distinguish. In short, his pen which raised him to that station in civil life, removed him to an ecclesiastick one, in which he became more lastingly eminent, and exemplary; I say, the volubility of that pen, appears to have been such, that either by under or over-charging an article in his accounts, whereby the King was some considerabe loser, he never rested at ease, especially after he had heard a sermon of Mr Latimer's upon *Restitution*, 'till he had made full satisfaction, and finally settled himself in a more severe calling, above the temptation of all worldly ensnarements. But first of all, after his retiring from that employment in the army, we find him residing for a while in the Inner-Temple; where, as it is said, he studied the common laws of this realm (*f*), and for some time sollicited suits there, for Sir John Harrington, as Dr Fuller informs us (*g*). In another part of this author's works, it is said, that Bradford bestowed some few hours every day there, in hearing the Reader of the Common Law (*h*). But whatever he studied or heard in the Temple, it appears by his letters from thence, to his pious friend Mr Traves, that he heard more Sermons than Law-Lectures there; and that he was already grown a Divine, before he had taken the orders of one; but not a word, either of the practice or study of the Law does he mention: and indeed how little that profession interfered with the humiliation, contrition, and deep repentance which had now possessed his heart for the misconduct aforesaid, may be read in his own words, and those of other credible authors [*A*]. It

(*a*) See J. Fox his Acts and Monuments, &c. Vol. III. 1684, fol. 232. Also Dr Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4to, 1651, p. 180. In the Life of Mr Bradford.

(*b*) Idem.

(*c*) See Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, prefixed to his Examinations, &c. before the Lord Chancellor Bishop of Winchester; the Bishop of London, and other Commissioners, &c. printed at London, by W. Griffith, 8vo, 1561, p. 2.

(*d*) The Examinations of the Constant Martyr of God Mr John Bradford, &c. as before, in the chapter of the private talk had with him, by such as the Prelates sent to him, p. 2.

(*e*) Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, fol. 1623, p. 1050, &c. Also John Stow's Annals, fol. 1615, p. 591. Also in Biblioth. Cotton. Tiberius, C.VIII. 53.

(*f*) Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, before his Examination. Also Fox, and Fuller, as above.

(*g*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Lancashire.

(*h*) Abel Redivivus, in the Life of Mr Bradford, p. 181.

[*A*] *May be read in his own words, and those of other credible authors.*] Concerning that business of his repentance, and the restitution to be made, as above spoken of, we shall first recite what he mentions himself, in some of his Letters to his said pious friend, Mr John Traves, Minister of Blackley, both after he was removed to the Temple, and to Cambridge. In one of those letters, written from the Temple, the Sunday after the aforesaid famous sermon, as he calls it, which wrought so much upon him, was preached by Latimer, he has these words: 'Since my coming 'to London, I was with Mr Latimer; whose counsel 'is, as you shall hear, which I purpose by God's 'grace to obey. He willed me, as I have done, to 'write to my master, who is in the country, and to shew 'him, that, if within a certain time, which I appointed, 'fourteen days, he do not go about to make *Restitution*, 'that I will submit myself to my Lord Protector, and 'the King's Majestie's Council to confess the fault, 'and ask pardon. This life is uncertain, and frail; 'and when time is, it must not be deferred; and what 'should it profit me, to win the whole world, and to 'lose my own soul? If, as I justly have deserved, I 'be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the 'least, slander, reproach, rebuke, loss of worldly 'friends, loss of living, &c. shall ensue: What then? 'Lord, thy will be done, thine I am; if death come, 'welcome be it, if slander, &c. Even as thou wilt, Lord, 'so be it. Only grant me a penitent, loving, obedient heart; and of meer love to go forwards herein, 'and not to shrink; to stand, and not to fall; that 'thy name only be praised herein. *Amen* (1).' In another letter written by Mr Bradford to the said Mr Traves, he appears still very sollicitous with Sir John Harrington,

(1) Fox's Acts and Monuments, as before, Vol. III. p. 296.

It appears by the earlieſt dates in thoſe letters, that he was at the Temple in the year 1547; and

Harrington, to accommodate this matter. He ſays therein, That his ſaid maſter had been in London a few days after he wrote his laſt, and that he had entreated him to diſcharge the account, or he would ſubmit himſelf. Sir John anſwered him, That if the books would declare it, he would give ſatisfaction. Bradford ſhewed the books; whereupon Sir John promiſed, ſays he, as much as I could aſk. But Sir John being more moved than he had cauſe, Bradford deſired to know how, and in what time, he would diſchage *them both*? Hereupon Sir John thinking him over-curious, anxious, or ſcrupulous, ſaid, he ſhould not know; nor would he, by anſwering thoſe words, have his head under his girdle. Yet did Bradford ſtill deſire, many times, to know, in what manner, and by what time the ſaid diſcharge was to be effected; and 'doubting, ſays he, worldly wiſdom, which uſeth 'delays, to reign in him, with this mammon, I was 'ſomething more ſharp, and told him, *Non ego tamen* '*ſed gratia tua, Domine*; I would obey God more 'than man: The which he lightly regarding, as it 'ſeemed, I departed, and went to Mr Latimer, to 'have had him brought me to my Lord Protector, 'who then purpoſed ſhortly to take his Journey to viſit the Ports.' Wherefore Latimer adviſed him to ſtay 'till his return; which was to be before Eaſter. In the mean time, his maſter having made one of his ſons an inſtrument to move Bradford with ſome worldly views, he thereat prevailed upon him to ſhew Sir John, more plainly, his further purpoſe; which when Sir John knew, it ſo moved and terrified him, that he began ſomewhat to relent, and then made fair promiſes, That whatever Bradford ſhould propoſe, he would comply with: but Bradford's propoſitions pleaſed not. And his maſter, departing out of London, unknown to him, ſent him word by another of his ſons, who was not of ſo good principles as the former, and therefore more ſuſpected, that he would do all things Bradford deſired; only his fame and ability preſerved.' And by that ſon, his maſter alſo ſent a bill, wherein he declared himſelf contented, within twelve months, to deliver into Bradford's hands the whole money: But he not thinking it ſo expreſſive as it might have been, drew another, and ſent it to him, deſiring he would ſign and ſeal it; which Mr Latimer thought would be ſufficient: 'But 'as yet, ſays Bradford, I hear not of it, doubting '*worldly wiſdom*; which was the whore that overcame *Sampſon*; that moved *David* to ſlay *Urias*; 'that brought wiſe *Solomon* to idolatry; that crucified '*Chriſt*; the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*; the which worketh in my maſter's heart; having higher place there, than *Timor Domini*.' In the concluſion of this letter, after mentioning the preſent he had made of a fair Engliſh and Latin Teſtament, in one print and volume, to Sir Thomas Hall, he deſires Mr Traves to peruſe a letter he had herewith ſent, then ſeal and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolfoneros, having not called it to remembrance this winter, of his being in the country; and wiſhed, 'ſome 'occaſion, if any could be had, before the delivery 'of the ſaid letter, by ſome ſtory or communication, 'that he did know that abomination to be ſin; for I 'fear me, adds he, he thinketh it to be none: The 'Lord open our Eyes and forgive us, *Amen*, &c. 'From the Temple this 22d of March 1547: Yours, 'in Chriſt moſt bounden, John Bradford (2). In the next letter following, to the ſaid father Traves, as our author calls him, the further progreſs of this buſineſs is thus mentioned. 'Concerning the great matter 'you know of, it hath pleaſed God to bring it to the 'end, that I have a bill of my maſter's hand, where-'in he is bound to pay the ſum afore Candlemas next 'coming. This, thinks Mr Latimer to be ſufficient. 'Therefore I pray you to give the gracious Lord 'thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me, a 'a moſt wicked ingrate ſinner, who have alſo, in other 'things, no leſs cauſe to praiſe God's name, as for 'that I have and ſuſtain my maſter's ſore diſpleaſure, 'the which hath brought me, God, I ſhould ſay, 'through it, unto more contempt of worldly things, 'through the ſequeſtration of ſuch his buſineſs as to-'fore I had ado withal—There is yet another thing 'whereof I will advertiſe you, even to this end, that 'you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I truſt 'ſhortly to begin, ſo he may vouchſafe to confirm 'that he hath begun, as, if I be not deceived, I be-'lieve it is in working: If the thing ſeem by God's 'ſpirit in you, that I preſume, then for the Lord's 'ſake advertiſe me; for I am much given to that diſ-'eaſe, the Lord deliver me; I have moved my ma-'ſter therein already by letters, to ſee if I ſhall have 'any living of him, as hitherto I have had; but I 'have thereof no anſwer, nor, as our natural ſpeech 'is, any likelihood of any grant. Yet, that I have 'already, I truſt will ſuffice me for three years.—I 'am minded, afore Midſummer, to leave London, to 'go to my book at Cambridge, and if God ſhall give 'me grace, to be a Miniſter of his word.—Perchance 'I do fooliſhly to forſake ſo good a living as I have. 'I will ſay no more hereof, but pray for me. I truſt, 'as I ſaid, for three years ſtudy, I have ſufficient, if 'my maſter take all from me. and when this is ſpent, 'God will ſend more. I do not writ this, that you 'ſhould think me to be in need of worldly help; and 'therefore as Friers were wont, ſecretly to beg. No, 'in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it ſo; for 'I had rather never ſend letter, afore I ſhould be herein a 'croſs to you; for *ſufficit ſua diei afflictio*: We are more 'ſet by, than many ſparrows. But if my mother, or 'Sir Thomas Hall murmur at it or be offended with 'me, as you can, remedy it, with your counſel. Howbeit, as yet, I will not write to them of it, until 'ſuch time as I be going. I am ſomething fickle-'minded, and inconſtant, therefore pray for me, that 'my hand being put to the plough, preſumptuouſly 'ſpoken! I look not back. You may gather by my 'words in this letter, the heroical heart which lieth in 'me! I have ſent you a book of *Bucer* againſt *Wincheſter*, in Engliſh, lately tranſlated, which I never 'read, therefore I cannot praiſe it. And, as I call to 'remembrance, I did ſend you with the other books, 'more than you received; at leaſt one of them I re-'member, which is called *The Common Places*, or *The* '*Declaration of the Faith*, by *Urbanus Rhegius*. Aſk 'for it, or ſend me word in whom the default is you 'have it not. Hereafter, and that ſhortly, by God's 'grace I wil ſend you *Primitiæ Laborum Meorum*, a 'work or two, which I have tranſlated into *Engliſh*, 'as ſoon as they be printed; which will be afore 'Whitſontide, &c (3).' In the concluſion of this letter which is dated from the Temple, the 12th of May, 1548, he expreſſes his deſire to ſpeak with Sir Tho. Hall, and thinks he may chance to ſee him the winter following, if he diſcharges not himſelf of his office. But whether thereby is meant his office under his maſter aforeſaid, or any other, he might have in that inn of court, we pretend not to explain. Thus have we ſeen from his own words what advancement this reparation was in, for the miſdemeanour aforeſaid; alſo what progreſs he had made in his ſtudies, and what reſolution he had taken to finiſh them at the Univerſity, in the profeſſion of Divinity. Now we may compendiouſly ſee, how that Reſtitution was provided for, out of his own fortune, from the words of his intimate acquaintance, above in the text ſpoken of, named Thomas Sampſon, ſome time Dean of Chriſt Church, Oxon. That author informs us, that during this time of his obſtructions to enter into that holy life which he now coveted, and ſoon compaſſed, 'He was 'much helped forward by a continual meditation, and 'practice of repentance and fayth in Chriſt; in which 'he was kept, by God's grace, notably exerciſed all 'the dayes of his lyfe; and that, even in this mean 'time (of thoſe obſtructions) he heard a ſermon, which 'that notable preacher Maiſter *Latimer* made before 'King *Edward* the ſixt, in which he did earneſtly ſpeake 'of *Reſtitution* to be made of things falſely gotten; 'whych dyd ſo ſtrike *Bradford* to the heart, for one 'daſh of a pen which he had made, without the 'knowledge of his maiſter, as full often I have heard 'him confeſſe, with plentie of teares; beyng Clarke to 'the Treaſurer of the Kyng's Campe beyond the ſeas, 'and was to the deceiving of the King, that he could 'never be quiet, 'tyll, by the aduice of the ſame maiſter '*Latimer*, a Reſtitution was made: Whych thyng to 'bring to paſſe, he did wyllingly forbeare and foregoe 'all that priuate and certain patrimonye which he had 'in

(2) Fox, as before, to p. 298.

(3) Acts and Monuments, ibid.

and part of the year following, and that he is often censuring and upbraiding himself in them with great and undeserved severity; as if his mind was not fully weaned from worldly allurements, or his renunciation of them was not sincere, but that nature unwillingly yielded to those degrees of mortification, whereunto he was habituating himself; yet at last, his resolution so absolutely subdued that reluctance, which arose from a distrust of his abilities, that he removed to Cambridge about the month of August 1548, and there changed his study as well as his profession, as it may again appear from the words of those who knew him, as well as his own [*B*]. He soon took his degree of Master of Arts at Kathar ne-Hall;

'in earth. Let all bribers, and polyng officers, 'which get to themselves great revenues in earth, by 'such slippery shiftes, folow his example, lest in 'taking a contrarye course, they take a contrarye way, 'and never come where Bradford now is (4).' How, and in what degrees this restitution was finally made, will appear in the conclusion of the next note.

[*B*]. *From the words of those who knew him, as well as his own*]. His acquaintance aforesaid, Thomas Sampson, says also of those two changes in Bradford's life, thus; 'Touching the first, after that God 'touched his heart with that holy and effectual calling, 'he sold his chaynes, rynges, brooches, and juels of 'gold, which before he used to weare, and did bestow 'the price of this his former vanitie, in the necessary 'relief of Christ's poor members, which he could 'hear of, or finde lying sicke, or pining in povertie. 'Touching the second, he so declared his great zeale 'and love to promote the Lord Jesus, whose good-'ness and saving health he had tasted, that to do the 'same more pithely, he changed his studye, and be-'ing in the Inner Temple, London, at the study of 'the common lawes, he went to Cambridge, to study 'divinitie (5).' And to the same sense, says another author, *Ex rixoso causidico mitissimus Christi Apostolus* (6). What he says himself of his removal to, and studies at, Cambridge, we shall gather briefly, from his letters to Mr Traves aforesaid: One whereof, he wrote to him, the day he went thither; tho' it is not dated. Therein he still arraigns his own presumption, in adventuring upon so high a charge, or vocation, as he was entering upon; and desires his friend, to pray for him, That God's will be done in him, whether he lives, or dies; so that His name be honoured. 'My master which was, adds he, hath denied me 'all his benefice: But I have, for this life, more 'than enough, thanks be to God, as this winter I 'intend by God's favour to declare more unto you. 'This book which I have sent (7), take in good part. 'It is the first, I trust it shall not be the last, God 'hath appointed me to translate. The print is very 'false, I am sorry for it. I pray you be not of-'fended at my babbling in the prologues.' So concludes with this postscript, 'I will lye, God willing, 'this summer at *Catharine Hall* in *Cambridge* (8).' Accordingly, in his next letter to the same person, we find him there in the middle of August, which we take to be in the year last spoken of, 1548: For he dates it from Catharine Hall upon the Assumption day (9). And in his next following, dated the 22d of October, he says, he has taken his degree of master of Arts; to qualify him for the fellowship he was promised (10). In his next, which seems to be written in 1549, he has these expressions; 'You know that God hath exo-'nerated my loaden conscience, of the great weighty 'burthen; for so I did write to you. Yea, the Lord 'hath in a manner unburthened me of the lesser bur-'then also: For I have an assurance of the payment 'of the same by Candlemas. Lo, thus you see, 'what a good God the Lord is unto me! O Father 'Traves, give thanks for me and pray God to forgive 'me my unthankfulness! But what should I rehearse 'the benefits of God towards me? Alas, I cannot, 'I am too little for his mercies; yea, I am not only 'unthankful, but I am too far contumelious against 'God: For where you know the sun, the moon, and 'the seven stars, did forsake me, and would not shine 'upon me; you know what I mean, *Per herum et heriles amicos*; yet, the Lord hath given me here, 'in the University, as good a living as I would have 'wished for. I am now a Fellow of Pembroke Hall; 'for the which, neither I, nor any other for me did, 'ever make any suit. Yea, there was a contention 'between the master of Catharine Hall (11), and the 'Bishop of Rochester, who is master of Pembroke 'Hall (12), whether should have me: *Fit hoc tibi dic-*'*tum*. Thus you may see, the Lord's carefulness for me, 'my Fellowship is worth seven pounds a year; for I 'have allowed me eighteen pence a week, and as good 'as thirty-three shillings and four pence a year; 'besides my chamber, launder, barber, &c. and I 'am bound to nothing, but once or twice a year to 'keep a problem (13).' He concludes this letter, after many expressions of his own unworthiness, with a request to his correspondent, That he would exhort his mother, now and then, with his sister Margaret, to fear the Lord; and, if his mother had not parted with the fox-fur which was in his father's gown, he desires, she would send it him, &c. which is here mentioned, that the reader may better guess at the profession of Mr Bradford's said father (14). In the last letter that has been preserved of his, written to the same person, while Bradford continued at Cambridge, after having made the like rigorous reflections upon himself, for his backwardness in spiritual improvements, as he had made in his foregoing letters, he tells Mr Traves concerning Father Latimer, 'I 'am as familiar with him, as with you: Yea, God so 'moveth him towards me, that his desire is to have 'me come and dwell with him, whensoever I will, 'and welcome. This do I write once more to occa-'sion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, &c. '(15).' Thus we see it is not without reason that he has been described to have been a man in his disposition, behaviour, and conversation, singularly agreeable and engaging; since we saw before, how attractive they rendered him to Dr Sandys, and Bishop Ridley; and now, to Bishop Latimer; of which there is a further testimony in Dr Fuller; who says, 'It is a demonstration to me, that he was of a sweet 'temper, because, *Persons* (the Jesuit) who will 'hardly afford a good word to a Protestant, saith, '*That he seemed to be of a more soft and mild nature, than many of his fellows* (16). Indeed continues 'Fuller, he was a most holy and mortified man; 'who, secretly in his closet, would so weep for his 'sins, one would have thought he would never have 'smiled again; and then, appearing in publick, he 'would be so harmlessly pleasant, one would think 'he had never wept before (17).' Now for the conclusion of that great business which had so oppressed his mind; that burthen, before in this note spoken of, which he was so thankful to God, he should be eased of by Candlemas following; as Bishop Latimer was made privy to, and chiefly consulted in it, we conceived hopes he might possibly have preserved some other particulars of it. Therefore having, with some difficulty procured an old edition of that Bishop's sermons, we have diligently sought therein, for that above-mentioned, which wrought this notable conversion; and have found, as we shall read presently in his own words, that he preached the said sermon at court, in the time of Lent, and as we compute, in the year 1548. There are two sermons in this collection, or one divided into two parts, composed directly upon the subject, *of rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*; but they are said to have been preached by him at Stamford, and in the month of October, and two years later; all which may be true, and it may be the same sermon he preached at court in Lent, and in the year before-mentioned, while Bradford resided in the Temple. But there is another sermon next following these, preached by Latimer before the said King Edward and his Council, in his court at Westminster, in the year 1550, which will give us light to some purpose in that important matter of the restitution above-mentioned: And yet has it been taken notice of by no writer of Bradford's life before. It is grounded upon a text, which nearly borders on the other, *Videte, et cavete ab avaritia: Take heed and beware of covetousness*. In that part of this sermon, where Latimer reads such a lecture, in his frank and

(4) Tho. Sampson's Preface to the Reader, before Two notable Sermons, made by that worthy Martyr of Christ Maister John Bradford; the one of Repentance, the other of the Lord's Supper, &c. 8*vo*, 1574, p. 6.

(5) Idem. p. 3.

(6) J. Bale, Descr. Brit. Cent. VIII. Num. 87.

(7) Mentioned in the foregoing note.

(8) Acts and Monuments as before, p. 299.

(9) Idem.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Dr Edwyn Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York. MSS. Rev. Tho. Baker.

(12) Dr Nic. Ridley, as above-mentioned, in the text.

(13) Fox, as before, p. 300.

(14) Idem.

(15) Ibidem.

(16) See Rob. Persons his Three Conversions of England, Part ii. 8*vo*, 1603, in his Examination of Fox's Kalendar, for the Martyr's in July.

(17) Worthies of England, in Lancashire.

Hall; and Dr Nicholas Ridley, who was not then Bishop of London, as Bradford's friend mistakes (*i*), being Bishop of Rochester from near a twelvemonth before Bradford went to the University, to the beginning of the year 1550 (*k*), and also master of Pembroke-Hall, invited him before that year, together with his godly companion Master Thomas Horton, to become Fellows of that Hall, as it is observed by the first writer of his life, who says, 'he laboured so vehemently in the University at his studies, that the first year 'of his coming thither, he was made Master of Arts, and was soon after chosen Fellow of 'Pembroke-Hall, where he so profited by the heavenly dexterity of his wit, that he was 'had in estimation of all good men (*l*),' which is pretty tolerably agreed to in the Computation of a later author, who was not over assiduous in guiding his readers by the light of Chronology, one of the best illuminators of History, where he says, 'That after a year 'and some few months spent in the University, he attained his degree of Master of Arts, 'whereunto others are hardly admitted after long examination, and seven years study. 'But such was his carriage, diligence, and proficiency, that this favour, tho' extraordinary 'and insolent, was thought well bestowed upon him by the whole University; and lest any 'man may think it was rather differenced to his years, than his abilities, he was imme-'diately hereafter without any interposal of time, chosen Fellow of Pembroke-Hall (*m*).' The Jesuit who suggested, that Bradford could not be a man of great learning, because he was of so short standing in the University, did not, or would not pretend to know, that he was so good a scholar before he went thither, as to have translated books out of the Latin tongue, which were printed at his first going to Cambridge; as is already in the notes observed: for as Fuller, where he is last quoted, truly says of Bradford, '*he had* 'always been a hard student from his youth; and his writings and disputings give a 'sufficient testimony of his learning.' Yet was his modesty and diffidence so great, that when Dr Martin Bucer, with whom he was in great esteem there, exhorted him to reserve his talents no longer in private, but to exercise them publickly through the Ministry of the Gospel in the great work of reformation; and he still pleaded his inability, Bucer would reply, 'Though thou couldst not feed them with fine cakes, and white bread, yet should 'you satisfy them with barley bread (*n*).' Such like frequent exhortations emboldened him to proceed, though he was sufficiently inclined of his own accord, and only had too scrupulous and humble opinion of himself. The manner of his laying his past sins before his eyes, by the catalogues he made of them, and his inward and retired exercise of Prayer; his praying with himself, as well as with his pupils; and, above all, the diary he kept of whatever was remarkable and serviceable to his steady advancement in the practice of piety, are particularly described among his exercises, whilst he was at the University, by the friend beforementioned, who could best do it; more especially of this last task, he speaks in these words, 'He used to make unto hym selfe an *Ephemeris*, or a Journal, in which hee 'used to write all such notable things as either hee dyd see, or heare, eche day that passed. 'But whatsoever hee dyd heare or see, hee dyd so penne it, that a man might see in that, 'the signes of his smitten heart. For if he dyd see or heare any good in any man, by 'that sight, he found and noted the want thereof in hymselfe; and added a short prayer, 'craving mercy and grace to amende. If he dyd hear or see any misery he noted it, as 'a thing procured by his own syns; and still added, *Domine misere mei: Lord have* '*mercy upon me.* He used in the same booke, to note such evyll thoughts as dyd ryse in 'him; as of envying the good of other men; thoughts of unthankfullness; of not con-'sidering God in his workes; of hardness and unsensibleness of heart when he dyd see 'others moved and afflicted: And thus he made *to hymselfe*, and *of hymselfe*, a book of 'dayly practises of repentance (*o*).' In short, as a full proof of these practices, he had now made a restitution to the King, so voluntarily and uncompelled, of above five hundred pounds, in three yearly payments; that the last, which was made the year abovementioned, was before the King, or his Council knew (and perhaps they never knew) who had wronged him, as we have more particularly observed before (†). And now his conscience being totally clear and disburdened, he vigorously proceeded in the heavenly progression; and, by the effectual courses he took to arrive at that spiritual perfection he aspired to, he became so eminent, that Bishop Ridley, who in the beginning of the year 1550, was translated to the See of London (*p*), sent for him from the University, to take upon

(*i*) T. Sampson, in the Preface to Bradford's Sermons, as quoted in the notes.

(*k*) Godwin, the Præsul. Angl. Rymeri Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 164, 222.

(*l*) Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, before his Examination, as above.

(*m*) The Life of Mr Bradford in Abel Rediv. aforesaid, p. 181, &c. As none of these authors mention his settling in any other college, we may look upon it as an error in H. Holland's Herωologia Anglica, fol. 151. And in Donald Lupon's Hist. of the Modern Protestant Divines, p. 222, where it is said, that Bradford was of Queen's-college, took all degrees there, and was Master thereof.

(*n*) The Lyfe of Mr Bradford before his Examinations. See also Fox, and in Abel Redivivus.

(*o*) Tho. Sampson's Preface, as above, p. 11.

(†) At the end of note [*B*].

(*p*) J. Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, fol. 1716, p. 180.

and familiar manner, upon the abuses of the King's officers, as no doubt made the ears of some among them tingle upon hearing it, we have the following remarkable and pertinent passage.—'I have now preach-'ed three Lentes: The first time I preached *Restitu-'tion.* Restitution, quoth some! what should he 'preach of Restitution? Let him preach of Contri-'tion, quoth they, and let Restitution alone: We 'can never make Restitution. Then, say I, if thou 'wilt not make Restitution, thou shalt goe to the de-'vill for it. Now chuse thee either, Restitution, or 'els endlesse damnation. But now there be two man-'ners of Restitution; secret Restitution, and open Re-'stitution; whether of both it be, so that Restitution 'be made, it is all good enough — At my first preach-'ing of Restitution, *One man tooke remorse of con-'science*, and acknowledged himself to me, that he 'had deceived the King; and willing he was to make 'Restitution; and so the first Lent, came to my 'hands *twenty pounds*, to be restored to the King's 'use. I was promised twenty pounds more, the same 'Lent, but it could not be made; so that it came 'not: Well, the next Lent came *three hundred* and '*twenty pounds* more; I received it myself, and paid 'it to the Kinges Council; so I was asked, what he 'was that made this Restitution; But should I have 'named him? Nay, they shoulde as soon have this 'weasand of mine: Well, now, this Lent, came '*one hundred, fourscore pounds, ten shillings*; which 'I have payd and delivered this present day to the 'Kinges Council; and so this man hath made a godly 'Restitution (18).'

(18) Bishop Latimer's Sermons, Printed by John Day. Lond. 4to, 1584, p. 111.

upon him Deacon's orders; which having received, together with a Licence (*q*), he soon became such a famous Preacher of Piety, and such an exemplary pattern of what he preached, that the said Bishop obtained of the Privy-Council, a grant, that he might be admitted one of his chaplains; a circumstance unmentioned hitherto by any writer of his history [*C*]: Tho' one of them partly intimates as much, where having informed us, that the Bishop now gave him a Prebend at St Paul's church; he adds, that he also lodged him in his own house, and set him to work in preaching (*r*). And now, from this time to the end of King Edward's reign, he did so constantly, so ardently, and prevailingly, engraft the true principles of religion, not in the ears only, but in the hearts and minds of the people; so reformed the vicious, reclaimed the perverted, and fixed the wavering, that no Preacher of his time was more followed, or more famed than Master Bradford. 'Sharply he opened and reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithely he 'impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he perswaded to a godly life (*s*).' He became so eminent for the sermons he preached in London, chiefly at Paul's Cross; and several places in Lancashire (*t*); where it seems from his own words (*u*), that he had been diligently instructing his countrymen in their duty to God, and each other, all the summer of the year 1552; that he was sworn to serve the King, as one of his Chaplains, about the beginning of the next year, as appears in one of his *examinations*; wherein we shall find, that he was sworn no less than six times in that reign, never to consent, in any wise, to the Pope's authority in this Kingdom. In one of the sermons he preached at Court, before the said King Edward in Lent, that last year of His Majesty's reign 1553, he shewed the tokens of God's judgments at hand, for the contempt of his Gospel, in several recent examples; as that of those gentlemen, who crossing the Thames in a wherry, to see the bear-baiting at Paris-Garden on a Sunday, were all drowned; and of a dog that was met at Ludgate, carrying

(*q*) The Lyfe of Mr Bradford before his Examination, as above.

(*r*) T. Sampson's Preface, &c.

(*s*) Fox, Vol. III. p. 233.

(*t*) Sampson's Preface, as before.

(*u*) Mr Bradford's Epist. before his Sermon of Repentance, then preached, and printed the year following, at the request of several of his auditors, with Enlargements; and reprinted by T. Sampson, as above.

[*C*] *A circumstance unmentioned hitherto by any writer of his history.*] Our authority for it, is derived from the Bishop's own words; who in a letter he wrote to Mr Cheke, afterwards, the well-known Sir John Cheke, now one of the said Council, has these words: 'Syr, in God's cause, for God's sake, and in 'his name I beseech you, of your helpe and furthe'rance towards God's word. I did talk with you of 'late, what case I was in, concerning my Chaplens. 'I have got the good will and grant, to be with me, 'of three preachers, men of good learning; and, as I 'am persuaded, of excellent virtue; which are able, 'both with life and learning; to set forth God's word 'in London, and in the whole diocese of the same; 'where it most neede, of all parts in Englande: For 'from thence, goeth example, as you know, into all '*the rest of the King's Majesties whole realme.* The 'mens names be these, M. *Grindall*, whom you know 'to be a man of virtue and learning; M. *Bradforde*, '*a man by whom, as I am assuredly informed, God* '*hath, and doth work wonders, in setting forth of his* '*worde*: The thirde, is a preacher, the which for de'tecting, and confuting, the Anabaptists and Papists 'in Essex, both by his preaching, and his writing, is 'enforc'd now to beare Christ's cross, &c. (19).' The Bishop proceeds to tell Mr Cheke, that there was now fallen a Prebend in Paul's called *Cantrelles*, by the death of one Layton; and calls it an honest man's living, of thirty-four pounds and better, in the King's books. This he wanted to give Mr Grindall; but William Thomas, one of the Clerks of the Council, having formerly set some of that board upon the Bishop, to grant, That Layton might alienate the same to him, and his heirs, and the Bishop, not consenting to it, without he might acquaint the King therewith, before the collation of it, Mr Thomas despaired of procuring it for himself, therefore prevailed on his said friends to inform the Bishop, That the King had appropriated it to the furniture of his Majesty's stable. Whereupon the Bishop beseeches Mr Cheke, for God's sake, to speak to whomsoever he thought he could do any good withall, in the redress of this grievance; and if he could not speak himself, that he would let this letter speak to Mr Gates, Mr Wrothe, and Mr Cecill; all whom he takes for men that fear God. And he is the more sollicitous to know the King's pleasure herein, and whether he may bestow this living upon Mr Grindall, as he is very desirous of doing, because he was a man so noted for his virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning; and such were now more especially wanted; since the Bishops were so lately charged by the King, and his council themselves, both in their own persons, and by their preachers, to cry out against the unsatiable serpent of covetousness: so he concludes with asking, 'What preachers shall 'I gett to open and set forth suche matters, and so, as 'the King's Majestie and the Council do command 'them to be set forth, if either ungodlye men, or un'reasonable beastes bee suffered to pull awaye, and de'vour the good and godlye learned preachers livings?' Dated from *Fulham*, the 23d of July, 1551, and signed *Nicholas London*. Tho' this Prebend was now designed for the said Mr Grindall, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, it rather appears that the Bishop gave it, or another, if his enemy above got that, as below it should seem he did, to Mr Bradford: For all the old writers of his story agree (20), That upon his entering into orders, the Bishop gave him a Prebend in his cathedral of St Paul's. And for Mr Grindall, those who have written most accurately of him, inform us, That he was collated, in August the same year last mentioned, *Præcentor* of St Paul's, void by the death of John Sherry (21), and the next year was installed, a Prebendary indeed, but it was of the then cathedral church of St Peter at Westminster (22). As for that William Thomas, against whom, Bishop Ridley, above, so heartily exclaims; he was a Welshman born, a learned and ingenious man, but of a violent and desperate temper. He fled the kingdom in 1544, and, after King Henry's death, returned out of Italy, well acquainted with that country, and it's language, of both which, we have his books in print; and of his manuscripts, there are, his *Dialogue*, entitled *Le Peregryne*, in defence of King *Henry* VIII. dedicated to the famous Tuscan Poet, *Pietro Aretine*; and about half a dozen political Discourses more, preserved in the Cotton Library (23). There was a French Dialogue called *Le Peregrin* printed in the Gothic letter at Paris, 8vo. 1540. quære if the same. In April 1550, he was made Clerk of the Council (24); soon after, a Prebend of *Cantleurs*, in St Paul's, lately convey'd to the Crown, as we are told, and parson of Presthend in South Wales (25); but being said to have imbibed the principles of Christopher Goodman against the regimen of women, and too freely vented them, with perhaps something against the Spanish match, he was deprived of all by Queen Mary. Whereupon perpetrating revenge, he attempted her Life, as some writers agree (26), only Bale says, his design was upon Bishop Gardiner (27); for which he was imprisoned in the Tower of London, in the latter end of the year 1553, with Sir Nicholas Throkmorton and others; where, hopeless of reprieve, he stabbed himself with a knife in the breast; but the wound not proving mortal, he was, after trial and condemnation at Guild-Hall, for conspiring the death of the Queen, hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn, on the 18th of May 1554. And in his last speech declared, *He died for his country* (28).

(19) Certain most Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters, of such true Saints, and holy Martyrs of God, as in the late bloody Persecution here, within this Realme, gave their Lives for the Defence of Christes Holy Gospell: Written in the Time of their Affliction, and cruel Imprisonment. Published by Miles Coverdale (some time Bishop of Exeter) Printed by John Day, 4*to*, 1564; p. 683, &c.

(20) As the Lyfe of Mr Bradford before his Examination. T. Sampson's Preface. Fox, &c.

(21) J. Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindall, fol. 1710, p. 6. J. Le Neve's Lives of the Archbishops since the Reformation, 8*vo*, 1720, p. 30. And his Fasti, or Church Dignitaries, fol. 1716, p. 201. *Ex Regist. Bonner*, fol. 312.

(22) Le Neve, ut supra, ex Regist. Westm.

(23) Sub. Effig. Vespasian. D. XVIII.

(24) The Journal of King Edward VI. Also The Council Book for the four last years of his Reign.

(25) Anthony Harmer's Specimen of Errors in Dr Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, 8*vo*, 1693, p. 159.

(26) See Richard Grafton's Chron. Nich. Sanders, John Stow, &c.

(27) De Script. Britan. Part ii. p. 110.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 90.

[*D*] *As*

carrying a piece of a dead child in his mouth; upon which he broke out in a prophetical ſpirit to the congregation, and ſummoned them all to the *Judgment of God: for*, ſaid he, *it is at hand*; as ſhortly after, in the beginning of July following it came to paſs, in the death of that excellent young King (*w*). Soon after which, Mr Bradford preaching another ſermon, he did, in his entrance upon the high character of the ſaid Prince's great virtues, and pathetick lamentations for the kingdom's loſs of him, in a manner foreſhew the further miſeries which befel it; of which himſelf indured ſo great a ſhare as we ſhall ſoon relate. But in no part of that character, and account of the King's death, is it any ways ſo much as intimated, that the King fell a ſacrifice to the endeavours that were uſed by him (*x*), to fruſtrate a Popiſh ſucceſſion in his ſiſter Mary, as by ſo undaunted a Preacher it would probably have been, had he thought it true [*D*]. Though by the death of this Prince, the religion was now changed to Popery under Queen Mary, yet Bradford changed not; but kept diligently preaching on the Reformed Doctrine, 'till he was unjuſtly, there being as yet no law againſt it, deprived both of his office, his liberty, and at laſt his life, by her cruel Council, more eſpecially the eccleſiaſticks therein; to the performing whereof, becauſe they had no legal cauſe, they took occaſion to inflict theſe ſufferings, for an action ſo charitable, as even among Turks and Infidels would have been moſt thankfully rewarded [*E*], and with great favour accepted; as indeed it did no leſs deſerve (*y*). Tho' his great humanity in this action, is ſufficiently apparent in the note laſt referred to, and his generoſity in ſaving the life of a Popiſh Prieſt, with ſo great danger to his own; yet was the prejudice of the Papiſts ſo violent againſt him, that by the moſt perverſe and barbarous interpretation, they made his very merits criminal. For three days after, on the 16th of Auguſt in the year aforeſaid, he was ſummoned by the Council and Biſhops to the Tower of London, where the Queen then was, and charged in the action aforeſaid with

(*w*) T. Sampſon's Preface.

(*x*) See Archbiſhop Cranmer's Apologetical Letter to Queen Mary, in which he declares he was not moved by the Duke of Northumberland, but by the King himſelf, to ſign his Will, whereby his ſiſter was excluded; in Biſhop Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, 4*to*, 1564, p. 2.

(*y*) Acts and Monum. as above.

[*D*] *As by ſo umdaunted a Preacher it would probably have been, had be thought it true.*] For all that Bradford ſays of King Edward is this, 'You all know, 'he was but a child in yeares; defiled he was not, with 'notorious offences; defiled, quoth he! Nay rather 'adorned, with ſo many goodly giftes, and wonderful 'qualities, as never Prince was, from the beginning of 'the worlde, ſhould I ſpeake of hys wyſedom, of hys 'rypeneſs in judgment, of hys learning, of hys godly 'zeale, heroicall heart, fatherly care for his commons, 'nurcely ſolicitude for religion &c.! nay, ſo many 'things are to be ſpoken in the commendation of God's 'exceeding graces in this childe, that as Saluſt writeth 'of Carthage, I had rather ſpeak nothing than too 'little, in that too much, is too little. This gift God 'gave unto us Engliſhmen, before all nations, under the 'ſunne; and that of his exceeding love towardes us: But 'alas and welaway, for our unthankfulneſs ſake, for 'our ſins ſake, for our carnality and prophane living, 'God's anger hath touched, not only the body, but 'alſo the mynde of our King, by a long ſickneſs, and 'at length hath taken him away by death, death, 'cruel death! fearfull death! (29).' And yet we find it, in a Popiſh author, ſo little heeded to make his party liable to be ſuſpected with the moſt horrid wickedneſs herein, that it is ſaid, 'The Apothecary who 'poiſoned him, for the horror of the offence, and 'the diſquietneſs of his conſcience, drowned himſelf: 'and that the landreſs who waſhed his ſhirt, loſt the 'ſkin off her fingers (30).' However it may be meant to reflect on the Duke of Northumberland, who is indeed ſtrongly inſinuated by others to have haſtened the King's death, but by the hands of a certain gentlewoman (31), thro' his impatience for the coronation of his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane; which, maniſeſtly enough, brought them both to a violent end; as, among others, *Michaelangelo Floria* has related at large (32). And how greedy, at his execution, the people were of the Duke's blood, catching it in their handkerchiefs, under the ſcaffold, thro' the crevices thereof, in abhorrence of his ambition, or affection to his cauſe, may be ſeen in a ſcare tract, written not long after, by a foreigner, who having been about that time in London, might be an eye witneſs thereof, and among ſome other remarkable obſervations in our country, has recorded the ſame (33). But on that Popiſh author's aforeſaid account of the King's death, a Proteſtant author has made this reflection; 'If his *Hiſtory* be no better than his *Divinity*, we who juſtly '*condemn* the one, can do no leſs than *ſuſpect* the 'other (34).' And Speed, who expreſsly mentions the King's diſeaſe to have been a conſumption of the lungs, does not, in the leaſt, ſuggeſt any other cauſe of his death (35).

(29) Bradford's Sermon of Repentance, 8*vo*, 1574: The Epiſtle to which is dated July 12, 1553, ſix days after that King's death.

(30) Mat. Pateſon's Image of both Churches, Hieruſalem and Babel, Unity and Confuſion, Obedience and Sedition, &*c*. 8*vo*, Tournay 1623, & Lond. 1652, p. 423.

(31) Sir J. Hayward's Life of King Edward, 4*to* 1630, p. 177.

(32) Hiſtoria de la Vita è de la Morte de Giovanna Graia, gia Regina eletta é publicata d'Inghilterre, 8*vo*, 1607.

(33) Deſcrip. Des Royaulmes d'Angleterre, & d'Eſcoſſe, par Eſtienne Perlin. 8*vo*, Paris, 1558, p. 13, 14.

(34) T. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, lib. vii. p. 425.

(35) Hiſt. of Great Britain, fol. 1122.

[*E*] *Such a charitable action, as even among Turks and Infidels, would have been moſt thankfully rewarded.*] The fact was this: On the 13th of Auguſt, in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*'s reign aforeſaid, Gilbert Bourne then preacher at Paul's Croſs, but not then Biſhop of *Bath* as *Fox* miſtakes (36), he not being elected to the ſaid See before the beginning of the next year, (37) made a ſedicious ſermon at the ſaid croſs; wherein, he ſo much traduced the late king, and harangued ſo intolerably in favour of Popery, that it moved the auditory with ſuch indignation, as made them ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the preſence of the Biſhop of London, nor the authority of the Lord-Mayor, reſtrain their rage. Bourne, ſeeing himſelf in this peril, and his life particularly aimed at, by a drawn dagger that was hurled at him in the pulpit, which narrowly miſſed him, turned about, and perceiving Bradford behind him, he earneſtly begged him to come forwards and pacify the people; good Bradford was no ſooner in his room, where he recommended peace and concord to them, but with a joyful ſhout at the ſight of him, they cry'd out, *Bradford, Bradford, God ſave thy life, Bradford!* and then, with profound attention to his diſcourſe, heard him enlarge upon the topick of peaceful and chriſtian obedience; which when he had finiſhed, the tumultuous people, for the moſt part, diſperſed; but, among the reſt who perſiſted, there was a certain gentleman, with his two ſervants, who coming up the pulpit ſtairs, ruſhed againſt the door, demanding entrance upon Bourne; Bradford reſiſted him 'till he had ſecretly given Bourne warning, by his ſervant, to eſcape; who thereupon, flying to the Mayor, once again eſcaped death. Yet conceiving the danger not fully over, Bourne beſeeched Bradford not to leave him 'till he was got to ſome place of ſecurity; in which Bradford again obliged him, and went at his back, ſhadowing him from the people with his gown, while the Mayor and ſheriffs, on each ſide, led him into the neareſt houſe, which was Paul's School; and ſo was he a third time delivered from the fury of the populace. Let the reader now conſider Bourne's peril (38), thro' the reſentment of the multitude; and Bradford's charity, which reſcued that railing preacher againſt King Edward from death, not without the hazard of his own life, which thoſe who would have been revenged on that preacher, did not diſſemble; among whom, one gentleman cry'd out, *Ah Bradford, Bradford, doſt thou ſave his life, who will not ſpare thine? Go, I give thee his life, but were it not for thy ſake, I would thruſt him through with my ſword.* The ſame Sunday, in the afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow-Church in Cheapſide, and ſharply rebuked the people for their outragious behaviour aforeſaid (39). Thus has our reader had the whole account of Mr Bradford's generous and chriſtian deportment in this tumult, whereby it may be judged what reward he deſerved; you ſhall next above hear, what reward he received.

(36) Acts and Mon. Vol. III. p. 233.

(37) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation. P. ii. p. 276; alſo Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 384.

(38) The Lyfe of Mr Bradford, before his Examinations, &*c*.

(39) Ibid. Alſo in Fox, Abel Redivivus, &*c*.

[*F*] Which

with sedition; and in his preaching with heresy. All his purgations availed him not; but they committed him close prisoner where he was. Of his examination here, there is nothing now extant, except one passage repeated in his next (z). But there he was kept in restraint near a year and half, then they removed him into other prisons, and from thence into the flames. While he thus lay in the Tower, and those other places of confinement, he wrote several pious discourses and exhortations, which were suspected to have reclaimed some who had revolted to Popery, and known to have confirmed many who were unsettled in the Protestant Faith; but all by stealth, for he was denied the use of pen and ink. But nothing more irritated his adversaries, than the many epistles he secretly wrote, and conveyed from thence to the citizens of London, the University and town of Cambridge, the towns of Walden and Manchester; also to many noble and learned friends, as well as his pious relations; which letters and discourses are most of them extant [*F*]. In these letters shine

(z) Bradford's Life, in Abel Redivivus, p. 185.

[*F*] *Which letters and discourses are, most of them, extant.*] The number of Mr Bradford's letters, in Bishop Coverdale's collection, is seventy-two, besides an admonition, written before a New Testament; and they take up near thirty sheets, or a third part of the volume: The time they were written in, as appears from those that are dated, was between the sixth of October 1553, and the twenty-fourth of June 1555. The places they are written from, are the Tower, the King's-Bench prison, and the Poultry-Counter: The persons to whom, more particularly, they were written, are, To the Faithful Professors of God's Word in the City of London. To the true Professors in the University and Town of Cambridge. To those in Lancashire and Cheshire. To those at Walden. To Queen Mary, the Council, and Parliament; as a preface to a supplication (against the Popish Bishops). To the Lady Vane. To his mother, sisters, and other relations. To the Lord Russel (afterwards Earl of Bedford). To Sir James Hales, prisoner in the Counter. To Sir William Fitzwilliams, Marshal of the King's-Bench. To Dr Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. To Dr Hill the Physician. To Mr Lawrence Saunders, John Philpot, and John Careless. To Richard Hopkins, Sheriff of Coventry, and prisoner in the Fleet. To Robert Cole, N. Shatterden, Mr Warcop, George Eaton, Mr Sha'crosse, Mr Coker at Malden, and Augustine Bernhere (*); also to John Trew, and Thomas Abington, and other maintainers of Free-Will, with the Pelagians and Papists, &c (†). His Letters to these persons are not here enumerated as they are printed in the book, nor printed there in the due order of time; to which many indeed would not give direction, being without dates. In this collection of Coverdale's, there are none of those letters before quoted out of Fox, which Bradford sent to Mr Traves, before he took upon him the Ministry of the Gospel. In Fox's account of Bradford, besides those letters of his to the said Mr Traves, which are ten in number, and no where else printed, that we know of, there are many printed out of Coverdale's collection, to the number of about forty-five; taking up nine sheets and a half; not in the same order as in Coverdale, not yet in the regular order of time.— There are other letters and treatises written by, to, and concerning, Mr Bradford, which have not been gathered into either of those collections; whereof some are in print, others in manuscript. The first of them in print, were, as before mentioned, what he called his *Primitiæ*, or First-Fruits, being some translations which he published upon his going to the University, as we observed, in 1548, and which he complains were faultily printed (40). There was *A Godly Treatise of Prayer*, translated into English by John Bradford, printed in St Paul's Church-yard by John Wight, 8vo. without date: It was written by Philip Melancthon, and the translator has a preface before it of six leaves, in which it appears it was published soon after his sermon on *Repentance*, a copy of which was in the Harleian Library (41), and is the same work that has been ascribed to him by others (42). There was also a remarkable piece published in his name, while he was in the Tower, as we compute, and not long before King Philip was married to Queen Mary, entitled, *The Copy of a Letter sent by* John Bradford *to the Earls of* Arundel, Darby, Shrewsbury, *and* Pembroke, *declaring the nature of* Spaniards, *and discovering the most detestable Treasons which they have pretended most falseleye against our most noble Kingdome of* Englande, *&c.* This little book is printed in 8*vo*. without any name of the printer, editor, place where, or time when, it was printed; and the prefacer insinuates, that though many men have one name, the author has so plainly distinguished himself in his said letter, that if he should be found where the Spaniards had any power, he could not escape their vengeance. And in the letter itself we are led to imagine, it was not this John Bradford we are here speaking of, but another of the name, who wrote this sharp invective against the Spaniards, exhorting those ministers of State above, and the rest, most honestly and heartily, by many substantial arguments, like a true patriot and lover of his country, to prevent the coronation of Philip and Mary, as what would, many ways subject the same to slavery and ruin; one John Bradford, who in King Edward's time, served Sir William Skipwith of Lincolnshire, but was afterwards, as it is pretended, Chamberlain to one of King Philip's Council, and now in Flanders. Some singularities might be taken notice of in the printing of this book, which yet do not, to me, sufficiently give it the air of a foreign publication; and the subject of it may be compared to that, which in the next reign, was written against the match proposed between Francis Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. King of France, and Queen Elizabeth (43); for which the author, John Stubbs of Lincoln's-Inn, Gent. and his publisher, William Page, had their right hands cut off in the market-place at Westminster, according to an Act of Philip and Mary, *against the Authors and Publishers of seditious Writings* (44); occasioned in all probability, by the publication of that letter above, by John Bradford, among other things. Less doubtfully however, may be ascribed to our author, another tract, entitled *His Complaint of Verity*; it was printed in 8*vo*, 1559, but whether any translation or imitation of John Constable's QUERELA VERITATIS, my author knows not (45). *His Three Examinations* by the Commissioners, and his *private Talk* with their priests, were published, as we have before observed, in 8*vo*, 1561; with *The Original of his Life prefixed*, by the anonymous editor. This is the work of which H. Holland speaks in these words, *Reliquit nobis accuratissimas adversus Papisticos Prælatos Disputationes suas* (46): He left us his most accurate Disputations against the Popish Bishops, &c. these are reprinted in Fox; we have also, before-mentioned, his *Two notable Sermons*: One *Of Repentance*, dated at the end of the author's preface, July 12, 1553: Republished with the other, on *The Lord's Supper* (*), never before printed, by T. Sampson, 8*vo*, 1574, whose preface has been above useful to us. They were reprinted, or the latter of them, in 1631. *His Answer to certain Letters, desiring to know, whether one might go to Mass*, is undated in the authors who mention it (47), but it may be prefixed to his tract called *The Hurt of hearing the Mass*; one edition whereof was printed in 8*vo*, 1580. And those letters might be written by the Lady Vane, as it may appear by his answers to her (48). We find moreover ascribed to him, *Godly Meditations made in Prison*, called his *Short Prayers*; and, *Two Godly Letters for the Consolation of such as are afflicted in Conscience*, 8vo, 1613. Also *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, Belief, and Ten Commandments*; with a *Defence of Predestination*; *and some other Meditations and Prayers*, 8vo, 1622 (49), perhaps reprinted, in part, from some of the pieces above. Another of his tracts is entitled, *The good old Way*; or *A Treatise of Repentance*, 8vo, 1652 (50); and lastly, *A Letter written by Mr* John Bradford *the Martyr, never before printed; and published by Dr* Gilbert Ironside; with Bishop *Ridley*'s tracts *on the Sacrament*, &c. 4to, *Oxon*, 1688 (51). Of his Manuscripts, there

(*) Of Switzerland; was Latimer's servant, a faithful Minister in King Edward's reign, and diligent attendant upon the Prisoners in Q. Mary's. He communicated his Master's Sermons to the Press.

(†) There was also one Henry Harte, described to have then been a chief Maintainer of Man's Free Will, and enemy to God's Free Grace: Therefore was one of those opposed by Bradford. See Letters of the Martyrs, p. 358.

(40) Fox, Vol. III. p. 299.

(41) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, 8*vo*. Vol. V. 1745, p. 327.

(42) Hollandi Her. Anglic. p. 152. And the Life of Mr Bradford, in Abel Rediv. p. 190.

(43) Entitled, A Discoverie of a Gaping Gulph whereinto England is likely to be swallowed, by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banes, &c. 8*vo*. 1579.

(44) Camden's Eliz. anno 1581.

(45) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 14.

(46) Her. Anglic. fol. 151.

(*) Whether that is a Treatise of the Communion which he communicated to Bishop Ridley, as mentioned in the Letters of the Martyrs, p. 60, or, Whether this was only his Translation of that Bishop's Disputation at Oxford on the same subject into English, as mentioned in the said Letters, p. 397, we cannot be sure.

(47) H. Holland, as before; and Bradford's Life, in Abel Rediv.

(48) Bishop Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 334, 335, &c.

(49) Catal. Impress. Libr. Bibl. Bodl. fol. Oxon. 1738, p. 183.

(50) Idem.

(51) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 9.

shine forth such a sprit of inflexible constancy in his principles, such a primitive and apostolick zeal for the propagation of truth, such a sincere abhorrence of the gross, mercenary, and presumptuous delusions of the Church of Rome, that it is as little wonder they have been so carefully transmitted to us, by the friends and favourers of the Reformation, as that the enemies to it should cut off, as soon as they could, the increase of them. They having therefore ordered Bradford to be removed to the King's-Bench in Southwark; he was soon afterwards, on the 22d of January 1554 (*), led to his examination before Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor; Edmund, Bishop of London, and others of them in commission for that purpose. The substance of this Examination we shall relate below [G]. After it was over, he was sent back to the said prison, under stricter restraint than

(*) 'Tis erroneously dated April 1555, in the first printed Examination, but rightly corrected as to the month by Fox, whom we herein follow; and the year is corrected, both from the preceding and subsequent matters of fact.

there are some copies remaining in the Universities both of Oxford and Cambridge, as his *Tract of Predestination*, a more enlarged work it seems, than his letter before-mentioned upon the same subject (52). He also writ a treatise *Not to fear Death*. These two, among other discourses, written by *Trew*, *Abington*, *Bernehere*, &c. against the doctrine of Predestination, are preserved among the MSS. in the former of those Universities (53); and in the latter, there are, among the volumes of Letters, Disputations, Prayers, &c. of the Holy Martyrs, and Confessors, in Queen Mary's days, several written by and to Mr Bradford (54). The titles whereof we shall here recite, as they were drawn out from the manuscripts themselves, by a late learned Prelate, in one of the books wherein he was wont to minute down what he thought observable in his historical researches, and might propose to make use of in his own compositions: Only we shall alter the interspersed manner in which they are transcribed; and mention those pieces which were of Mr Bradford's writing, first, by themselves, then those written by other persons to him; and so, they may appear thus— *The Explication of the Words Flesh and Spirit, by* J. Bradford. *A Preface of* J. Bradford's *out of Prison, to a Book recommended to the Nobility and Gentry,* (mentioning a brave Jury of Londoners) 1555. prin. after this book came to my hands, &c. *A Meditation of* John Bradford, *Pr.* This heavenly banquet wherein thou dost witness thyself, &c. *A Prayer by* John Bradford, *to be said at the Stake, by all them that God shall count worthy to suffer for his Truth*; *Pr.* O merciful God, and Father, &c. *A Godly Letter from* Erkinwold Rawlins *at* Antwerp, *to* Mr John Bradford, *being Prisoner in the King's-Bench, Southwark*, 22 Jul. 1554. *Pr.* Altho' my dearly beloved, &c (55). *A Letter from* Eliz. Longsho, *to* J. Bradford, *Pr.* Grete Cause have, &c. John Careless *his last Letter to* John Bradford; *Pr.* Before that I had red, &c (56). He also seems to have been the author of a treatise, not mentioned among his pieces above, either in print or manuscript, upon *The Baptism of Children*, which he sent a little before his death to Augustine Bernehere for him to transcribe, and when that was done, he told him he should have other things (57).

[G] *The substance of this Examination we shall relate below.*] After the said Lord Chancellor (*), and the residue of the Queen's Council in Commission with him, had ended their talk with Master Farrar, late Bishop of St David's (†), the Under-Marshal of the King's-Bench was commanded to bring in Master Bradford; whom the Chancellor looked earnestly upon, as if he would out-face him; and he, as stedfastly fixt his eyes on the Chancellor; only once cast them up to Heaven, and so out-faced him. Then the Chancellor told him, he had been long imprisoned justly, for his behaviour at Paul's-Cross, the thirteenth of August 1553, for his false preaching, and arrogauce, in taking upon him to preach without authority. But now said he, the *Time of Mercy is come*; therefore the Queen by us hath sent for you to give you the same, if you will with us return: If you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found. To which Bradford obediently answered, my Lords, I confess, that I have been long imprisoned and unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but sought peace as an obedient and faithful subject, both in attempting to save the present Bishop of Bath, then Master Bourne, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly. Here the Chancellor cut him short, and told him, he lyed. The fact was seditious, said he, as you, my lord of London (‖) can bear witness. You say true, answered he, I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule, and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition. Bradford answer'd, with wonderful patience, That notwithstanding the Bishop's seeing and saying what he had told, was truth, which one day God Almighty would reveal; yet, in the mean time, because he could not be believed, he was ready to suffer, as now, by what he had *said*, so whatsoever God should license him to *do*. I know, said the Chancellor, thou hast a glorious tongue, and godly shews thou makest; but all are lyes that thou doest. I have not forgotten how stubborn thou wert before us in the Tower, to which thou was committed concerning Religion. I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk; where, worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of. My Lord, said Bradford, I stand as before you, so before God, as one day we shall all stand before him: Truth will then be the truth; though you will not now so take it: Yet I dare say, my Lord of Bath will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard, with the peril of my own life. That's not true, quoth Bonner, for I saw thee take upon thee too much. No, said Bradford, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Master Bourne himself, as if he were here, I dare say he would affirm; for he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and not to leave him 'till he was in safety: And as for my behaviour in the Tower, if I did, or said any thing that did not beseem me, and your Lordships would inform me, I would speedily make you answer. Well, said the Chancellor, to leave this matter; How sayest thou now, wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the Queen's mercy and pardon? My Lord, said Bradford, I desire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from; tho' I thank God my conscience does not accuse me of doing or speaking any thing there, that should need mercy or pardon: For all that I did, or spake, was agreeable to God's laws, and *those of the Realm, at that present*; and did make much quietness. Well, said the Chancellor, if thou wilt make this babbling, rolling in thy eloquence, being altogether ignorant and vainglorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee; know, for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art. The Lord knows, replied Bradford, before whom I stand, as well as before you, what vain-glory I have sought! his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the Queen's favour, to live, as a subject, without clog of conscience; but otherwise the Lord's mercy is to me, better than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even to his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. *There are twelve Hours in the day*, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon (58): Therefore his good will be done; life, in his displeasure, is worse than death; and death, in his favour, is true life. I know, said the Chancellor, that we should have glorious talk enough from thee, be sure therefore, that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive. I have not deceived, said Bradford, the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am ready, and hope shall be ready, to confirm with my life: and as for devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it. Why, said the Bishop of Durham (*), what do you say to the administration of the Communion, as you now know it is? Here Bradford replied to them, *I have been six times sworn*, in no case to consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the Bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England; therefore, I humbly pray your Honours

(52) See Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 471.

(53) Codices Manuscripti Tho. Bodlei.

(54) Cod. Manuf. Collegii Emanuel.

(55) See a Letter of Bradford's to the said Erk. Rawlins, in Fox, Vol. III. p. 263.

(56) Thus far, of these MSS. from a Note-Book of the late Bishop Tanner's, in 8vo. MS. communicated by Mr Joseph Ames.

(57) Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 469.

(*) Stephen Gardener, of whom see Bishop Poynet's character in one of his pamphlets.

(†) Dr Robert Farrar was sentenced to death by his usurping successor Henry Morgan, and burnt at Caermarthen, Mar. 30, 1555. Rymer, Vol. XV. Morgan was deprived in 1559, and died before the year was out. Ib. et Ath. Oxon. See also Fox, and Fuller's Ch. Hist. of the horrid disease he endured from the time of that condemnation to his death, lib. viii. p. 24.

(‖) The bloody Edmund Bonner, whose true, or paternal name, most suitable to his nature, was *Savage*; since neither sex, age, nor quality, escaped his bruitish inhumanity; having most cruelly murdered two hundred persons in the compass of three years: yet was he suffered afterwards, under the Protestants in Queen Elizabeth's reign, to die quietly in his bed! See Fox, and Fuller's Ch. Hist. lib. viii. p. 18.

(58) See Bradford's Letter, touching his Faith in God's Election and Predestination; which he confirms by his Translation of St Paul's Epist. to the Ephesians, cap. i. from the Greek: In Bishop Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs before quoted, p. 391; he likewise wrote a distinct Tract on that topick, as we shall hereafter see. Coverdale also inclines to the same Opinion in several of his notes on those Letters. Bishop Latimer, in one of his Sermons, uses the same argument with this of Bradford's in the text; and Bishop Ridley wrote a learned and godly Treatise on God's Election and Predestination, as Coverdale informs us, in the Collection above, p. 359, which he promises should come to light, p. 65.

(*) Cuthbert Tonstal.

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than before, especially as to the exercise of his pen; but the sweetness of his comportment toward his keepers, so mollified and won upon them, that it defeated the severity of his enemies commands in that particular; and his arguments, thus discharged out of prison, were like gunpowder that makes a louder report, and has but a stronger effect the closer it is confined; thereby doing their cause more hurt, than all the terror of their tyrannical treatment did it good. A week after, that is, on the 29th of the same month, he was brought before them in the church of St Mary Overies to his second examination, in which, as there was some fresh matter of debate, as well as a repetition of several circumstances that past in the first, we shall but touch upon the heads of those passages which have been already spoken of; and a little more expresly, in the same note, relate such as have not [*H*]; but so comprehensively we hope, as neither to overburden the reader, nor leave him

Honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority or not? If you do, I dare not, may not answer you any thing in his authority, you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid. Hast thou been sworn six times, said Secretary Bourne? What offices hast thou borne? Here's another lye, said the Chancellor. Bradford returned it upon him in these words: I was thrice sworn in Cambridge; when I was admitted Master of Arts; when I was admitted Fellow in Pembroke-Hall; and when I was there, the Visitors also came thither and swore the University: again, I was sworn, when I entered into the Ministry; when I had a Prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the King, a little before his death. Tush, said the Chancellor, Herod's oaths, a man should make no conscience at. Bradford replied, my Lord, these othes were no Herod's othes, no unlawful othes, but othes according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book *De Vera Obedientia*. Here another of the Council, presum'd to be M. Rochester (*), said, I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now, but I see well, it would not have been good that he had been abroad: whatsoever was the cause he was laid in prison I know not, but I now see well, that not without cause he was, and is to be kept in prison; yes, said Secretary Bourne, it was reported, this present parliament time, by the Earl of Darby, that he has done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach false doctrine, for so he calls that which is not according to what he taught; and most earnestly exhorteth them, to whom he writes, to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. All which words divers others of the Council affirmed; whereunto the said Master Bourne added, saying, How say you, sirrah, speaking to Bradford, have you not thus seditiously written, and exhorted the people? I have, said Bradford, neither written, nor spoken any thing seditiously; and I thank God I have not admitted any seditious cogitation, nor I trust ever shall. Yea but thou hast written letters, quoth Bourne. Why speakest thou not, said the Chancellor, hast thou not written as he saith? That, replied Bradford, which I have written, I have written. Lord God, quoth M. Southwell (†), what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaves himself before the Queen's Council; and they all looked upon one another disdainfully. My Lords, and Masters, said Bradford, the Lord God, which is, and will judge us all, knoweth that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty, so, with reverence in his sight, I stand before you, unto yours; and accordingly, in words and gesture, I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season, I shall suffer with all due obedience, your sayings and deeds too, I hope. These be gay, glorious words, quoth the Chancellor, of reverence, reverence! but as in all other things, so herein thou dost nothing but lye. Well, said Bradford, I would God, the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and shew a terrible judgment on me here presently, if I have purposed, or do purpose, to lye before you, whatsoever you shall ask me. Why then, said the Chancellor, dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters, as here is objected against thee. As I said, my Lord, quoth Bradford, That which I have written I have written. I stand now before you, who either can lay my letters to my charge, or not: If you lay any thing to my charge that I have written; if I deny it I am then a lyar. We shall never have done with thee,

(*) Maurice Griffith was Bishop of Rochester from April 1554, to his death in Nov. 1558. Rymer, Vol. XV. Strype's Annals, p. 30. He was the first who, in Queen Mary's reign, condemned a Woman, Margery Polley, to be burnt for religion. Dr Fuller's Church-Hist. lib. viii. p. 18.

(†) Sir Richard Southwell, one of the Privy-Council; who, with Gardener and others, signed the Order of Thanksgiving for Queen Mary's great Belly. See A. Harmer's Spec. of Errors in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. p. 177. Also John Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, edit. fol. 1623, p. 1147; and Fox, Vol III. p. 93.

I perceive now, replied the Chancellor, Be short, be short, wilt thou have mercy? I pray God, said Bradford, to give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it; otherwise, I will not. —— Here was now much ado among them, one speaking this, another that, of his arrogancy, in refusing the Queen's pardon, which she so lovingly offered him. To which Bradford answered: My Lords, if I may live as a quiet subject, without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the fault. In the mean season, I ask no more than the benefit of a subject, 'till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done. Upon these words, the Chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith people were deceived in the days of King Edward; so asked Bradford, what he thought of it? who answered, He believed the doctrine, then taught, was God's pure religion; which he believed in more now, than ever he did. And therein, said he, I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will to the world, than I was, when I first came into the prison. What religion mean you, said the Bishop of Durham, in King Edward's days? What year of his reign? even that same year of his reign, replied he, that the King died, and I was preacher. Here Secretary Bourne wrote something down. And after some pause, the Chancellor declared, that the doctrine taught in King Edward's days, was heresy; using for demonstration thereof, no scripture, nor reason, but this, that it ended with treason and rebellion; so concluded, that the very end of his reign was enough to prove the doctrine in it nought. Ah, my Lord, said Bradford, that you would enter into God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine you now so magnify! What meanest thou by that, said he, I suppose we shall have a snatch of rebellion enough now. No, replied Bradford, my Lord, I mean no such end as you gather; I mean an end which none seeth but they who enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look but on present things, he will soon deceive himself. Here his Lordship did again offer Bradford mercy, and he answered as before; mercy, with God's mercy, should be welcome; but otherwise, he would have none: whereupon the Chancellor rung a little bell, to call in some of the attendants, for there were none present, but those before named, and the Bishop of Worcester (*). When a person was entred the room, Secretary Bourne said, it is best that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow; so was the Under-Marshal called in. You shall take this man to you, said the Chancellor, and keep him close, without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and suffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge with you now, than he was before, and so they departed; and Bradford preserved the same chearfulness of countenance, as any indifferent man could do, manifesting thereby, a desire to lay down even his life, as a confirmation of what he had taught and written; and he was animated with thinking, that if he were forced to do so, he should destroy more of the Philistines, as Sampson did, by his death, than ever he did in his life (59).

(*) Richard Pate, Vid. Godwin. de Præsul. & Rymeri Fœd. Tom. XV.

[*H*] *And a little more expresly, in the same note, relate such as have not.*] In this *second Examination*, before those Bishops, &c. Bradford, after the excommunication of John Rogers, was called in, and told by the Chancellor, That they had offered him on the twenty-second of January, the Queen's pardon, which he had both contemned, and professed he would defend his erroneous doctrine in publick. Yet this and all

(59) The Effect of Mr Bradford's first Examination, &c. 8vo, 1561. And Fox, Vol. III. fol. 235.

him in obscurity. In this examination, we see he was still intractable to all their seducements

all his behaviour, declared but hypocrisy and vain glory. He also laboured much about clearing himself from thirsting after guiltless blood; but insisted upon Bradford's fact at Paul's Cross, as presumptuous, arrogant, and assuming to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness; and therefore being so refractory and stout in religion, he was then committed to prison, and now continued there; whence he had written letters, to the great detriment of the people; as, by the Earl of Derby, in Parliament, was reported. And as he had so stubbornly behaved himself the last time before them, therefore, he now more directly demanded of him his doctrine and religion? Bradford answered, That as to hypocrisy and vain glory, he trusted in God, to open one day, both their true and hearty dealings therein; in the mean time, would content himself with the testimony of his own conscience; which, if it yielded to hypocrisy, would make God and man against him: As for his fact at Paul's Cross, and his behaviour at the Tower, he doubted not, but God would reveal it to his comfort: And for his letters and religion, he answered as he did before. Here the Chancellor taxed him with saying, he would maintain the doctrine in King Edward's days. Bradford repeated his having been six times sworn against the Pope's authority, therefore said, he durst not answer to any thing that should be demanded on that head, least he should by any unwary consent thereto be forsworn; that he was now more confirmed in the doctrine preached in that King's days, than he was before he was in prison; and thought, he should be found more ready to resign his life for the confirmation thereof. Here the Chancellor would have perswaded him, that the oaths he had taken against the Pope, were of no validity; but he still refused to enlarge upon that topick, lest he should be decoyed, or drawn, to make any compliance therein. Much disputation there was upon this head; 'till the Chancellor told him, he followed the course of crafty covetous merchants; who, because they would lend no money to their needy neighbours, pretend they had often sworn they would lend no more, because their creditors had so often deceived them: So do you now, said he, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, and blear them with heresy, greater and more hurtful to the Commonwealth, pretend your oath; whereby the people might make a conscience, where they should not. To which, Bradford said, If he dared to answer him, for fear of being lead into perjury, he would shew him the difference between oaths, which obliged him to keep this inviolable. Then the Chancellor urged, that this against the Bishop of Rome, was against charity. Bradford answered, That could not be against charity, which was not against God's word. Is it not against God's word, said the Chancellor, That a man should take a King to be supreme head of the Church in his realm? No, replied he, It is with God's word. Where find you that, quoth the Chancellor? Bradford answered, where St Paul writes, That every soul should be obedient to the superior power: And what power? *Quæ gladium gestat: Which bears the sword,* and that is not the spiritual, but the temporal power, as Chrysostom well notes upon the same place. Here the Chancellor was much stirred, and said, that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the Queen, and so would make God's word a warrant of disobedience: For he would answer, when she says, Now swear to the Bishop of Rome, or obey his authority; No, for I am then forsworn; and so make the Queen, no Queen. No, said Bradford, I go not about to deny all obedience, by denying it in this part; I was sworn to King Edward, not simply, that is, not concerning his own person, but also concerning his successors. Therefore in denying the Queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient: Yes that dost thou, returned the Chancellor. And so he began a long tale, how if a man should make an oath, to pay an hundred pound by such a day, and the creditor should forgive the debt; the debtor would say, no, you cannot do it, for I am forsworn, &c. But Bradford seeing into the sophistry of this, and how improperly applicable to the purpose, told the Chancellor, he wondered how he could make such trifles of solemn oaths made to God, and so great a matter of vows, as they call them, made to the Bishops for the marriage of Priests. Here the Chancellor was highly disgusted, and objected again to his refusing obedience. No, my Lord, said Bradford. I do not deny obedience to the Queen, if you will discern between Genus and Species; because I may not obey in this, to reason, *ergo* I may not obey in the other, is not firm; as if a man let, or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet all his inheritance is not let, or sold: so all obedience I deny not, because I deny it in this branch. I will have none of these similitudes, said the Chancellor; I would not use them, replied Bradford, if you went not about with them to persuade the people, I mean that which I never meant; for I myself, not only mean obedience, but will give example of all most humble obedience to the Queen's Highness; so long as she requireth not obedience against God. No, no, said the Chancellor, all men may perceive your meaning; there is no man, tho' he be sworn to the King, doth therefore break his oath, if afterwards he be sworn to the French King, and to the Emperor. Here Bradford shewed him how different the case was; Thou shalt not swear, said he, to the Bishop of Rome at any time; if, in like manner, we were sworn, Thou shalt not serve the Emperor, &c. You see there were some alteration, and more doubt. But I beseech your honour to remember, *what you yourself have written,* answering the objections here against, in your book *De vera Obedientia, Vincat modo Domini verbi veritas; Let God's Word and the reasons thereof prevail.* Here the Chancellor was thoroughly incensed, and turned the discourse upon Bradford's writing seditious letters, perverting the people, and defending the doctrine in King Edward's time; all which, Bradford denied; but said, what he had written and spoken, he would never deny: and now resolved to answer, whatever he should ask, though he saw his life depended thereon. Then the Chancellor asked him, what he said to the Sacrament, and whether he believed Christ to be present, in his natural body? To which, when he answered, That he thought Christ might be corporally present unto faith; the Chancellor wanted more words of him, to explain himself. But Bradford answered, I have been now a year, and almost three quarters (*) in prison, and in all this time, you never questioned me herein; *when I might have spoken my conscience without peril; but now, you have a law, to hang up, and put to death,* if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite (†); and so you now come to demand this question: ah my Lord, continued he, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith; no more did the Prophets, or the Apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the Pope, *Apostolos lego stetisse judicandos, sedisse judicantes non legi: Hoc erit, illud fuit. I read that the Apostles stood to be judged: but I have not read that they sat to judge: This shall be, that was,* &c. Here the Chancellor was appeased (‖), as it seemed, and spake most gently, that he used not this means; but that it had been objected to him, he had been too gentle oftentimes; which others of his colleagues agreed in. To which Bradford said, my Lord, I pray you, stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel a little of it; for hitherto I never felt it. At this the Chancellor, thinking he would comply, again profered him mercy, if with them he would return. Return! said Bradford, God save me from going back: I mean, said he, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower, without paper, pen, or ink, and never, in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you; but have rather looked for, as I have hitherto found, extremity; and, I thank God, I perceive now, you have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter you *had*, but for matter you *would have*: God's good will be done. Here several persons came in, telling his Lordship it was dinner time; whereupon, leaving Bradford speaking, he rose up and said, that in the afternoon they would talk more with him; so he was led into the vestry, and waited there 'till it was dark night (‡). In the mean while, about four o'clock the same afternoon, Mr T. Hussey, before mentioned in the text, came into the vestry, under a pretence of inquiring for a person who was not there, and seeing Mr Bradford, he made himself soon known to him, and told him, he would come and have some conversation with him the next morning; which Bradford did not

(*) This is over-reckoned about a quarter of a year.

(†) The author of Bradford's Life in Abel Rediviv. says, p. 189, that all men observed, how they had first committed him without Law; and then, after a year's imprisonment, made one, to take away his life.

(‖) Appalled, Fox.

(‡) Here ends the second Examination of Bradford, in the old 8vo edition before used, these conferences which follow in this note, are not to be read in that edition 'till after Bradford's third Examination, being made introductory to the Private Talk he afterwards had with those who were sent to him by the Bishops: but Mr Fox, in due respect to the order of time, having judiciously rejoined these Conferences to this second Examination, we follow him herein.

ments and menaces, to all efforts of drawing him into that apostacy they had set him the pattern of; but still, not in utter despair of gracing their example, and justifying their own compliance by his, they ordered him up to their inquisition at the same place again the next day, and this being his last examination before that satanical synagogue (*a*), we must in another note, remit our reader to a brief rehearsal or summary of what is most material therein [*I*]. Thus we see, for not allowing the grossest impositions upon human understanding

(*a*) See Bishop Ridley's Letter to Augustine Berneher, in Coverdale, p. 71; and to Mr Bradford, p. 62.

not refuse; the said Hussey being his old acquaintance, and had often received money of him, when he was Pay-master abroad, as we before observed. Bradford having waited in vain for further examination that day, was at night conveyed again to prison. The next morning, which was the thirtieth of January, the said Mr Hussey came thither into his chamber, to tamper with him, and, in a plausible speech, declared, how wonderfully well he had behaved himself before the Bishops yesterday, insomuch that his greatest enemies could perceive, they had no matter of objection against him; therefore advised him, as of his own good will, and without the privity or direction of any one, to intreat for time, and some learned men to confer with; which Bradford absolutely refused, as what would give occasion of thinking he was doubtful, or unsettled in the doctrine he had professed. As they were thus talking, the door was unlocked, and in came Dr Seyton, who, when he saw Mr Hussey, said, What, Sir, are you come before me? which speech Bradford marking, as made to one, who had told him, no man knew of his coming, he inwardly admonished himself to *beware of these men*; for he saw they came to hunt the matter; that one might bear witness with the other. Then Dr Seyton, after some by-talk of Bradford's age, country, and the like, began a long sermon, pretending that Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, had required conference, in order to induce Bradford to request the like; but he answered as he did before. Then Dr Seyton began to wheedle, as the other had done; telling him, that Master Runcorne had reported at the Chancellor's table, *That Bradford was able to persuade as much as any one he knew*; and I myself, added he, though I never saw you before yesterday, yet thought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I should be sorry you should do worse than myself; and further told him, he perceived the Lord Chancellor had a favour towards him; so he also counselled him to desire respite, and to confer with the learned: *but still*, says Bradford, *I kept to my Cuckow*. This constant and unwavering temper in Bradford, made a change in the Doctor's, who hereupon grew angry; called him arrogant, proud, and vain glorious. But this serving not his purpose, he then changed his note again, and urged how mercifully, and how charitably, he had been treated! But Bradford shewed him, he had not met with justice, much less charity; and that he was thus imprisoned, and handled, for nothing they had, but only something they wanted against him, out of his own confessions. Here the Doctor flew from point to point, in hopes of pitching upon that something, which might justify those sufferings; but all the Doctor said, having no effect, Master Hussey began to ask him, whether he would not admit of conference, if the Lord Chancellor should offer it him publickly? whereunto he answered, If that conference had been offered *before the law had been made*; or were offered so, that he might be at liberty to confer, and as free as him with whom he should confer, then, said Bradford, it were something; otherwise he saw not to what purpose it should be offered, but to defer that which must come at length, and the lingering might give more offence, than do good: Yet, said he, if his Lordship should make such an offer voluntarily, I will not refuse to confer with whomsoever shall come. Here the Doctor was in a fume again, about this conference; called him arrogant still, proud, and whatever came uppermost; 'till Bradford, very sedately besought them both, perceiving he should shortly be called for, to give him leave to *confer with God*, and beg grace of him; which, after their unwilling departure, he sought in prayer, and obtained; to his great comfort and support. Shortly after they were gone, he was carried out of prison, to St Mary Overies church, and there tarried uncalled for, 'till eleven o'clock the same morning; that is, 'till Mr Saunders was excommunicated, and inhumanly given over to the severest of deaths (60).

(60) The Effect of the second Examination of J. Bradford in the temple of St Marie Overies, &c. 8*vo*, as before, and in Fox, Vol. III. fol. 236.

[*I*] *A brief rehearsal, or summary, of what is most material therein.*] After the excommunication of Lawrence Saunders, Bradford was brought into the church, before the Bishops; where, the Chancellor, as before, declared, what mercy he should find, if with them, he would conform to the Popish religion, and recant his doctrine. Bradford still insisted upon his oaths against the Pope, which he would not violate, he said, that when death came, as he expected from their hands, he should not be troubled with the guilt of perjury. The Chancellor, angry hereat, said, they had given him respite to deliberate, 'till this day, whether he would recant his heresy about the Sacrament. Bradford alledged, that they gave him no time for any such deliberation, nor that he said any thing of the Sacrament which they disallowed; for when, said he, I had declared the presence of Christ therein, to the faithful; you went from the matter, to purge yourself of cruelty, and so went to dinner. I perceive, said the Chancellor, we must begin all over again with you: Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the Bishop of Rome, was an unlawful oath? No, replied Bradford; indeed, my Lord, you said so, but proved it not; nor ever can do. Here the Chancellor had much dispute again, about oaths; which were good, and which evil; captiously asking often of Bradford, a direct answer; which Bradford would not give simply, but with some distinction. This much offended the Chancellor; but Bradford still kept him at a bay, that the oath against the Bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath; still confirming himself, and confuting the Chancellor, out of his own book (*); withal, so closely proving the Word of God to be their judge, and by that Word the oath to be lawful, that the Chancellor quitted his hold, and flew again to Bradford's pretended denial of the Queen's authority. But here again, Bradford proved, that one special cause of obedience denied by conscience, makes no general denial of obedience in causes lawful. The Chancellor brought examples for his argument, as little to the purpose as before; and Bradford again reproached him, in like manner as before, with being so strict in vows for the marriage of Priests, made to themselves, and so careless in solemn oaths made to God and the Prince. When the Chancellor told him the Queen did dispense with them; Bradford answered, the Queen might remit her right, in things relating to herself or government, but not dispense with oaths made to God. Here the Chancellor was wonderfully discomposed, and plainly declared, that he slandered the whole realm of perjury, and took upon him to have more conscience than all the wise men in England; and yet, had none at all. At this, Bradford desired the audience to observe, who had most; adding, he had been a year and half in prison, and desired to know, why he was imprisoned, and for what punished? and because the Chancellor had said, that Bradford took upon him to speak to the congregation undesired, he appealed to Bishop Bourn, there present; affirming, that he desired in Christ's name, that he would speak to the people, by whom he had like to have been slain, with the dagger that was thrown, and touched his sleeve; and at his further request, did not leave, 'till he had safely hous'd him; and tho' it was dangerous to upbraid the people with their resentment towards the said Bourn, he yet, in his sermon the same afternoon, reproved the fact, and called it sedition, at least twenty times; for which, he had been so long rewarded with a prison, and was now about to be with death: he also taxed the Chancellor, with having owned, at his first being before him in the Tower, that the said fact was good, tho' he pretended the mind was evil: and to this he answered, I cannot otherwise declare my mind to man, than by saying, and doing; but God, I trust, will one day open, to my comfort, what my mind was, and your's is. Here the Chancellor was driven to eat his own words, and denied

(*) De Vera Obedientia, 8*vo*, 1535, &c.

standing to be reasonable, and not believing such absurdities in the popish Doctrine, as those temporizing Prelates, those enemies to justice, truth, and humanity itself, could only for their interest pretend to believe, how he was given up to death. After his condemnation, we find him on the 3d of February, a prisoner in the Poultry-Counter, in the City of London (*b*), and that he lay there almost five months, bated and worried great part of the time, by some or other of the Bishops and their Chaplains or Priests, and others whom they set upon him, in hopes, all under the vizor of friendship and compassion, to worm out some confessions or other, of such erroneous tenets as might give some colour to the world for their barbarity towards him. But he was invincible to them all; steady as a rock, repelling the stormy waves that invade it, and exposing their insolidity, by turning them into froth. His sagacity in discerning their snares, and his readiness in refelling their arguments from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Themselves, were such, upon those politic and rational topicks, of the *Pope's authority* here, and the *real* or *carnal presence* in the sacrament, for the denial of which he was condemned (*c*); that his most clamorous antagonists

(*b*) Bradford's Private Talk with such as the Prelates sent to him; at the end of his Examinations beforementioned, 8*vo*, *signat*. B. v.

(*c*) Bradford's Letter to the University and town of Cambridge, in Coverdale, p. 257; in Fox, p. 258.

nied that he ever said so. But when this would not do, he said, that Bradford was put first into prison, for not conforming to the Queen's religion. Bradford answered, my Lord, you know, that you would not then reason with me on religion; but said, that a time should afterwards be found; and if, as you say, I were put in prison for religion, in that *my religion was then authorized by the publick laws of the realm*; could conscience therefore punish me, or cast me into prison? wherefore let all men judge in whom conscience is wanting. Here Mr Chamberlain, of Woodstock, came forth, and objected, that Bradford had been a servingman with Mr Harrington, and had deceived his master of twenty-seven pounds (*); wherefore he went to be a Gospeller, and a Preacher, said he; adding, and yet you see, how he pretendeth conscience! My Lord, replieth Bradford to the Chancellor, I set my foot to his, whosoever he be, that can come forth, and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master; and as you are Chief Justicer, by office, in England, I desire justice upon those that so slander me, because they cannot prove it. Here both the Chancellor and the other accuser were struck blank. Wherefore, Bonner try'd how successful another untruth would prove, from him; so charged Bradford with writing letters to Dr Pendleton; one, who was as great a time-server, and turncoat in religion, as Bonner, or the Chancellor himself (61); which Bradford denying, and he being not able to prove, this was given up. Then came in one Allen, a Clerk of the Council, and remembred the Chancellor of Bradford's letters, written into Lancashire; for which the Chancellor said, they had his hand to shew. Bradford denied that they could shew his hand to any letters he had sent thither, which his heart would not stand to, and prove to be lawful. Here they were all answered; and the Chancellor was driven back, in hopes of putting a new gloss upon an old objection, to alledge, that in his house, the other day, Bradford had contemned the Queen's mercy, and professed he would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days. Upon which, Bradford acutely shewed them, how the Chancellor had plainly foiled himself; saying, Well, I am glad that all men see now, that you have had no matter to imprison me before that day: Now, say I, I did not contemn the Queen's mercy, but would have had it, with God's mercy; that is, without saying, and doing, any thing against God, and his truth; and, as for maintenance of doctrine, he repeated what he had said before; that he was better confirmed than ever in it, and was ready to give up his life in testification thereof. Then the Chancellor shifted again, to another branch of yesterday's controversy, his opinion of the Sacrament; and told him again, they gave him respite 'till this day, to deliberate. Bradford answered, he spoke nothing of the Sacrament that they reproved, and was appointed no time to deliberate. But when he was again asked whether he believed that Christ's body naturally, and really, was under the form of bread and wine? He answered again, he believed Christ there present, to the faith of the due receiver; but for *Transubstantiation*, he plainly, and flatly, told them he believed it not. Here was much dispute upon this head. And another Bishop asked him, whether the wicked man received Christ's body, or not? Bradford answered directly, No. And this raised many cavils, 'till Bradford put them to silence also in this, as he had done in the other arguments, and drove the Chancellor, to deny Christ had commanded any thing in the Sacrament, or the use of it; then confuted him from the express words of the text, in the imperative mood, *Take and eate*; adding withal, My Lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ, to take and eat the Sacrament, why do any take upon them to command, and make of necessity that which God leaveth free? As you do, in making it a necessary commandment, that once a year, all who are arrived at lawful discretion, should receive the Sacrament? Here the Chancellor called him *Diabolus*, or slanderer; and this brought on a tedious contention about commandments, 'till Bradford quoted a very affronting commandment upon them; How say you, my Lord, quoth he? Christ says, to you Bishops especially, *Ite, prædicate evangelium: Go and preach the Gospel; feed Christ's flock*; Is this a commandment, or not? Here the Chancellor flew out beyond all bounds, and his reasoning evaporated into rage. Another question, of as great importance, was asked him by the Bishop of Durham,—When Christ began to be present in the Sacrament; before it was received, or not? Which Bradford shewed to be more nice than necessary to answer. Here was a great clutter again, and they all called him heretick. Thus perceiving all he could answer, did but the more inflame their rancour, and boil up their venom against him, he desired them to proceed, in God's name; as he looked for that which God suffered them to do. And when the Chancellor objected, his holding herein, another heresy, of fatal destiny; he replied, he spoke but as the Apostles did; 'Lord, see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the 'Prelates, are gathered together against Thee, Christ; 'to do that, which thy hand and counsel hath before 'ordained them to do.' At which words, the Chancellor began to read his excommunication, and therein, when he came to the name of Bradford, stiled *laicus*, or layman, Why, said he, art thou no Priest? No, returned Bradford, nor ever was, either Priest, or beneficed, or married, or any Preacher, before publick authority had established religion (*); but preached after publick authority had established religion; and yet, said he, I am thus handled at your hands; but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing, where you curse. And so he fell down on his knees, heartily thanked God, that he counted him worthy to suffer for his sake; and prayed, that he would give them repentance. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered up to the Sheriffs of London; who first conveyed him to the Clink (†); where he remained a day or two, and was then removed to the Poultry-counter; from whence he hourly expected to be carried, and converted to ashes (62). Thus we have gone through the three examinations of Mr Bradford; for a copy whereof, which he sent to Bishop Ridley, in prison at Oxford, that Bishop returned him his thanks, and opinion of his conduct throughout the same, in these words: 'Blessed 'be the Holy-Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the 'Holy-Ghost, for your threefold confession! I have 'read all three, with comfort, and joy, and thanksgiving unto God, for his manifold gifts of grace 'wherewith it is manifest to the godly reader, that 'God dyd assist you mightily; and blessed be God 'again, and again, which gave you so good a mind 'and remembrance, of your oath once made against the 'Bishop of Rome; least you should be partaker of the 'common perjury, which all men almost are now fallen into, in bringing in again that wicked usurped 'power of his (63).'

(*) Seven score pounds, as it is printed in Fox, p. 240; but neither being true, 'tis no matter which Bradford was here charged with.

(61) See Bradford's character of this Dr Henry Pendleton, in his Letter To those who profess the true religion in Lancashire, &c. amongst his others, in Coverdale's Collect. p. 264; and for Bonner's opinion publickly professed against the Pope's Supremacy, read his Preface to Bishop Gardener's book *de Vera Obedientia*; and for Gardener's opinion against the same, read also his said book. In Dr W. Bulleyn's Dialogue Pleasant and Pitiful, &c. 8*vo* edit. 1569, p. 16, &c. 'tis said of Bonner, that *Avarus* was his cousin-german, *Perjurus* his compupil, and that *Ambodexter* penned his Prologue or Preface to Gardener's book aforesaid.

(*) Or, Preacher, after publick authority had altered religion; as we read it in Fox, p. 241; which reading is also true.

(†) A Common Jayl in Long Southwark, at the west end, on the bank side of the Thames, near where the stews formerly stood.

(62) The Effect and Summe of his last Examination, 8*vo*, as before, and in Fox, Vol. III. fol. 239.

(63) Bishop Ridley's Letter to Mr Bradford, in Coverdale's Collection, p. 65.

[K] Seeing

antagonists were struck with silence, and departed with admiration. To recite the conferences of these subordinate disturbers of him, *verbatim*, might prove as great a penance to our readers, as the hearing of them was to him; being longer, though succinctly related, than all his three examinations; therefore we shall only skim over the surface of them, to satisfy the curious how, upon what, and with whom, the short remainder of his time was employed; especially seeing it accounted for in the satisfactory form of a Journal [*K*]. But

[*K*] *Seeing it accounted for in the satisfactory form of a a Journal.*] The first day that Bradford was in the Poultry-Counter, which was the third of February, as was before said, Bishop Bonner came thither, to degrade Dr Taylor. When he saw Bradford, off went his cap, and out stretched his hand, to greet him, upon hearing he was desirous of conference; wherefore he had brought Archdeacon Harpsfield: but it proved a mistake; for Bradford kept to his old note, That he did not desire, yet was not afraid to confer with any man. And upon upbraiding the Bishop with condemning him for his faith, so soon as he uttered it at their request, before he had committed any thing against their laws, they parted. Upon the fourth of February came a gentleman of the Chancellor's to him, and told him how mighty well his Lord loved him, therefore he also offered him time to confer. This having the same answer, they parted. On the seventh of February came one Wollerton, a Chaplain of Bonner's, to prove Transubstantiation, and how wicked men received Christ's body. Bradford disproving his authorities, they agreed to exchange their reasons in writing, so they parted. The next day that Chaplain sent a paper, which no way inducing to consent, he came himself, and accused Bradford with swerving from the Church. Bradford shewed it was not from Christ's Church, but his; which robbed the people of the Lord's cup, and of Divine Service in their own tongue: and when the other insisted, that every thing must be learned of the Priest: Bradford answered, Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go; as the Priests then persuaded the people. Upon which, the Chaplain had no stomach to talk any more; but Bradford winding up the discourse, with some reasons against Transubstantiation, he promised, upon parting, to send him an answer to them, which he never did. On the twelfth of February, one of the Earl of Derby's men, Mr Stephen Beich, came with his Lordship's wishes, that he would have a regard to himself; to whom he said, he could not regard himself, more than God's honour. Then the other set before him his mother, sisters, kinsfolks, friends, &c. But he said, he had learned to forsake father, mother, brothers, sisters, and even himself; or he could not be Christ's Disciple. And when the other, upon urging that his death might do hurt, proposed, that if his Lord should obtain for him to depart the realm, whether he would be content with the Queen's appointment, where he should go? he answered, thinking it but just, that those who had resolved upon the sacrifice of his life, should have the shame of his death, that he had rather be burnt in England than beyond sea; and so they ended. On the fourteenth of February came another old acquaintance, named Percival Creswell, and with him a kinsman of Master Fecknham, to pray that they might make suit for him; he left them to their will, but still desired it not. In the afternoon they came again, and left with him a book of Sir Thomas More's, and desired he would name who he would confer with. But they were dismissed like the rest. Then came Dr Harding, the Bishop of Lincoln's Chaplain, whom Bradford seeing given up to Popery, and hearing himself accounted in a damnable state by him, tho' he had formerly maintained the doctrine which Bradford did, he bid this Doctor farewel. On the fifteenth of February came Creswell, and another again, with Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London; and he made a long oration upon the way to heaven, thro' Christ, and the true Church; and they had much debate hereupon; but not agreeing at this meeting, Harpsfield, the next day came again, and made a sermon almost three quarters of an hour long, to prove the antiquity of his Church, with the succession of Bishops here in England, for eight hundred years; and desired him to shew such succession in his Church; Bradford did shew such succession, of greater antiquity; not by succession of High-Priests, but the faithful professors of God's word: for his pretended pillars of the Church were the greatest persecutors of it; yet, not as contending for the law, but their interpretation of it. Harpsfield, tho' sorry to see him so settled, argued further with him about Transubstantiation, the real presence, and the receiving of Christ's body by the wicked, for which Bradford had been condemned; and finding, after all, that he would not intreat his interest for respite or conference, he left him the same man as he found him. After dinner, his keeper, Master Clayden, came to him from the Earl of Derby, who had promised to move the Queen in his behalf, if he thought well of it; he answered, If his Lordship would do it of his own good will, the favour would be more acceptable from him than any other. Then came an officer of the Queen's, and on his knees besought him to make some suit; but Bradford not liking his counsel, departed from him. On the seventeenth day he heard from Percival Creswell, that the Chancellor said, nothing would be done for him, if he did not make suit: but he refused to speed on that condition, and looked for the arrival of the Sheriff every moment; for he had heard that one of the Queen's guards, who were appointed to convey him into Lancashire, had said, they had a warrant the next day for him (†). When Bishop Ridley heard at Oxford, of this intended removal of Bradford, he wrote in a letter to him thus — 'Where the 'Martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost 'their lives: O what wondrous things hath Christ af'terwards wrought to his glory, and confirmation of 'their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth 'the man, but the holy man by Christ sanctifieth the 'place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall 'be that place, wherein thou shalt suffer, and be 'with thy ashes, in Christ's cause, sprinkled over. All 'thy country may rejoice of thee, that ever it brought 'forth such a one which would render his life again, 'in his cause, of whom he had received it (64).' On the next day, which was the eighteenth, he heard that the writ for his execution was called in again, and the Sheriff of Lancashire discharged of him for the present. Here we may observe again, by the by, that after Bishop Ridley had heard of this delay of his death, he sent Bradford another letter, in which he has these words: 'Now, since, they have changed 'their purpose, and prolonged your death, I under'stand it is no other thing, than that once happened 'to Peter and Paul; the which, altho' they were of 'the first which were cast in prison, and as little shun'ned peril as any other did, yet God would not have 'them put to death with the first, because he had 'more service to be done by their ministry, which his 'gracious pleasure was they should do; so without doubt, 'dear brother, I am persuaded, that the same is the 'cause of the delay of your martyrdom (65).' In the afternoon of the day aforesaid, Bradford heard from the Earl of Derby, that his Lordship had kneeled before the Queen for him, and that he should be granted books and time enough to peruse them; which he held needless, and what would but prolong his sufferings; however, he expressed his satisfaction thereat, that his Lordship, and others, might know he was not obstinate, or held any opinion, that he could not defend by authority of the Learned, and dared not abide the sifting of. On the nineteenth day Mr Clayden was sent from the Earl, to ask if Bradford would be willing to speak with the King's Confessor, and Alphonsus the Friar? Bradford answered, as he had all along done, that he neither desired nor feared to speak with any man. On the twenty-first day, the Archbishop of York (‖), his old acquaintance, and the Bishop of Chichester (*) came to visit him; and after some ceremony, the Archbishop, commending his godly life, fell into argument with him upon the Scriptures. From thence they proceeded to the Catholick and Visible Church; and in the distinctions made here, Bradford was led to repeat the injustice of his condemnation; *The Laws of the Realm being then on his side.* After four hours controversy upon these and other topicks, in

(†) Bradford had been at least ten days in expectation of being burnt in Lancashire: For in his Letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at Oxford, dat. 8 Feb. 1554-5, wherein he expresses God's mercy, that the death which is due to sin, should be made a testimonial of God's truth, he glories, that such a wretch as he calls himself was to be sent for, like Elias, in a fiery chariot; that he was going to leave his flesh where he had received it, and that he was to be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was to Rome, *Leopardis, &c.* Coverdale, p. 466.

(64) Idem. p. 63.

(65) Ibid. p. 65.

(‖) Nicholas Heath.

(*) George Day.

But as we have observed here in the note, it descends no lower than the fifth of April, in the year 1555, and if he had any other private conferences, they were probably but to the same purpose. We are informed that, both while he lay in the King's-Bench, and now in the Counter, he preached twice a day, unless sickness hindered him; where also the Sacrament was often ministered; and through his keeper's indulgence, there was such resort of pious people to him, that his chamber was usually almost filled with them. He made but one short meal a day, and allowed himself but four hours rest at night (*d*). His gentle nature was ever relenting at the thoughts of his infirmities, and fears of being betrayed into inconstancy; his behaviour was so humane, so affecting to all about him, that it won even many Papists to wish for the preservation of his life. His very mein and aspect begot veneration; being tall and spare, or somewhat macerated in his body, of a faint sanguine complexion, with an auburn beard; and his eyes, thro' the intenseness of his celestial contemplations, were often so solemnly settled, that the tears would silently gather in them, 'till he could not restrain them from overflowing their banks, and creating a sympathy in the eyes of his beholders. The portions of his time he did not spend in prayer or preaching, he allotted to the visitation of his fellow-prisoners; exhorting the sick to patience, and distributing his money to the poor; some of them, those who had been the most violent opposers of his doctrines; nor did he leave the felons themselves without the best relief they were capable of receiving, under the distresses they had brought upon themselves; such as excited them to the most hearty and sincere repentance. But by what means he obtained such liberty after his condemnation, both of his pen and person, who was so much forbidden the same in both respects before it; the author next quoted, who gives us instances thereof, has not expresly revealed; but left room to conjecture, such lenity was now used by his persecutors, to work him into that conformity, which had been insuccessfully attempted by their rigour: yet how little covetous he was of that liberty; how entirely abstracted from all other enjoyments of life; and how chearfully prepared to resign it; may most evidently appear, not only in the particulars given by Mr Fox, but in the extracts here subjoined to them, from one or two only of the many letters written by, and to, Mr Bradford [*L*]. The last night he lay in the Counter, which was *June* the 29th; he was

(*d*) Fox, Vol. III. p. 233.

in which he had before silenced others, and after having reproved their relapse into Popery, and obtrusion of the same, to the great disturbance of the nation, they were called away; so they packed up their common-place-books, wished him good in their words, and departed. On the twenty-second of February came early to him, the two Spanish Friars, Alphonsus (†), and King Philip's Confessor. Here they had a long contention on the Sacrament all in Latin; and they grew so hot with him, that they made it a loud one at rest had done; so he went his way, and promised to come back, but it appears not that he did. In the afternoon returned Dr Weston to descant upon the paper of heads beforementioned, which Bradford had sent him. Before they began to read it, the Doctor told him, he had enquired of his conversation at Cambridge, and frankly acknowledged to his face, because, as he now said, he saw Bradford was not given to the glory of this world, (tho' he had just before cautioned him against vain-glory) that he had

(†) Mr Jer. Collier in his Eccles. Hist. P. ii. p. 382, calls this Alphonsus the said King's

was much troubled in his sleep, with dreams of the iron chain being brought to the prison gate,

Mr Saunders in the Marshalsea, they met on the backside of those two prisons, and conferred together, when they would; where the place was so unconfined, and there was such liberty, that he might have escaped at pleasure: but the Lord, says Mr Fox, had another work to do for him. Moreover, while Bradford lay there, his Keeper also gave him privilege to ride into Oxfordshire, to visit a merchant of his acquaintance; but he was prevented of taking that journey by sickness (67). Among others whom he ratified there, in the Protestant Faith, Bishop Farrar was one; who having so far yielded to the delusive persuasions of the Priests, as to promise that he would receive the Sacrament among them; Bradford used such means with him, that he ever after resisted their temptations, and by resigning his body to sacrifice convinced them of his incorruptible mind (68). Whether it was in the same prison or in the Counter, that author expresses not; but in one of them, an old friend came to Bradford, and asked, if he should get his liberty, what he would do, or whither he would go? Bradford answered as if he was indifferent, whether he went out or no; but if he did, he would marry, and still continue in England, and still teach the people as he had done, and as the times would suffer him (69). Of the last letters which passed between him and his friends here in the Counter, we shall first transcribe a few lines out of that in which he takes his final farewel of his mother, a week before he suffered, as follows. 'My moste deare mother; in the bowels of 'Christ, I hearteIy pray and besech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me 'unto himself. I die not, my good mother, as a 'theife, a murtherer, an adulterer, &c. but I die as 'a witness of Christ hys gospel and veritye; which 'hereto I have confessed, I thanke God, as well by 'preaching, as by prisonment; and now, even presently, I shall moste willingly confyrme the same 'by fyre. I knowledge, that God moste justlye 'myght take me hence, symply for my sinnes, whiche 'are manye, greate and grevous, but the Lord, for 'his mercy in Christe, hath pardoned them all, I 'hope; but now, deare mother, he taketh me hence 'by this deathe, as a confessour and witness that the 'religion taught by Christe Jesu, the Prophetes, and 'the Apostles, is Gods truth. The Prelates doe persecute in me, Christe, whom they hate; and his 'truth, which they may not abyde, because their 'workes are evil, and may not abyde the truth and 'lyght, lest men should see their darkness. Therefore, 'my good, and most deare mother, geve thankes for 'me to God, that hath made the fruit of your wombe 'to be a witness of hys glory, and attend to the 'truth, whiche, I thank God for it, I have truly 'taught out of the pulpit at Manchester: use often 'and continual prayer to God the Father, through 'Christe; harken, as you may, to the Scriptures; 'serve God after hys word, and not after custome: 'beware of the Romysh Religion in England, defyle 'not yourself wyth it; carry Christes cross as he shall 'lay it upon your backe; forgeve them that kill me, 'pray for them, for they know not what they do, &c.' so charging her to be mindful of her daughters, and do as she pleased with the writings he sent her by his brother Roger, &c. he takes his last farewel in this life; 'beseecheng the Almighty and Eternal Father to 'grant, they may meet in the life to come, where 'they shall give him continual thanks and praise for 'ever.' Dated the twenty-fourth of June, 1555 (70). We shall only here add, two or three quotations out of another letter, written by Mr John Careles of Coventry, now prisoner in the King's-Bench; being an answer to one Bradford had sent him, full of the most prophetick promises and consolations; and that for his penitent and believing heart all his offences were clearly pardoned, and that he should not die (71), or be put to death for his faith, which indeed he was not, tho' he had long looked, and longed for that dignity, which the highest angels in heaven were not preferred to (72), but died in the prison aforesaid, about a twelve-month after Bradford. In return to this, Careles has, in his said last letter to Bradford, among others, these words, 'Ever since the good Mr Philpot shewed 'me your last letter, (my deare hart in the Lord) I 'have continued in great heavyness and perplexity; 'not for any hurt or discommodity, that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom, doubtless 'death is made life, and great felicitie; but for the 'great loss that God's Church, here in England, shall 'sustain, by the taking away of so godly, worthy, and 'necessary an instrument, as the Lord hath made 'you to be. *Ah! that my life, and a thousand such 'wretched lives more might go for your's* (*). Ah! 'why doth God suffer me, and such other caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but consume the 'almes of the Church, and take you away, so worthy 'a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? 'But woe be to our sins and great unthankfulness, 'which is the greatest cause of the taking away of 'such worthy Instruments of God, as should set forth 'his glory, and instruct his people. If we had been 'thankful unto God for the good ministers of his 'word, we had not been so deprived both of it and 'them.' And a little further. 'But what go I about, 'to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your 'just joy, with my deserved sorrow? If I loved you, 'indeed, as I have pretended, I should surely rejoice 'with you most heartily, and praise God on your behalf, from the very bottom of my heart: I should 'praise God day and night, for your excellent election, in and through his great mercy; and should 'give him most humble thanks for your vocation, by 'his Gospel, and your true knowledge in the same: I 'should earnestly praise him for your sweet justification, whereof you are most certain by God's grace 'and spirit; and should instantly pray unto him, for 'your glorification, which shall shortly ensue: I should 'rejoice, and be glad to see you so dignified with your 'crown of Martyrdom, and to be appointed to that 'honour, to testify his truth, and to seal it with your 'blood: I should highly extol the Lord, who hath 'given you a glorious victory over all your enemies, 'visible and invisible; and hathe given you grace and 'strength to finish the tower that you have begun to 'build: Finally, if I loved you, I should most heartily rejoice, and be glad to see you delivered from this 'body of sin, and vile prison of the flesh, and brought 'into that heavenly tabernacle, where you shall be 'safely kept, and never offend him more. This, and 'much more should I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child: But, alas, I am 'an hypocrite, and do seek nothing but my own commodity——Ah! my dear heart, now I must take my 'leave of you, and as I think, my *ultimum vale*, in 'this life; but in the life to come, I am right well 'assured, we shall merrily meet together, and that 'shortly I trust. And in taking my leave of you, my 'dear heart in the Lord, I shall desire you faithfully 'to remember, all the sweet messages that the Lord 'our good God, and most dear loving Father, hath 'sent you, by me, his most unworthy servant; which, 'as they are most true, so shall they be most truely accomplished upon you, eternally; and for the more 'assurance and certificate thereof, to your godly conscience, he hath commanded me, to repeat the 'same unto you, again, in his own name, and word: 'Therefore (as he goes on, in a more extraordinary 'strain) now give ear, and faithful credance. Hearken, 'O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, and bear me 'witness at the great day, that I do, here faithfully, 'and truly, the Lord's message unto his dear servant, 'his singularly beloved and elect child, John Braford. 'John Bradford, thou man so specially beloved of 'God! I pronounce and testify unto thee, in the word 'and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy sins, 'whatsoever they be, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great, be fully and freely pardoned, released, and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God, in 'Jesus Christ, thine only Lord and sweet Saviour, in 'whom thou dost undoubtedly believe. Christ hath 'cleansed thee with his blood, and cloathed thee with 'his righteousness, and hath made thee, in the sight 'of God, his Father, without spot, or wrinkle: so that, 'when the fire doth his appointed office, thou shalt be 'received, as a sweet burnt-sacrifice, into heaven; 'where thou shalt joyfully remain in God's presence, 'for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlasting kingdom; unto which thou wast undoubtedly predesti-'nate

(67) Acts and Mon. Vol. III. p. 233.

(68) Ibid. p. 234.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 454.

(71) Fox. Vol. III. p. 602.

(72) Idem. p. 603.

(*) It has been lately observed very justly, That this expression from an uncondemned man, as J. Careless was, to his friend Bradford, was *truly generous*, and that the late Lord Balmerino's wish, *That he could pay the reckoning, both for himself, and his noble fellow-sufferer*, the Earl of Kilmarnock, was but *seemingly so*: for these being both condemned, it spoiled the compliment; as he could then be at no greater expence in paying for both, than he was in paying only his own reckoning. Vid. Seasonable Reflections on the Dying Words and Deportment of Arthur Lord Balmerino, in answer to Mr T. Ford's Account of the Behaviour of those Lords, &c. 8vo, 1746, p. 11. said to be written by Mr Joseph Elderton, an Attorney.

gate, which was to bind him to the stake; also, of being removed the next day to Newgate, and burnt in Smithfield the morning after; all which exactly came to pass. He quitted his unquiet bed about three o'clock in the morning, and, by his old exercise of reading and prayer, soon recovered that composure of mind, which continued to the last. When the keeper's wife, almost beside herself, brought him intelligence the next day, that the *chain* was buying, and that he must die on the morrow; he pulled off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, said, *I thank God for it, I have looked for it a long time; therefore it comes not suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy of it.* When he shifted himself into the shirt he was to die in, he made such applications of it to the *Wedding-Garment*, as raised the admiration of all who were about him. When he went out of the prison, he distributed his money to every servant and officer of the house, and all the prisoners took their leave of him with weeping eyes; so, about midnight he was carried to Newgate, attended by a vast multitude of people, who, because they had heard he was to suffer by break of day, that the fewer spectators might be witnesses of his death; they either stayed in Smithfield all night, or returned in greater numbers thither by four o'clock the next morning, which was the first of *July*, 1555; but Bradford was not brought thither 'till nine o'Clock, and then he came under a stronger guard of halberdeers than was ever known on the like occasion. As he came out of Newgate, he gave his velvet cap and his handkerchief to an old friend, with whom he had a little private talk. But his brother-in-law Roger Beswick, for only taking leave of him, had his head broke, 'till the blood ran down his shoulders, by the Sheriff Woodrofe (*). When he came to Smithfield, and in his company a Yorkshire youth, who was an apprentice in London, named John Lyefe, and to be burnt at the same stake with him, for maintaining the like faith in the Sacrament, and denying that Priests had any authority to exact auricular confession; Bradford went boldly up to the stake, laid him down flat on his face, on one side of it; and the said young man, John Lyefe (†), in like manner, went and laid himself on the other; where they had not prayed to themselves above the space of a minute, before the said Sheriff bid Bradford arise, and make an end; for the press of the people was very great [*M*]. When they were on their feet, Bradford took up a faggot and kissed it, and did the like to the stake. When he pulled off his cloaths, he desired they might be given to his servant; which was granted. Then, at the stake, holding up his hands and his face to Heaven, he said aloud, *O England, England, repent thee of thy sins! Beware of idolatry, beware of antichrists, least they deceive you.* Here the Sheriff ordered his hands to be tied; and one of the fire-rakers told him, if he had no better learning than that, he had best hold his peace. Then Bradford forgiving, and asking forgiveness, of all the world, turned his head about, comforted the stripling at the same stake behind him, and embracing the flaming reeds that were near him, was heard, among his last words, to say, *Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate,* &c. So left the dross of his body among the ashes upon the earth, while his soul, by that searching separation, the purer ascended to Heaven; and

(*) The Construction which was made of the dreadful diseases which buried this cruel Sheriff in his bed eight years before he died, may be read in Fox and Fuller, in the Life of Mr Bradford, p. 188, &c.

(†) Fox, or his Printers, call him *Leaf*; but we perceive not any authority they had to vary from the spelling of his name as it is here restored, from the first Life of Mr Bradford, before his Examinations, &c. as before quoted.

'nate and ordained, by the Lord's infallible purpose 'and decree; before the foundation of the world was 'laid. And that this is most true, that I have said, 'I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and eternal 'Majesty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy 'Ghost, to my record at this present; whom I humbly 'beseech, to confirm and establish in thee, the true 'and lively feeling of the same; Amen. *Selah* (73).'

[*M*] *For the press of the people was very great.*] Among the numerous throng of people, who were spectators at his execution, there was that memorable gentlewoman, Mrs Mary Waters, the daughter of Robert Waters, of Lenham in Kent, Esq; and wife of Robert Honeywood, Esq; of Charing, in the same county. This lady, in the days of Queen Mary, was wont to visit the prisons, and relieve the confessors there. Now, when Mr Bradford was at the stake, she being desirous of getting near it, that she might distinctly hear him, and see the end of his sufferings, was so crowded and pressed by the multitude, that her shoes were trodden off, and she forced to go barefoot from Smithfield to St Martins, before she could furnish herself with a new pair, for her money (74). This is the lady, whose mind being perplexed with some religious doubts of salvation, many ministers repaired to her; and, among the rest, Mr John Fox, the Martyrologist; and though she could not have chosen an abler instrument to reconcile her afflicted mind; all his arguments proved ineffectual; insomuch, that in the agony of her soul, she threw a Venice-glass, which she had in her hand, with great vehemence to the ground, and burst forth, at the same time, into this expression; 'I am as surely damned, as this glass is broken;' but it rebounded from the ground, and was taken up whole (75). This also is that Dame Honeywood, who, by her only husband aforesaid, left alive at her decease, lawfully descended from her, three hundred sixty and seven children; that is, sixteen of her own body, one hundred and fourteen grand-children, two hundred and twenty-eight of the third generation, and nine of the fourth. She lived a most pious life, and in a christian manner died at Markeshall in Essex, the eleventh of May 1620, in the ninety-third year of her age, and the forty-fourth year of her widowhood (76). It should seem, that before Mr Bradford died, she had consulted him for satisfaction, in those doubts and despondency beforementioned, in like manner as after his death, she advised with Mr Fox; there being some letters of Bradford's writing, to a gentlewoman under the like perturbation of mind, extant among his others; but because her name is not mentioned, we shall forbear to make any transcripts from them; and also, because some readers may think this article of Bradford already copious enough; especially those who may not know, that what Mr Fox has thought worthy of preserving concerning him, is not comprehended in less than seventeen sheets of paper. Throughout the same, in what he has copied from preceding authors, we must do him the justice to say, he has, as far as we have had occasion to trace and collate them, approved himself a faithful historian. And tho' the sufferers under Popish governments, were not all to be admitted strictly as martyrs, nor were meant by him as such, who may appear in his calendar; tho' he might be mistaken in some recent examples, by the haste of delineating truth in her unsettled flight, upon the wings of report, and before her perfect form, features, and proportions, were fixed and confirmed in the writings of other men; tho' he might be misinformed in several parts of his intelligence (and purposely, 'tis presumed, in some, by his adversaries, to pave the way for a detection of those parts, and discredit the whole) which misinformations he yet afterwards corrected, in as much as came to his knowledge; inconveniences that must attend the compiler

(73) Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 628. And Fox, Vol. III. as before.

(74) Fuller's Worthies, in Kent.

(75) Idem.

(76) So the inscription on her monument in Markeshall church.

and thus by his death, confirmed most effectually the truth of that doctrine, which he had so powerfully preached in his life.

piler of so large a body of modern history, as his chiefly is; no man being likely to receive, from various hands, such a multitude of matters of fact, as are all perfect truth, and digest and display them as perfectly without error; yet of what weight are these objections, or more of the like, which Stapleton, or Parsons, or any other Jesuit can offer, in contempt of the *Foxian* martyrs, to overthrow such a solid and immoveable fabrick? It is compiled of so many undeniable evidences of Popish barbarity, whereof, this Master Bradford is one, not the least conspicuous, that allowing all Mr Fox his own real, but involuntary, mistakes, they can never discountenance his work, 'till the slaves an[d] scavengers of Rome, have purged their own legendar[y] and lying martyrologies, of their wilful, their studied yet stupid and most detestable, impostures: But as hi[s] *Acts and Monuments*, have long been, they will sti[ll] remain substantial *Pillars* of the *Protestant Church*; o[f] more force than many more volumes of bare argu[-]ments, to withstand the tide of *Popery*; and like a *Pha[-]ros*, should be lighted up in every age, to warn our un[-]wary countrymen, from the deceitful and destructiv[e] *Rocks* therein. G

BRADY (ROBERT), a noted Historian and Physician in the last century; was bor[n] in the county of Norfolk, and admitted in Caius-College in Cambridge, February the 20th, 1643 (*a*). He took his degree of Bachelor of Physick in 1653 (*b*), and was created Docto[r] in that Faculty, Sept. 5, 1660, by virtue of the King's mandatory letters (*c*). On the fir[st] of December the same year, he was, in pursuance of King Charles's mandate, electe[d] Master of his College, upon the resignation of Dr Bachcroft (*d*). About the year 1670, he was appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London (*e*); in which office, how well he employed himself in perusing those most valuable monuments in his possession, is abundantly plain from his historical works, of which an account will be given below. Some time after, he was chosen Regius Professor of Physick in the University of Cambridge (*f*). In 1679 he writ a letter to Dr Sydenham, which is published among that learned person's works [*A*]. But his largest and most considerable performance was, 'An Introduction to 'the old English History [*B*],' and, 'A Compleat History of England, from the first 'entrance of the Romans, unto the end of the reign of King Richard II. in three Vols. 'fol. [*C*],' about which he was employed several years. In the year 1681, he was chosen one of the Representatives for the University of Cambridge, in that Parliament which met at Oxford (*g*); and again in 1685, in the Parliament of King James II (*h*). He was likewise Physician in ordinary to this King: and, on the twenty-second of October 1688, was one of those persons who gave in their depositions concerning the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales (*i*). This learned Doctor died on the nineteenth of August 1700 (*k*). He was an accurate writer, and a curious and diligent searcher into our antient Records. But he hath also been charged with several faults. The chief is, that throughout his Compleat History, as he calls it, he is so wholly taken up in endeavouring to prove the novelty of Parliaments, that his book does by no means answer the title (*l*). For, in order to please an arbitrary Court, to whom the House of Commons hath always been an invincible check, and to represent the origin of that august body, as grounded upon the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, in King Henry the IIId's reign (*m*); he hath taken great pains to prove, 'That the Commons of England, represented by Knights, Citizens, and 'Burgesses

(*a*) College Register.

(*b*) University Register.

(*c*) Ibid. & Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 251.

(*d*) College books, and Kennet, ubi supra, p. 870. and J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 428.

(*e*) From Memoirs communicated to us. But Mr Holmes, Deputy-Keeper of the Records in the Tower, has since assured us, that he was not made Keeper of the Records 'till 1685.

(*f*) From the same Memoirs.

(*g*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Lond. 1730. Vol. I. p. 180.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) See the several Declarations, together with the several Depositions, &c. concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, p. 37.

(*k*) J. Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 428.

(*l*) Hearne's Duct. Historic. Vol. I. third edit. Lond. 1714, p. 174.

(*m*) See the Antient Right of the Commons of England asserted, by Will. Petyt, Esq; Lond. 1680: and Jus Anglorum ab antiquo: and Hist. of England, by Ja. Tyrrell, Esq;

[*A*] *He writ a letter to Dr Sydenham*, &c] It is dated from Cambridge December 30, 1679, and is placed at the head of Dr Sydenham's *Epistolæ responsoriæ duæ*. In this letter, Dr Brady observes, That no Physician had yet duly considered the influence of the air on human bodies; nor showed the force of it, in fermenting, altering, and circulating the blood, and in all animal motions whatsoever: and therefore he commends Dr Sydenham, for his account of acute distempers, and their cure; and desires him, to publish what observations he had made of late years on that subject. Next, he intreats him, if he knew any thing particular on the use of the Indian (or Peruvian) bark, to communicate it to him. And lastly, Dr Sydenham having recommended frequent bleeding in the rheumatism, Brady enquires of him, whether, a less severe and cruel method could not be found out to cure that distemper? In answer to these several queries, Dr Sydenham wrote his *Epistola responsoria prima*, which is printed among his works. It was first printed at London, in 1680, 8*vo*.

[*B*] *An Introduction to the old English History.*] What the contents of this book are, will best appear by the title; which is as follows. 'An Introduction 'to the old English History, comprehended in three 'several tracts. The first, An Answer to Mr *Petyt's* '*Rights of the Commons asserted*; and to a book in'tituled, *Jani Anglorum facies nova*; The second 'edition very much inlarged. The second, An An'swer to a book intituled, *Argumentum Antinormanni'cum*, much upon the same subject; never before 'published. The third, An exact History of the 'Succession of the Crown of England; The second 'edition also very much inlarged. Together with an 'Appendix containing several Records, and a series of 'great Councils and Parliaments before and after the 'Conquest, unto the end of the reign of Henry the 'Third. And a Glossary expounding many words used 'frequently in our ancient Records, Laws, and Histo'rians.' One Vol. fol. London, 1684. The substance of the whole book may be comprized in these three Propositions. 1. That the Representatives of the Commons in Parliament [viz. Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses] were not introduced 'till the forty-ninth of Henry III. 2. That William, Duke of Normandy made an absolute conquest of the nation. 3. That the succession to the Crown of England is hereditary, (descending to the nearest of blood) and not elective.

[*C*] *Introduction to the old English History, And a Compleat History of England*, &c.] The Introduction, as mentioned in the last Note, contains one Volume fol. and the History is generally bound in two more. The first was printed at London, 1685, and the second in 1700. At the end of each, is a large Appendix of Original Papers. This History is full of records, and other valuable materials for a History of England; but it is far from being a *Compleat History*. For the author hath neglected, or passed over, numberless facts, and omitted such as served not for his purpose: so that it can be justly and properly called nothing else but a heap of valuable undigested materials. It was in opposition to this History, and in order to set things in a different light, that James Tyrrell, Esq; writ his General History of England; in which he freely censures the Doctor's mistakes. Besides these three Volumes, Dr Brady writ 'a Treatise on Burghs,' in a thin folio.

[*D*] Unless

'Burgesses in Parliament, were not introduced; nor were one of the three estates in Parliament, before the forty-ninth of Henry III (n); and, that, before that time, the body of the commons of England, or freemen collectively taken, had not any share or votes, in making of laws for the government of the kingdom (o), nor had any communication in affairs of State, unless they were represented by the Tenents *in capite* [D].' Another point which he strenuously maintains, and endeavours to support with monstrous heaps of quotations out of antient Historians and Records, is, 'That William, Duke of Normandy, did by degrees, tho' not at first, make an absolute conquest of the English nation (p). That he altered the whole constitution; brought a new law, and imposed it upon the people; and from him, and his Normans, we received our tenures, the manner of holding our estates in every respect, and the customs incident to those estates. And further, he took away from the English their estates, and gave them to his Normans [E]; and this he did from his first coming in (q). So that all the Bishops, Earls, and Barons of England, did hold their lands, earldoms, and baronies of the Crown, or of the King, as of his person, and that was *in capite* (r).' All which Brady asserted and maintained, with a view (as was thought) to enlarge the prerogative, to overthrow all pretences to an original compact, and all claims of rights and privileges enjoyed by our Saxon ancestors (s); and to represent the English nation as a parcel of slaves, who depend for their estates and fortunes upon the King (t); and whose liberties and laws, were the grants and concessions of our Kings (u); particularly, that the Commons right to send representatives to Parliament, was extorted by force from the crown, and in rebellious times; and consequently, that the whole might be repealed, or resumed.

(n) Answer to W. Petyt's Rights of the Commons, &c. in the Introduction.

(o) Ibid.

(p) Answer to Argumentum Antinormannicum, in Introduct. to old Engl. Hist. p. 235.

(q) Answer to Mr Petyt's book, in the same Vol. p. 14.

(r) Ibid. p. 115.

(s) See Preface to the reader in Vol. I. of Brady's Hist.

(t) General Preface at the beginning of Vol. I. of Brady's Hist. p. vi—xvii.

(u) Ibid. p. xxxiv. See Tyrrell's Preface to Biblioth. Polit. p. 111. and Preface to Appendix in Vol. III. of his Hist.

[D] *Unless they were represented by the Tenents in capite.*] This is the substance of his Answer to Mr Petyt's book, intituled, 'The antient Right of the Commons asserted; or, a Discourse, proving by Records and the best Historians, that the Commons of England were ever an essential part of Parliament.' Lond. 1680. 8*vo.* and to Mr Atwood's book, called, '*Jani Anglorum facies nova*; or several Monuments of Antiquity touching the great Council of the Kingdom.' Lond. 1680. 8*vo.* Mr Atwood replied, in his, '*Jus Anglorum ab antiquo*; or, a Confutation of an impotent Libel against the Government by King, Lords, and Commons. Under pretence of answering Mr Petyt, and the author of *Jani Anglorum facies nova*.' Lond. 1681. 8*vo.* But the Doctor's most considerable and powerful opponent, was, James Tyrrell, Esq; who, in the general Introduction to his History (1), and in the Appendix to his third Volume (2), hath endeavoured to prove, 'That the great Councils, or Parliaments, consisted, in the Saxon times, of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Ealdormen, and the whole body of Thanes, or Free-holders, who were then all Gentlemen, either by birth or estates (3);' and, after the Norman conquest, were composed of Archbishops, &c. as above, the Commons having there also their Representatives (4). The whole controversy turns upon this; Parliaments, in the ancientest times, consisted unquestionably of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons; and also of *other persons*, which, in Records and Histories, are styled *Wise*, *Great*, *Chief*, *Noble*, &c. What persons these were, is the question. Brady says, It was only the Tenents in capite (5). And Tyrrell maintains, That they were the lesser Barons, or considerable Freeholders, whose possessions were then very large; there being, in those times, no such little Freeholders as there is at present (6).

(1) Vol. I. p. lxxxviii, &c.

(2) Page 1, &c.

(3) General Introduct. ubi supra p. xciii. Bibliotheca Politica, Dialog. 6, 7, 8.

(4) Ibid. and Appendix to Vol. III.

(5) Answer to Mr Petyt, throughout.

(6) Biblioth. Politic. ubi supra. And Hist. in Gen. Pref. and Append.

[E] *He took away from the English their estates, and gave them to his Normans*, &c.] This the Doctor asserted, and strenuously maintained, in opposition to a book written by Mr Cook, and entitled, '*Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*: or an Argument proving, from ancient Histories and Records, that William, Duke of Normandy, made no absolute Conquest of England by the sword; in the sense of our modern Writers.' Lond. 1682. 8*vo.* Mr Cook's opinion is warmly espoused, and strongly supported, by Mr Tyrrell, in the Introduction to his second Volume of the History of England, and in the reign of William I.—— After all their disputes, the case may be thus fairly and impartially represented. William I. came to conquer and dethrone Harold, and subdue his adherents. After Harold's death, he took into protection all such as would submit to him; and, at his Coronation, swore, that he would govern both his English and French subjects by the same equal law (7). Many of them rebelling afterwards against him, he deprived them of their estates, which he distributed amongst his favourites. Now, that is no more than what is done every day in case of Treason. Though perhaps he might carry his revenge, and extend his prerogative, further than he ought to have done. C

(7) —Æquo jure Anglos, quo Francos, tractaret.—W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. p. 271, ed. Francof. 1601.

BRADY (NICOLAS), D. D.

BRADY (NICOLAS), D. D. was the son of Major Nicolas Brady, an officer of the King's army in the rebellion of 1641; being lineally descended from Hugh Brady, the first Protestant Bishop of Meath [A]. He was born at Bandon in the county of Cork, on the twenty-eighth of October 1659, and educated in that county 'till he was twelve years of age, when he was removed to Westminster-school, where he was chosen King's scholar, and from thence elected Student of Christ-Church, Oxford; after continuing there about four years, he went to Dublin, where his father resided; at which University he immediately commenced B. A. and the following year M. A (a). When he was of due standing, his Diploma for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, was upon account of his uncommon merit, presented to him from that University while he was in England, and brought over by Dr Pratt, then senior Travelling-Fellow, afterwards Provost of that College. His first preferment in the Church, was to a Prebend, in the Cathedral of St Barry's, in the city of Cork, and to the parish of Kinaglarchy, in the county of Cork; to which he was collated by Bishop Wettenhall, to whom he was domestick Chaplain. He was a zealous promoter of the late happy Revolution, and an eminent sufferer for it. In 1690, when the troubles broke out in Ireland, by his interest with King James's General, Mac-Carty, he thrice

(a) Regist. Coll. Dub.

[A] *First Protestant Bishop of Meath.*] William Walsh, Bishop of Meath, who was a Papist, was deprived in the year 1560, for preaching against the book of Common Prayer, then lately established, and the Queen's supremacy. Hugh Brady was advanced (1) in his room, though not 'till the year 1563, the See being kept vacant, on account of the unsettled state of Religion at that time.

(1) Pat. Canc. Hib. 21. Octob. 5 Eliz.

[B] Gave

thrice prevented the burning of Bandon town, after three several orders given by that Prince to destroy it. The same year, having been deputed by the people of Bandon, he went over to England, to petition the Parliament for a redress of some grievances they had suffered, while King James was in Ireland. During his stay there, and to the time of his death, he was in the highest esteem among all ranks of persons in that kingdom, for his eminent attachment to the true interest of his country. Having quitted his preferments in Ireland, he settled in London, where he became noted for his abilities in the pulpit, and, upon that account, was elected Minister of St Catharine-Cree Church, and Lecturer of St Michael's Wood-street. He afterwards became Minister of Richmond in Surrey, and Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire, and at length Rector of Clapham, in the county abovementioned; which last, together with Richmond, he held to the time of his death. He was also Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond's troop of horse-guards, as he was to their Majestie's King William and Queen Mary, and afterwards to Queen Anne. He died on the twentieth of May 1726, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; leaving behind him, the character of being a person of a most obliging, sweet, affable temper, a polite Gentleman, an excellent Preacher, and a good Poet; of which he gave proofs in some pieces [*B*].

[*B*] *Gave proofs of his Poetry in some pieces.*] Such of his poetical pieces as are published are (for what we know) only these. 1. *A new Version of the Psalms of David*, which are in part his work, and in part Mr Tate's, with whom he joined in this translation soon after he had settled in London, and it is now sung in most churches of England and Ireland, instead of that obsolete version made by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins in the reign of King Edward VI. — 2. *The Æneids of Virgil*, which were published by subscription in four Volumes in 8vo. the last of which came out in 1726, a little time before the author's death. — He also published in his life-time, *Three Volumes of Sermons in 8vo.* each consisting of fourteen, all printed in London, the first in 1704, the second in 1706, and the third in 1713. After the Doctor's death, his eldest son, who is now a Clergyman, published *three other volumes of his father's Sermons*, each also consisting of fourteen, printed in London, 1730, 8vo. The first Sermon he published separately, was preached at his church of St Catharine-Cree, on the 26th of November, 1691, and printed, London, 1692, 4to. and a second, which he preached at St Bride's church, on Monday, November the 22d, 1697, being St Cæcilia's day, intituled, *Church Musick Vindicated.*—Printed, London, 1697, 4to. D

BRAMHALL (JOHN) Archbishop of Ardmagh, in the seventeenth century; was born at Pontefract in Yorkshire, about the year 1593, being descended from an antient and genteel family (*a*) [*A*]. He received his first education in the place of his birth; and, when he was fit for the University, was sent to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted February the twenty-first, 1608 (*b*), and put under the care of Mr Hulet (*c*) [*B*]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1612, and that of Master in 1616 (*d*); after taking the latter, he quitted the University, and entering into Holy-Orders, had a living given him in the city of York (*e*); he was likewise presented to the Rectory of Elvington, or Eterington, in Yorkshire, by Mr Wandesford, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and some time Lord-Deputy of Ireland. About the same time he married a clergyman's widow, of the Hally's family, an agreeable woman, and a good fortune; with whom he had a valuable library, left by her former husband; by which he was so wedded to his studies, that all the temptations of a new-married life, could not divorce him from them, nor give any intermission to his duty of constant preaching. This he performed with so much assiduity, prudence, and gravity, that he became as eminent in the Church, as before in the University, and greatly beloved by all degrees of men (*f*). In the year 1623, he had two publick disputations at North-Allerton, with a secular Priest and a Jesuit [*C*]; which gained him great reputation, and so recommended him in particular to the Archbishop of York's (*g*) esteem, that he made him his Chaplain, and took him into his confidence. During the life of the Archbishop, he was made Prebendary of York [*D*], and after

(*a*) The Life of John Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1677, fol. by John, Bishop of Lymerick, p. 2. it is not paged.

(*b*) From Dr Sherman's *Tabulæ Sidneianæ*.

(*c*) Sir James Ware's Works, edit. 1739, under the Life of our Primate.

(*d*) From the Grace-book of Sidney-college.

(*e*) Life, &c. as above.

(*f*) Life, p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Toby Mathews.

[*A*] *Being descended from an ancient and genteel family.*] Namely from the Bramhalls of Bramhall-Hall in Cheshire, related by intermarriage to the Keresfords of Keresford in Yorkshire, a house that has flourished in a direct line from the time of King Henry II (1).

[*B*] *And put under the care of Mr Hulet.*] The Right Rev. author of his life, Bishop Vesey, informs us, That 'he became there master of the arts and sciences 'before he had the degree; all his acts and exercises 'being still performed with that easiness and smooth-'ness, which argues clean strength and sufficiency (2).'

[*C*] *He had two publick disputations at North-Allerton, with a Secular Priest and a Jesuit.*] These two Papists (3) had sent a publick defiance to all the Protestant Clergy in that country, (at a time when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, and they expected from thence great advantages and countenance to their own religion) and when none durst accept the challenge, our author undertook the combat. Though he was then but about thirty years of age, and a stripling in the School of controversy, yet he managed the dispute so well, that his antagonists, and their whole party, had reason to repent of the insolence of their adventure. One of the subjects of the disputation was the article of Transubstantiation, from whence they easily sliding into that other of the Half-Communion, he shamefully baffled their doctrine of Concomitancy, and drove the disputant up to so narrow a corner, that he affirmed that eating was drinking, and drinking was eating in a material or bodily sense. Mr Bramhall looked on this as so elegant a solecism, that he needed no greater trophy, if he could get under his hand, what he had declared with his tongue, which being desired, was by the other, in his heat, and shame to seem to retreat, as readily granted. But upon cooler thoughts, finding perhaps after the heat of the contest was over, that he could not quench his thirst with a piece of bread, he reflected so sadly on the dishonour he had suffered, that not being able to digest it, in ten days he died. Archbishop Matthews hearing of this disputation, sent for Mr Bramhall, and at first rebuked him for his hardiness in undertaking a disputation so publickly without allowance; but soon forgave him (4).

[*D*] *During the life of the Archbishop he was made Prebendary of York*]. So we are assured by the Right Rev. author of his life (5). But, according to Browne Willis, Esq; (6) he was not made Prebendary of York, 'till the thirteenth of June, 1633, five years after the death of Archbishop Matthews: So that one of these two

(1) Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Hungate, a Jesuit; and Houghton, a Secular Priest. See Archbishop Bramhall's Works, p. 624.

(4) Life, &c. as above, p. 3.

(5) As above, p. 4.

(6) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. edit. 1727, 4to, Vol. I. p. 145.

after of Rippon; at which last place, he went and resided after the Archbishop's death, (which happened in 1628) and conducted most of the concernments of that church, in the quality of Sub-Dean. Here he preached constantly for several years, and became so eminent, not only for his abilities in the pulpit, but also for his knowledge in the laws, that he was frequently chosen arbitrator between contending parties; and by that, and his good behaviour in all other respects, he obtained so much honour and interest, that there was scarce any publick transaction, over which he had not a considerable influence; even in the elections for Members of Parliament, such as he named at Rippon, and other corporations, carrying the vote and favour of the people. He was also appointed one of his Majesty's High-Commissioners; in which office he was very curious in the disquisition of all causes, and by some was accounted severe: but, however rough his speech might sometimes be, his dealings were generally smooth and gentle (*h*). In the year 1633, he took the degree of Bachelor, and in 1630, that of Doctor in Divinity (*i*) [*E*]. Soon after, he was invited to Ireland by the Lord Viscount Wentworth Deputy of that kingdom, and Sir Christopher Wandesford Master of the Rolls; and he accepted of their invitation, though he had a prospect of being promoted in his native country, and was offered to be made one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary. Having therefore resigned all his Church-preferments in England, he went over into Ireland in the year 1623; and, a little while after, obtained the archdeaconry of Meath, the best in that kingdom. The first publick service he was employed in, was a regal visitation, in which he was either one of the King's Commissioners with Baron Hilton Judge of the Prerogative, or such a coadjutor that all was governed by his directions. In this visitation, he found the revenues of the Church miserably wasted, the discipline scandalously despised, and the Ministers but meanly provided. The bishopricks, in particular, were wretchedly dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leases and small rents [*F*]. But he applied, in process of time, proper remedies to these several evils. And likewise endeavoured to destroy some opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life [*G*], which yet were reverenced almost like articles of faith (*k*). In the year 1634, he was promoted to the bishoprick of Londonderry, and consecrated the sixteenth of May, in the chapel of the castle of Dublin (*l*). While he enjoyed this See he very much improved it; not only in advancing the rents, but also in recovering lands (*m*) detained from his predecessors: by which means he doubled the yearly profits of that bishoprick (*n*). But the greatest service he did the Church of Ireland, was, by getting, with the Lord-Deputy's assistance, several Acts passed, in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July 14, 1634 [*H*]. In

(*h*) Life, &c. p. 4, 5.

(*i*) From the Grace-book of Sidney-college, as above.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 9.

(*l*) Sir James Ware, ubi supra.

(*m*) As Termain, Colahy, &c.

(*n*) Life, &c. as above, p. 10, 11.

two authors must be mistaken. The Prebend he had, was that of Hustwaith, in the Church of York.

[*E*] *He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] The thesis he disputed upon, on that occasion, was this: *Pontifex Romanus est causa vel procreans vel conservans, omnium vel saltem præcipuarum controversiarum in orbe Christiano. i. e.* 'The Pope is the author, or 'maintainer, of all, or at least of the chief, contro-'versies in the Christian world.' And in all his exercises, then, he made it appear, that he had not lost his time in the country, nor evaporated all in pulpit-discourses, but that he had furnished himself with very substantial learning (7).

(7) Life, &c. as above, p. 5.

[*F*] *The bishopricks were dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leases and small rents.*] These had been granted, partly by the Popish Bishops, who resolved to carry as much with them as they could; and partly by their Protestant successors, who might fear another turn, and were, having their example, disposed enough to make use of the same arts. By such means on the one side and the other, many bishopricks were made extremely small; some reduced to one hundred pounds *per annum*; some to fifty, as Waterford, Kilsenoragh; &c. Some to five marks, as Kilmacduagh; and particularly Cloyne, the Bishop whereof was called *Episcopus quinque marcarum*, the five marks Bishop. Aghadoe was only one pound one shilling and eight pence; and Ardfert but sixty pounds. Lymerick had above five parts in six made away by fee-farms, or encroached on by undertakers. The like was done in Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, and Killaloe.—In some dioceses, as in Ferns and Leighlin, there was scarce a living left, that was not farmed out to the patron, or to some for his use, at two, three, four, or five pounds *per annum*, for a long time, three lives, or a hundred years (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 25.

[*G*] *And likewise endeavoured to destroy some opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life.*] And he was very desirous to abate of their value, and to reduce them to what they ought only to pass for, school-opinions: That so men might have the liberty of their private reasons. He could not endure to see some persons enslave their judgment to a person or a party, that cry up nothing more than Christian liberty. He thought that liberty was much confined, by being chained to any man's chair, as if all he uttered, were oracles, and to be made the standard and test of orthodoxy. That the Christian faith and liberty are then most in danger, when so many things are crouded into confessions, that what should be practical, becomes purely a science, of a rule of life a useless speculation, of a thing easy to be understood, a thing hard to be remembred. That it was the interest of the Protestant Church, to widen her bottom, and make her articles as charitable and comprehensive as she could, that those nicer accuracies that divide the greatest wits in the world, might not be made the characteristicks of reformation, and give occasion to one party to excommunicate and censure another. Thus he saw the Church of England constituted, both Calvinists and Arminians subscribe the same propositions, and walk to the house of God as friends (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 9.

[*H*] *Several acts passed in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July the fourteenth*, 1634.] The first was, 'A statute for the maintenance and execution 'of pious uses, obliging all Archbishops and Bishops 'to perform every such trust, according to the true 'intent of the deeds, in that behalf made, or to be 'made (10).' The next was, 'A statute for confirma-'tion of leases made by the Lord Primate, and other 'Bishops of Ulster, of such endowments as had been 'made by King James to the Archbishoprick of Ar-'magh, the Bishopricks of Derry, Clogher, Raphoe, 'and Killmore, giving them power any time within 'five years, to make leases for sixty years of such 'lands (11).' By this statute, the Church was enabled, on the surrender of titles to free-farms, and some improvement of rent, to make leases, as above, for sixty years; by which means she was in many places bettered at present, and had a hopeful prospect of recovering her full right at last. But the best defence of the Irish Church, was the statute entituled, 'An Act 'for the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and 'profits of lands belonging to the Church, and per-'sons ecclesiastical (12).' This limited them to time and rent, prescribed what they might set, and for what, and

(10) Sir Richard Bolton's Statutes of Ireland, Sess. 3. c. 2. fol. 50.

(11) Ibid. c. 5. fol. 56.

(12) Sess. 4 c. 3. fol. 78.

in pursuance of which, he abolished the fee-farms that were charged on church-lands; and obtained compositions for the rent, instead of the small reserved rents. He likewise was very instrumental, in getting such impropriations as remained in the Crown, vested by King Charles I, on the several incumbents, after the expiration of the leases. Some he recovered by law: and persuaded many persons possessed with tithes, to restore them, or sufficiently to endow the vicarages, or to grant a fit salary at least to the Curates. Moreover, he purchased himself abundance of impropriations; either with his own money; or by large remittances from England; by money given by his Majesty to pious uses; by borrowing large sums, and securing them out of the issues of the impropriations he bought; by voluntary contributions; and by a share of the goods of persons dying intestate. By these, and other means, he regained to the Church, in the space of four years, thirty or forty thousand pounds a year (o). In the Convocation that met at the same time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the same faith with the Church of England [I], by embracing the XXXIX Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562. He would fain also have got the English Canons established in Ireland; but, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could obtain no more, than, that such of our Canons as were fit to be transplanted among the Irish, should be removed thither, and others new framed, and added to them. Accordingly, a book of Canons was compiled, chiefly by our Bishop, and having passed in Convocation, received the royal confirmation. For all these services, he met, from several quarters, with a great deal of detraction and envy; and, according to the fashion of those times, was charged with Arminianism and Popery: but he was not of a spirit to be scared from what he thought his duty with noise and ill-words (p). Having thus, for a considerable time, laboured for the good of others, he thought it time to make some provision for his own family. In order to it, he took a journey to England in 1637, and was received with much respect by persons of the highest quality, particularly in his native country. But when he came to London, he was surprized with the news of an information exhibited against him in the Star-Chamber [K], of which, however, he soon cleared himself. After having received much honour from King Charles I. and many civilities from Archbishop Laud, and other great persons, he returned to Ireland; and with six thousand pounds for which he sold his estate in England, (but brought over at several times) he purchased another of good value, and began a plantation at Omagh in the county of Tyrone. But the distractions in that kingdom hindered him from bringing it to perfection (q). For he was not without his share, in the troubles that brought Ireland to the brink of destruction. On the fourth of March 1640-41, articles of high treason against him, and several of the Prime Ministers of State (r), were exhibited by the House of Commons to the House of Lords in Ireland; wherein they were charged with having conspired together, to subvert the fundamental laws and government of that kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; to have pronounced many false, unjust, and erroneous judgments, against law, which had occasioned divers seditions and rebellions; and to have laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings (s). The Bishop was then at Londonderry, when he received intelligence of this accusation, on the sixth of March. All his friends

(o) Ibid. p. 14, 15, 16.

(p) Ibid. p. 17, 18, 19, 20. *Never fear when the Cause is just*, was one of his usual sayings, Ibid. p. 20.

(q) Ibid. p. 21, 22.

(r) *Viz.* Sir Rich. Bolton, Knt. Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Sir Gerard Lowther, Knt. Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas; and Sir George Radcliffe, Knt.

(s) See the Articles at length, printed in 1641, 4to.

and how long, and is the security of succession.—Care also was taken of the inferior clergy, in another act, which enableth restitution 'of impropriations and 'tithes, and other rights ecclesiastical, to the clergy, 'with a restraint of aliening the same, and directions 'for the presentations to churches (13).'

[I] *In the Convocation that met at the same time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the same faith with the Church of England.*] The faith of both was the same in the main, only with this difference, that the Irish articles were more rigid and Calvinistical. Of which no better reason can be given, than that the first reformers in Ireland, on account of the great number of Papists in that kingdom, endeavoured to guard against them as much as possible. Therefore, like burnt children, which so much dread the fire, that they think they can never be far enough from their fear, they became very dogmatical in some propositions (most opposite as they conceived to the Church of Rome), left undetermiued by the Church of England. Now Bishop Bramhall laboured, in the Convocation, to have the correspondence more accurate and entire: and discoursed with great moderation and sobriety, of the convenience of having the articles of peace and communion in every national Church worded in that latitude, that dissenting persons, in those things that concerned not the Christian faith, might subscribe, and the Church not lose the benefit of their labours, for an opinion which perhaps they could not help; that it were to be wished, such articles might be contrived for the whole Christian world, but especially that the Protestant Churches under the King's dominion might all speak the same language; and particularly, that those of England and Ireland being reformed by the same principle and rule of scripture, might confess their faith in the same form. Persuaded by these arguments, the Convocation drew up a canon, which is as follows. 'For the manifestation of our 'agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine 'of the sacraments, we do receive and approve the 'book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the 'Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole clergy in 'the Convocation, holden at London in the year '1562, &c. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with 'a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make publick 'revocation of his error (14).'

fol. 75. In pursuance of, and by the benefit of these Acts, the Rents of the See of Ardmagh in particular, were improved 735*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* yearly, more than usual. Life, &c. as above, p. 13.

[K] *An information exhibited against him in the Star-Chamber.*] The charge was, 'That he was present at Rippon, when one Mr Palmes had made some 'reflecting discourse upon his Majesty, and that his 'Lordship had taken no notice of it, either to reprove 'him or inform against him.' The words deserved no very capital punishment, if they had been true, being no more than, 'That he feared a Scotish mist was 'come over their town;' because the King had altered his lodgings from Rippon, where he had designed them, to one Sir Richard Graham's house, not far from that place. But the Bishop easily cleared the whole company (15).

(14) Life, &c. p. 17, 18.

(15) Ibid. p. 22.

[L] In

friends wrote to him to decline the trial, but he thought it dishonourable to fly. On the contrary, he repaired to Dublin, and shewed himself the next day in the Parliament-house, where his enemies stood staring upon him for a while, and then made him a close prisoner. But though all persons were encouraged to contribute to his ruin, they found little to object, but his endeavours to retrieve the ancient patrimony of the Church. Notwithstanding they examined all his actions with despight, they could not fix the least tincture of private advantage on him; none of his relations, family, or friends, being one farthing the richer for any thing he had recovered to the Church. Not being able, therefore, to make any thing good on that head, they endeavoured to worry him, with the accusation of his having attempted to subvert the fundamental laws. In this distress he writ to the Primate Usher, then in England, for his advice and comfort [L]; who mediated so effectually in his behalf with the King, that his Majesty sent a letter over to Ireland, to stop proceedings against Bishop Bramhall. But this letter was very slowly obeyed; however, the Bishop was at length restored to liberty, but without any publick acquittal, the charge lying still dormant against him, to be awakened when his enemies pleased (*t*). Shortly after his return to Londonderry, Sir Phelim O-Neil contrived his ruin in the following manner. He directed a letter to him wherein he desired, 'that, according to their 'articles, such a gate of the city should be delivered to him;' expecting that the Scots in the place would, upon the discovery, become his executioners. But the person who was to manage the matter, ran away with the letter. Though this design took no place, the Bishop found no safety there. The city daily filling with discontented persons out of Scotland, he began to grow afraid they would deliver him up. One night they turned a cannon against his house to affront him; whereupon, being persuaded by his friends to look on that as a warning, he took their advice, and privately embarked for England. He went into Yorkshire, where, by his example, his frequent exhortations from the pulpit, his incessant labours with the gentry, and his prudent advices to the Marquis of Newcastle, he put great life into the King's affairs. Moreover, he sent a considerable present of plate to his Majesty at Nottingham: and composed some things in favour of the royal cause, of which we shall give an account below (*u*). Thus he continued active all the time of his being in England; that is, 'till the unfortunate battle of Marston-moor: but, after that, the King's affairs being grown entirely desperate, the Bishop embarked with several persons of distinction, and landed at Hamburgh, July 8, 1644 (*w*) [*M*]. Thence he went to Brussels, where he continued for the most part 'till the year 1648, with Sir Henry De Vic the King's Resident: preaching constantly every Sunday, and frequently administring the sacrament. The English merchants of Antwerp, ten leagues thence, used to be monthly of his audience and communion, and were his best benefactors. In the year 1648 he returned into Ireland; and after having undergone several dangers and difficulties [*N*], narrowly escaped thence in a little bark [*O*]. At his arrival into foreign parts,

(*t*) Life, &c. as above, p. 24, 25, 26.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 26, 27. See below note [*U*]. It was then he writ *Fair Warning, Serpent-Salve, &c.*

(*w*) Historical Collections, &c. by J. Rushworth, Vol. V. edit. 1721, p. 637.

[*L*] *In this distress he writ to the Primate Usher, then in England, for his advice and comfort.*] Part of his letter to him, was as follows. 'It would have 'been a great comfort and contentment to me, to 'have received a few lines of counsell or comfort in 'this my great affliction, which has befallen me for my 'zeal to the service of his Majestie and the good of 'this Church, in being a poor instrument to restore the 'usurped advowzons and appropriations to the Crown, 'and to encrease the revenue of the Church, in a fair 'just way, alwaies with the consent of parties, which 'did ever use to take away errors: but now it is said, 'to be obtained by threatning and force. What force 'did I ever use to any? what one man ever suffered 'for not consenting? my force was only force of reason and law. The scale must needs yield when 'weight is put into it. And your Grace knows to 'what pass many Bishopricks were brought, &c. See 'above note [*F*] how the Chantries of Ardee, Dondalk, &c. were employed to maintaine Priests and 'Fryers, which are now the chief maintenance of the 'incumbents. In all this my part was only labour 'and expence, but I find that losses make deeper impression than benefits. I cannot stop mens mouths, 'but I challenge the world for one farthing I ever got 'either by references or Church-preferments. I fly 'to your Grace as an anchor at this time, when my 'friends cannot help me. God knows how I have 'exulted at night, that day I had gained any considerable revenue to the Church, little dreaming that in 'future times that act should be questioned as treasonable. I never took the oath of Judge or Counseller, 'yet do I not know wherein I ever in all those passages 'deviated from the rule of Justice, &c.'— This letter is dated April 26, 1641.

Archbishop Usher, in his answer has these words.— 'I assure you my care never slackened in solliciting 'your cause at Court, with as great vigilancy, as if 'it did touch mine own proper person. I never intermitted any occasion of mediating with his Majestie 'in your behalf, who still pittyed your case, acknowledged the faithfulness of your services both to the 'Church and to him, avowed that you were no more 'guilty of treason than himself, and assured me that 'he would do for you all that lay in his power, '&c (16).'

(16) Life, as above, p. 25.

[*M*] *And landed at Hamburgh, July 8, 1644.*] Shortly after the treaty of Uxbridge, the Parliaments of England and Scotland made this one of their preliminary demands, That Bishop Bramhall, together with Archbishop Laud, &c. should be excepted out of the general pardon. This was accordingly done, in an ordinance of indemnity, passed by the Rump-Parliament in 1652 (†).

(†) Dugdale's View, &c. p. 741.

[*N*] *And after having undergone several dangers and difficulties.*] All the while he was there, he had his life continually in his hand, being in perils by the Irish, in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by false brethren. At Limerick, the Earl of Roscomon had such a fall coming down a pair of stairs, that he lived only so long to declare his faith (at Bishop Bramhall's instance) as it is professed in the Church of England; which gave such offence to the Romanists there, who would have reported he died a Papist, if he had not spoke at all, that they threatned the Bishop's death, if he did not suddenly depart the town. At Portumnagh, indeed, he and such as went with him enjoyed afterwards more freedom under the Marquis of Clanrickard's protection, and an allowance of the Church-service: but, at the revolt of Cork, he had a very narrow deliverance, which Cromwell was so troubled at, that he declared he would have given a good sum of money for that *Irish Canterbury* (17).

(17) Ibid. p. 27, 28.

[*O*] *Narrowly escaped thence in a little bark.*] This escape of his is accounted very wonderful. For, the little bark he was in, was closely hunted by two of the Parliament-

parts, providence supplied him with a considerable sum of money, of which he greatly stood in need (x). For having had seven hundred pounds long due to him, for salmon caught in the river Bann (y), and sent abroad, which debt he looked upon as lost; he was now so fortunate as to recover it: which proved a seasonable relief, both to him, and to many royalists that partook of his generosity. During this second time of his being abroad, he had many disputes about religion with the learned of all nations, sometimes occasionally, and at other times by appointment and formal challenge; and writ several things in defence of the Church of England (z). He likewise purposed to draw a parallel between the liturgy of the Church of England, and the publick forms of the Protestant Churches; and for that end designed a journey into Spain; but he met with an unexpected diversion in his first day's journey into that kingdom (a) [P]. At the same time, there was a great friendship and correspondence between him and the Marquis of Montrose, whose cause he often recommended to the favour and justice of foreign Princes (b). Upon the restoration of the Church and Monarchy, Bishop Bramhall returned to England (c); and was, from the first, designed for some higher promotion. Most people imagined it would be the archbishoprick of York; but at last he was appointed Archbishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland (d) [Q], to which he was translated the eighteenth of January, 1660-61 (e). Not long after, he consecrated, in one day, Dr Margetson, Archbishop of Dubin; Dr Pullen, of Tuam; and the following ten Bishops, Dr Boyle, Bishop of Cork; Dr Parker, of Elfin; Dr Jeremy Taylor, of Down; Syng, of Lymerick; Price, of Leighlin; Baker, of Waterford; Wild, of Derry; Lesly, of Drommore; Worth, of Killalow; and Hall, of Killala. The ceremony was performed in the cathedral church of St Patrick, Dublin, the Lords-Justices and Council attending (f). In this same year, he visited his diocese, where he found great disorder; some having committed horrible outrages, and many imbibed very strong prejudices, both against his person, and the doctrine and discipline of the Church: but by lenity and reproof, by argument, persuasion, and long suffering, he gained upon them even beyond his own expectation. He used to say, men must have some time to return to their wits, that had been so long out of them. Therefore, by his prudence and moderation he greatly softened the spirit of opposition, and effectually obtained the point he aimed at (g) [R]. As he was, by his place, President of the Convocation which met the eighth of May 1661, so was he also, for his merit, chosen Speaker of the House of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the same time [S]. And so great a value had both Houses for him, that they appointed Committees, to examine what was upon record in their books,

(x) Life, &c. p. 27, 28.

(y) Where there is a fine salmon-fishery belonging to the Bishop of London-derry.—The Bishop had also some relief from the Lord Scudamore. See View of the Churches of Derry, &c. Lond. 1727, 4to, by Mr Gibson, p. 110.

(z) See below, note [U]; and Life, p. 29, &c.

(a) Life, &c. p. 33; and Works, p. 511.

(b) Life, p. 29.

(c) In October 1660. Publick Intelligence, 4to.

(d) Ibid. p. 34.

(e) Sir James Ware's Works, as above.

(f) Ware's Works, in the Lives of those respective Prelates; and Life, as above, p. 35.

(g) Life, &c. as above, p. 35, 36.

Parliament-frigates, many of which were on that coast, and when they were come so near, that all hopes of being saved were taken away; on a sudden, the wind slackened into a perfect calm, and as it were flew into the sails of the little vessel, and carried her away in view (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 28.

[P] *But he met with an unexpected diversion in his first day's journey into that kingdom.*] For he no sooner came into the house where he intended to refresh himself, but he was known and called by his name by the hostess. And his Lordship admiring at his being discovered, she soon revealed the secret and shewed him his own picture, and assured him there were several of them upon the road, that being known by them, he might be seized and carried to the Inquisition; and that her husband among others had power to that purpose, which he would certainly make use of, if he found him. The Bishop saw evidently he was a condemned man, being already hanged *in effigie*, and therefore made use of the advertisement, and escaped out of the power of that Court (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 33.

[Q] *Archbishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland.*] The author of his life observes (20), That 'no man could be more acceptable to the Clergy 'there, because none so fit to repair the breaches of 'the Church, by knowing to what part every stone 'and every piece of timber belonged, as this skilful 'Architect; who by assigning the proper place for 'every thing, had the satisfaction to see the building rise suddenly out of it's ashes, without the noise 'of hammer, or any contradiction; the authority 'of his person and of his judgment silenced all the 'opposition, which one of less veneration might possibly have met with. All men's expectations were 'fixed on him, and many of the prime Nobility and 'Clergy in England, particularly the Queen of Bohemia, congratulated the Church's happiness in his 'promotion.'

(20) Page 34.

[R] *And effectually obtained the point he aimed at.*] We have one instance of his prudence, in turning the edge of the most popular objection of that time against Conformity. When the benefices were called over at the visitation, several appeared, and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late powers. He told them, 'they were no legal titles, but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to 'make such to them by institution and induction; 'which they thankfully accepted of.'—— But when he desired to see their letters of orders, some had no other, but their certificates of ordination by some Presbyterian classes, which, he told them, did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. Whereupon the question arose, 'Are we not Ministers of the Gospel?' To which his Grace answered, That is not the question, at least, he desired for peace sake, that might not be the question for that time. 'I 'dispute not, said he, the value of your ordination, 'nor those acts you have exercised by virtue of it; 'what you are, or might be here when there was no 'law, or in other Churches abroad. But we are now 'to consider ourselves as a national Church limited by 'law, which among other things takes chief care to 'prescribe about ordination: and I do not know how 'you could recover the means of the Church, if any 'should refuse to pay you your tithes, if you are not 'ordained as the law of this Church requireth; and 'I am desirous that she may have your labours, and 'you such portions of her revenue, as shall be allotted 'you in a legal and assured way.' By this means he gained such as were learned and sober (21).

(21) Life, &c. p. 35, 36.

[S] *Chosen Speaker of the House of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the same time.*] The author of his life observes (22), that it is not easy to say, which of the two places he filled best, whether the Statesman or Divine shined with greater brightness. He had a judgment so clear, and a speech so plain and persuasive, that he could readily unravel any intricacy, and divide all the parts of the controversy into their proper sides, so that the heavier scale would easily shew itself. In short, he so moderated and stated all questions that arose, that few assemblies can boast of so great an interest being disputed with so little noise (tho' there wanted not some) in those kind of arguments wherein men are not usually the most silent.

(22) Page 37.

books, concerning him and the Earl of Strafford, and ordered the scandalous charges against them to be torn out, which was accordingly done. In this Parliament, many advantages were procured, and more designed, for the Church, in which Archbishop Bramhall was very industrious. Several of the Bishops obtained their augmentations through his intercession; as likewise the inferior clergy the forfeited impropriate tithes; and the whole Church, all the advantageous clauses in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. There were two bills, for the passing of which he took great pains, but was defeated in both; one was, for making the tithing-table of Ulster the rule for the whole kingdom; the other, for enabling the Bishops to make leases for sixty years (*b*). About this time he had a violent sickness, being the second fit of a palsey, which was very near putting an end to his life, but he recovered. Before his death, he was intent upon a royal visitation, in order to the correction of some disorders he had observed, and the better settlement of Ministers upon their cures, by a more convenient distribution or union of parishes, and the building of churches (*i*): but he could not put this, and some other designs he had formed in execution. A little before his death he visited his diocese, and having provided for the repair of his cathedral, and other affairs suitable to his pastoral office, he returned to Dublin about the middle of May 1663. The latter end of the month following, he was seized with the third fit of the palsey [*T*], which quickly put an end to his life. By his wife, mentioned above, he had four children, a son, and three daughters. The son, Sir Thomas Bramhall, Bart. married the daughter of Sir Paul Davys, Knt, Clerk of the Council, and died without issue. Of the daughters; the eldest married Sir James Graham, son to the Earl of Monteith; the second to Alderman Foxteath of Droghedah; and the third to Standish Hartstrong, Esq; Among other benefactions, the Archbishop left a legacy of five hundred pounds for the repair of the cathedral of Armagh, and St Peter's at Droghedah (*k*). We shall give an account of his works in the note [*U*]. With regard to his person and character; he was of a middle stature

(*b*) Ibid. p. 37, 38.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 39.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 39, 42, 43.

[*T*] *The latter end of June, he was seized with the third fit of the palsey.*] He had then a tryal for some part of his temporal estate, at Omagh, with Sir Audley Mervyn, depending in the Court of Claimes; and there, at the time of hearing, the third fit of the palsey so smote him, that he sunk in the Court, was carried out senseless, and continued so, 'till death finished his work. Had the cause been unjust, as the author of his life observes (23), or adjudged against him, some censorious spirits, would not have spared to have made left-hand judgments, from the circumstances of his death; but his right so appeared on the argument, that he was a conqueror in his death, and victory and honour waited on him to the grave.

(23) Page 42.

[*U*] *We shall give an account of his works, &c.*] They were most of them published at different times. But they were all reprinted at Dublin, in the year 1677, in one volume folio, under this title: 'The Works of 'the Most Reverend Father in God, John Bramhall, 'D. D. late Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh, Primate 'and Metropolitan of all Ireland. Some of which 'never before printed. Collected into one volume. 'To which is added (for the vindication of some of 'his writings) an exact copy of the records, touching 'Archbishop Parker's consecration, taken from the 'original, in the registry of the See of Canterbury. 'As also, the copy of an old manuscript, in Corpus-'Christi college in Cambridge, of the same subject.' This volume is divided into four tomes, or parts. Tome I. containeth the discourses against the Romanists, viz. 1. 'An Answer to M. De la Militiere. 'his impertinent Dedication of his imaginary Tri-'umph; [intituled *The Victory of Truth*] or his 'Epistle to the King of Great-Britain, [King 'Charles II.] wherein he inviteth His Majesty to 'forsake the Church of England, and to embrace the 'Roman-Catholick religion.' With the said Militiere's Epistle prefixed. This was first published at the Hague, in 1654. 12*mo.* but not by the author. The occasion of it was, That the Romanists endeavoured to persuade King Charles II. during his exile, to hope his restoration, by embracing their Religion; and, for that purpose, employed M. de la Militiere, Counsellor in ordinary to the King of France, to write him this epistle (24). 2. 'A just Vindication of the Church 'of England, from the unjust Aspersion of criminal 'Schism. Wherein the nature of criminal Schism, 'the divers sorts of Schismaticks, the Liberties and 'Privileges of National Churches, the Rights of 'Sovereign Magistrates, the Tyranny, Extortion, and 'Schism of the Roman Court, with the Grievances, 'Complaints, and Opposition of all Princes and States 'of the Roman Communion of old, and at this very 'day, are manifested to the view of the World.' First printed at London, 1661. 8*vo.* In this Discourse he proves (25), That the separation from the Court of Rome was not made by Protestants, but Roman Catholicks themselves. That the Britannick Churches, were ever exempted from all foreign jurisdiction for the first six hundred years; and had both sufficient authority, and sufficient grounds, to withdraw their obedience from Rome (26). 3. 'A Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon's [Richard Smith] 'Survey of the Vindication of the Church of England, 'from criminous Schism. Clearing the English from 'the Aspersion of Cruelty. With an Appendix, in 'answer to the Exceptions of S. W.' Printed at first, with *A just Vindication*, &c. 4. 'Schism guarded, 'and beaten back upon the right Owners. Shewing, 'That our great Controversie about Papal Power, is 'not a Question of Faith, but of Interest and Profit, 'not with the Church of Rome, but with the Court 'of Rome, wherein the true Controversie doth con-'sist, who were the first Innovators, when, and where, 'these Papal Innovations first began in England, with 'the opposition that was made against them.' This is an answer to a book intituled, *Schism Dispatched*, by S. W. *i. e.* William Serjeant. And, among other things, our author proves, That the Pope hath no legislative, nor judiciary, power in England (27). 5. 'The Consecration and Succession of Protestant 'Bishops justified. The Bishop of Duresme vindi-'cated. And that infamous Fable, of the Ordination 'at the Nag's-head, clearly confuted.' This is an answer, to a calumny of two Jesuits, Father Talbot, and Father B——, against our author. And the Bishop of Durham here vindicated, is Bishop Morton, who was charged by the same Fathers, 'in 1640, when 'some Presbyterian Lords presented to the Upper-'House a book, proving, that the Protestant Bishops 'had no succession or consecration, and therefore were 'no Bishops——to have made a speech against 'that book; and endeavoured to prove succession from 'the last Catholick Bishops, who, by imposition of 'hands, ordained the first Protestant Bishops, at the 'Nag's-head in Cheapside.'——In opposition to which, Bishop Morton, and such of the spiritual and temporal Lords, as were in the House in 1640, and still living in 1658, made solemn protestations (inserted in this book) 'That no such book was ever presented, nor 'such a speech made by Bishop Morton.'——Tome II. Against the English Sectaries; comprehends, 1. 'A 'Fair Warning to take heed of the Scotish Discipline, 'as being of all others, most injurious to the Civil Ma-'gistrate, most oppressive to the subject, most perni-'cious to both.' Written in the beginning of the civil wars. 2. 'The Serpent salve: or, a Remedy for the 'biting of an Aspe. Wherein the Observator's Grounds 'are

(24) Life, &c. as above, p. 29, 30.

(25) Ch. iii.

(26) Ch. v. and vi.

(27) Sect. I. ch. 6, 7.

ſtature and active, but his mein and preſence not altogther ſo great as his endowments of mind. His complexion highly ſanguine, pretty deeply tinctured with choler, which in his declining years became predominant, and would ſometimes overflow, not without ſome tartneſs of expreſſion, but it proceeded no further (*l*). As he was a great lover of plain-dealing, and plain-ſpeaking (*m*), ſo his converſation was free and familiar, patient of any thing in diſcourſe but obſtinacy; his ſpeech ready and intelligible, ſmooth and ſtrong, free from affectation of phraſe or phancy, ſaying, it was a boyiſh ſport to hunt for words, and argued a penury of matter, which would always find expreſſion for itſelf. His underſtanding was very good, and greatly improved by labour and ſtudy. As a ſcholar; his excellency lay in the rational and argumentative part of learning. He was alſo well acquainted with eccleſiaſtical and other Hiſtories; and in the pulpit an excellent perſuaſive orator. He was a firm friend to the Church of England, bold in the defence of it, and patient in ſuffering for it. Yet he was very far from any thing like bigotry. He had a great allowance and charity for men of different perſuaſions, looking upon thoſe churches as in a tottering condition that ſtood upon nice opinions. And accordingly, he made a diſtinction between articles neceſſary for peace and order, and thoſe that are neceſſary to ſalvation. And he often declared, That the Church was not to be healed but by general propoſitions (*n*).

(*l*) Ibid. p. 43.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 21.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 43.

'are diſcuſſed, *&c.*' written dialogue-wiſe, and in vindication of King Charles I wherein the author endeavours to prove, that power is not originally inherent in, and derived from, the people, *&c.* firſt printed in 1643. 3. 'Biſhop Bramhall's vindication of himſelf, 'and the Epiſcopal Clergy, from the Preſbyterian 'Charge of Popery, as it is managed by Mr Baxter, in 'his Treatiſe of the Grotian Religion.'—Tome III. againſt Mr Hobbes. 1. 'A Defence of true Liberty, 'from antecedent and extrinſecal Neceſſity. Being an 'anſwer to a late book of Mr Thomas Hobbes of 'Malmſbury, intituled, A Treatiſe of Liberty and 'Neceſſity.' Firſt printed in 1656, *4to.* 2. 'Caſtigations of Mr Hobbes his laſt Animadverſions, 'in the Caſe concerning Liberty, and univerſal 'Neceſſity.' Firſt printed in 1658. 3. 'The catching of Leviathan: or, the Great Whale. Demonſtrating out of Mr Hobbes his own Works, That no 'man who is thoroughly an Hobbiſt, can be a good 'Chriſtian, or a good Commonwealth's man, or reconcile himſelf to himſelf. Becauſe his Principles 'are not only deſtructive to all Religion, but to all 'Societies; extinguiſhing the relation between Prince 'and Subject, Parent and Child, Maſter and Servant, 'Huſband and Wife; and abound with palpable contradictions.'—Tome IV. contains, 1. 'The controverſies about the Sabbath, and the Lord's day; 'with their reſpective obligations. Clearly, ſuccinctly, 'and impartially ſtated, diſcuſſed, and determined.' 2. 'A Sermon preached in York-Minſter, before his 'Excellency the Marquis of Newcaſtle, being then 'ready to meet the Scotch army, Jan. 28. 1643.' Printed firſt at York 1643. 3. 'A Sermon preached 'at Dublin, upon the twenty-third of April 1661, being the day appointed for his Majeſties coronation; 'with two ſpeeches made in the Houſe of Peers, the 'eleventh of May 1661, when the Houſe of Commons 'preſented their Speaker.' 4. 'The right way to 'Safety after Shipwrack: in a Sermon preached to the 'Honourable Houſe of Commons, in St Patrick's 'Church, Dublin June 16. 1661. at their ſolemn receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament.' 5. 'A ſhort Diſcourſe to Sir Henry de Vic, about a paſſage at his 'table, after the chriſtening of his daughter Anne 'Charlott; Of perſons dying without Baptiſm (28).' 6. 'An Anſwer to two Papers brought him June the 'nineteenth, 1645:' about the Proteſtants Ordination, '*&c.*' 7. 'Proteſtants Ordination defended, *&c.* or, 'An Anſwer to the twentieth chapter of the Guide of 'Faith: or, The third part of the Antidote of S. N. 'Doctour of Divinity.'—He had likewiſe prepared an hundred ſermons for the preſs, but they were torne by the rats before his death. C

(28) See above, in the text of this article.

BRAY (THOMAS), Doctor of Divinity, an eminent, learned, and pious Divine of the XVIIth century, was born at Morton in Shropſhire in 1656; his parents were perſons of good reputation, and inhabitants of that place (*a*). His infancy diſcovering promiſing parts, he was early ſent to the ſchool at Oſweſtry in the ſame county. His cloſe application to ſchool-learning, ſoon qualified him for a remove, and determined his parents to dedicate him to religion and learning; accordingly, he was entered of Hart-hall in Oxford. Here he ſoon made a conſiderable proficiency in Divinity, as well as other ſtudies neceſſary for the profeſſion for which he was intended, but labouring under the common diſadvantages of a narrow fortune, his circumſtances not permitting a longer reſidence at Oxford, he left the univerſity ſoon after he had commenced Bachelor of Arts (*b*); much about which time he entered into Holy Orders, and the firſt pariſh wherein Providence placed him to exerciſe his ſpiritual function, was near Bridgenorth in Shropſhire, his native county, from which curacy he ſoon removed into Warwickſhire, officiating as chaplain in Sir Thomas Price's family, of Park-hall, and had the donative of Lac Marſin given him by Sir Thomas, which proved a very advantageous change of ſituation for him, for living now in the neighbourhood of Coleſhill, his exemplary behaviour, and diſtinguiſhed diligence in his calling, introduced him into the acquaintance of Mr Kettlewell, Sir Charles Holt, and the Lord Simon Digby. One incident which contributed to eſtabliſh his character at this juncture, was his preaching the aſſize ſermon at Warwick, on which occaſion Mr Bray, though but young, acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the whole audience, particularly the Lord Digby, who was afterwards pleaſed to honour him with many proofs of his friendſhip and eſteem [*A*], recommending him

(*a*) The Life and Deſigns of the Rev. Mr Thomas Bray, 1746.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Recommending him to the worthy and honourable patronage of his brother the preſent Lord Digby.*] For Mr Bray eſteemed it not the leaſt honour and happineſs of his life to be preferred by ſuch a patron as Lord Digby, who was never determined by any other conſideration, in the diſpoſal of preſentations, than of chuſing the moſt uſeful perſons to ſerve in the church, and ſuch as he was perſuaded would make the diſcharge of their duty the ultimate end of their views; an obſervation not a little to Mr Bray's credit, as well as to the honour of my Lord Digby, in an age wherein moſt patrons are governed by party-zeal, ſelf-intereſt, or the powerful ſollicitations of friends and relations; of this Mr Bray was ſo truly ſenſible, that he never mentioned his

him to the worthy and honourable patronage of his brother the present Lord Digby, who some time after gave him the vicarage of Over-Whitacre in the same county, since augmented by his patron's uncommon generosity of endowing it with the great tythes. In the year 1690, the rectory of Sheldon being vacant by Mr Digby Bull's refusing to take the oaths at the Revolution, his Lordship presented Mr Bray to it, which preferment he held 'till about a quarter of a year before his death, when he resigned it by reason of his advanced age, and the known worth and abilities of his appointed successor (*c*). Dec. 12, 1693, he took his Master of Arts degree, in Hart-hall in the university of Oxford (*d*). In this parish of Sheldon he composed his Catechetical Lectures, a work which met with general approbation and encouragement [*B*], the publication of which, the first fruits of his piety and learning, drew him out of his rural privacy to London, and introduced him into a more conspicuous and remarkable scene of action; for the reputation Mr Bray had acquired by these Catechetical Lectures, and the other shining qualities with which he adorned his function, immediately determined Dr Compton, Bishop of London, to pitch upon him as a proper person to model the infant Church of Maryland, and establish it upon a solid foundation [*C*]. Accordingly, in April 1696, he proposed to Mr Bray, to go on the terms of having the judicial office of Commissary, valued, as was represented to him, at four hundred pounds *per annum*, conferred upon him, for his support in that service (*e*). Mr Bray, disregarding his own interest, and the great profit which would have arose from finishing his Course of Lectures on the plan he had formed, soon determined in his own mind, that there might be a greater field for doing good in the Plantations, than by his labours here; being always willing to be so disposed of in any station, as should appear most conducive to the service of God's Church, he no longer demurred to the proposal, than to enquire into the state of the country, and inform himself what was most wanting to excite good Ministers to embark in that design, as well as enable them most effectually to promote it. With this view he laid before the Bishops the following considerations: —That none but the poorer sort of clergy could be persuaded to leave their friends, and change their native country for one so remote.—That such persons could not be able sufficiently to supply themselves with books; that without such a competent provision of books, they could not answer the design of their mission; — that a library would be the best encouragement to studious and sober men to undertake the service; and that, as the great inducement to himself to go, would be to do the most good he could be capable of doing, he therefore proposed to their Lordships, that if they thought fit to encourage and assist him in providing parochial libraries, for the Ministers that should be sent, he would then accept of the Commissary's office in Maryland; this proposal for parochial libraries being well approved of by the Bishops, and due encouragement being promised in the prosecution of the design, both by their Lordships and others, he set himself with all possible application to provide Missionaries, and to furnish them with libraries, intending, as soon as he should have sent both, to follow after himself (*f*). But, upon his accepting of this employment of Commissary of Maryland, it fell to his share to sollicit at home whatever other matters related to that Church, more particularly to the settlement and establishment thereof, which, with all other matters conducing to the good and welfare of the Church, he laboured to promote with unwearied diligence, and spared neither expence nor trouble. Of this the reader may find more particulars in note [*D*]. But, above all, it

(*c*) Ibid. ut supra.

(*d*) A Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates in Law, Physick, Divinity, &c. in Oxford, from 1689 to 1726.

(*e*) The Monthly Chronicle for February, 1730.

(*f*) The Life of Dr Bray, &c.

his noble benefactor without the utmost gratitude for his own obligations, and profoundest veneration for all his excellent qualities. My Lord, on the other hand, shewed the great esteem he had for Mr Bray, by not only presenting him with the livings of Over-Whitacre and Sheldon, but by augmenting and endowing the first, for his sake, with the great tythes; as laudable and uncommon an example, as his disinterestedness in his presentations.

[*B*] *His Catechetical Lectures, a work which met with general approbation and encouragement.*] Was so well received, and generally circulated, that three thousand proved not too great a number for the first impression. It was esteemed by many of the first distinction in the Church, as the most accurate performance extant on that subject, and was dedicated to that learned prelate William Lloyd, then Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, by whose persuasion, and even *authoritative injunctions*, it was published (1), and of whose favour and esteem Mr Bray had a more than ordinary share. There was soon a demand for the second impression, by both of which, at a very reasonable price, he cleared upwards of seven hundred pounds; nor had he room to doubt of a much greater advantage from the succeeding parts, so fast did the subscriptions come in for the second volume, which was in the press, but was superseded for another undertaking.

(1) His Dedication to his Catechetical Lectures, p. 1, 3. 1696.

[*C*] *Determined the Bishop of London to pitch upon him to model,* &c.] In the year 1691, and 1692, the then Governor and Assembly of Maryland, divided that province into parishes, and establish'd a legal maintenance for the respective ministers. In the month of October 1695, they took into consideration, the expediency of having some one Clergyman to preside over the rest; and, in order to support some such superintendant Commissary or Suffragan, they unanimously agreed in a petitionary act to their then Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to annex for ever, the judicial office of Commissary, before in the disposal of the Governor, to that which is purely ecclesiastical, and at the appointment of the Bishop of London, to whom they wrote to desire him to send them over some unexceptionable experienced Clergyman for the intended office (2).

(2) The Life and Designs of Thomas Bray.

[*D*] *It fell to his share to sollicit,* &c.] It happened, that the law for the establishment of the Church of Maryland, having been sent over for the Royal Assent, was rejected on account of a clause, whereby it was enacted, *that the great Charter of England should be kept and observed, in all points, within the said province*; being a clause of another nature, than was set forth in the title of the said law; and the Bishop of London having obtained, at Council, that instructions should be given to have another bill formed, and passed into an act, with promise that it should be confirmed, if formed and passed according to these instructions. Mr Bray, with the advice of his Lordship, and others well skilled in plantation-affairs, got a bill drawn up according to the instructions, and transmitted it to Maryland to be re-enacted in the succeeding Assembly.

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it was his greatest care, to endeavour to send over to Maryland and the other colonies, pious men of exemplary lives and conversations [*E*], and to furnish out those whom he had a hand in sending, with good libraries of necessary and useful books, to render them capable of answering the ends of their mission, and instructing the people in all things necessary to their salvation: and these truly found him employment enough, though, on account of the more than ordinary service such a magazine of divine knowledge might be of, he could never be brought to regret the undertaking, however chargeable as well as laborious it proved; one half of either cost or pains in which it engaged him, must have discouraged any one, less sensible to the impressions of a religious zeal, from prosecuting it. His only comfort was, that the libraries he had begun and advanced more or less in all the provinces on the Continent, and in most of the islands of America, as also in the factories in Africa, did not only serve the then Ministers with whom they were first sent, but by the care of some of the governments, and by Acts of Assembly, settling the rules he had prescribed for their use and preservation, they might be also of advantage to many succeeding generations. The sense of the clergy and inhabitants, with respect to this, was testified by the solemn letters of thanks, returned him from the Assemblies of Maryland, from the vestries of Boston and Bantrie in New-England, from Newfoundland, Rhode-Island, New-York, Philadelphia, North-Carolina, Bermudas, and by the acknowledgments of the Royal African Company, on account of those procured for their factories. About the same time it was, that the Secretary of Maryland, Sir Thomas Lawrence, with Mr Bray, waited on the then Princess of Denmark, in behalf of that province, humbly to request her gracious acceptance of the Govornor's and country's dutiful respects, in having denominated the metropolis of the province, then but lately built, from her Royal Highness's name, *Annapolis*; and the latter being soon after favoured with a noble benefaction from the same royal hand, towards his libraries in America, he dedicated the primier library in those parts, fixed at Annapolis, and which has books of the choicest kind belonging to it, to the value of four hundred pounds, to her memory, by the title of the *Annapolitan Library*, which words were inscribed on the several books, as well in gratitude to her Majesty, as for the better prevention of loss or embezzlement (*g*). Another design was also set on foot, much about the same time, by Dr Bray, having a reference to some service at home as well as abroad, which was to raise lending libraries in every deanery [*F*] throughout England and Wales, out of which the neighbouring Clergy might

(*g*) Ibid.

In the mean time, 'till the return of the new act, from Maryland, to be confirmed by the Sovereign, he was wholly and fully employed under the Bishop of London, in enquiring out and providing Missionaries, to be sent into that Province, on a presumption, that the establishment of the Church might be, at last, obtained; and also into the other Colonies on the Continent of America, and into most of the Islands, several of which had never before enjoyed any standing ministry (3).

(3) The Life of Designs of Thomas Bray, D. D.

In the year 1696, the law for establishing and endowing the church, was re-enacted in Maryland, and came over a second time, to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, together with a most humble address to be presented to his Majesty, in behalf of the said law, requesting the royal confirmation. But it being found, that this second law also, contrary to the instructions, contained in it a clause of a different nature, by declaring *all the laws in England to be in force in Maryland*; it was thought adviseable not to sollicit the Royal Assent to it, as being sure it would be rejected, for the same reason as the former, and then the Church's maintenance would wholly drop; and, in the mean time, it being promised at Court, that the then law, such as it was, should remain unrepealed 'till another should be sent over, agreeable to the royal instructions; the Doctor (†) wrote to the Province to have it revised and re-enacted, according to the former instructions, signifying to them, that otherwise it would never pass.

(†) Mr Bray had then taken his Doctor's degree.

[*E*] *But above all, it was his greatest care to endeavour to send over to Maryland, and the other Colonies, pious men of exemplary lives and conversations.*] Of which we shall, in this note, present our reader with an instance or two. Among other Missionaries sent at this time with Libraries, Mr Bray procured, and presented to the Bishop of London, two men as pious and happy in their conduct, as could have been found; one, Mr Clayton, sent to Philadelphia in Pensilvania; the other, Mr Marshal, sent into Charles-Town in Carolina. Neither of these worthy persons found, at their entrance, above fifty of our communion to make up their congregation, and yet both approved themselves so well to the inhabitants of their respective places, that in two years time the congregation at Philadelphia, the metropolis of the Quakers, was increased to seven hundred, and an handsome church was erected; and at Charles-Town, to near as many; where, out of respect to Mr Marshal, a new brick house for his better accommodation, a fine plantation, with a perpetual stock of two Negro-servants and two cows, with 150*l.* a year, were settled upon them, and their successors, for ever. Both these worthy persons died in about two years after their arrival, of contagious distempers, which they had taken in the execution of their duty, and in visiting the sick, leaving most amiable characters behind them. The libraries Mr Bray sent with these gentlemen, continue to their successors; and he did, at several times afterwards, procure and make considerable additions to them, as he did to most others both in America and Africa (4).

(4) Life, &c. of Tho. Bray, D. D.

[*F*] *To raise lending libraries in every Deanery.*] Dr Bray may be, perhaps, here censured for concerning himself in carrying on this affair at home, at the same time that he was engaged to promote a foreign charity. But the good man's inducement to it, as he has been heard to declare, was first, because having never, for his own part, enjoyed in the Church what would enable him to furnish himself with a sufficient stock of necessary and useful books, to qualify himself for his profession; he became, thereby, more sensible of the wants of his brethren in like circumstances. Secondly, That in his sollicitation, for benefactions to libraries in the Plantations, he often met with answers to this effect: That we had poor cures, and poor parsons enough in England, and that charity began at home: Now he thought it not amiss to strike the nail that would drive, and to give such answerers an opportunity of exercising their beneficence to the Church, in the way to which they were most inclined; and, therefore, without the least interruption of his endeavours for the Plantations, he set on foot this design also at home; and as those libraries were intended for the clergy to meet and confer in, rather than their private houses, which would cause expence, or publick houses, which, besides the expence, might give scandal; so if the same topicks were made the subject of their conversation, as had been resolved on in the first library of that kind, which was founded by a noble Lord, his neighbour and patron already mentioned, the Doctor could not imagine what could be better pursued, in order to keep the country clergy to their rule, and close to their duty, and thereby to advance their character and reputation, and to create a due veneration towards them; the resolutions they formed were these: That they will meet in

might borrow the books they had occasion for, and where they might consult upon matters relating to their function, and to learning. And many lending libraries were thereupon founded in several parts of the kingdom, besides above a hundred and fifty parochial ones in Great Britain and the plantations, from ten to fifty pounds value, those in South Britain being afterwards secured to posterity, by an Act of Parliament passed for that purpose in 1708 (*). Soon after, upon the repeated instances of the Governor and some of the country, Mr Bray was at the charge of taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which degree, though it might be of some use, with respect to his having a better respect paid to the Church as well as himself, did, however, then but ill comport with his circumstances. He took his degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, and Doctor, together, by accumulation, not of Hart-hall where he was entered, but of Magdalen-college, Dec. 17, 1696 (*b*), immediately following, the better to promote his main design of libraries, and to give the Missionaries directions in prosecuting their [illegible] logical studies, he published two books, one intituled, *Bibliotheca Parochialis* [G]. or,

(*) See note [*F*], and the Monthly Chron. for Feb. 1730, Vol. III. p. 33.

(*b*) A Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates, in Law, Physick, Divinity, &c. in Oxford, from 1659 to 1726, &c.

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in the library monthly, or oftener, to consider, or confer upon ways and means of augmenting the same with the best books: also to consult upon the best methods of furnishing the common people with small practical and devotional tracts; of principling the children and youth with catechetical instructions; for erecting schools for the education of poor children; of getting the laws put in execution against profaneness and immorality; and by what other means they can best discharge their pastoral care and duty, and promote public good: And, in order to their better knowledge of the duties of their function, and forming no other resolutions but what shall be agreeable to the constitution of our Church, that at every meeting they will read over some part, and that successively, 'till they shall go thro' the whole, of their ordination vows, of the articles, rubricks, and canons of the Church, of the royal injunctions and proclamations, and acts of Parliament, ordered to be read in churches, those especially against profaneness and immorality; and, lastly, the articles of enquiry exhibited at both episcopal and archidiaconal visitations, and that as well to furnish themselves with proper and suitable matter for their conversation there, instead of news and other impertinences, as the better to know their duty, and take the best measures about it.

Now, had Dr Bray had nothing farther in view in his essay, to promote necessary and useful knowledge, at home as well as abroad, than to represent the miserable want of books among the parochial Clergy throughout the kingdom, the ill consequences of such want both to themselves and people, and the easiest method to supply it by means of lending libraries, one, at least, in every Deanery, which, if placed in some market-town nearest the centre, the neighbouring Clergy, and others might, without farther trouble than the sending on a market-day, by their own, or a neighbour's servant, borrow at any time, the book they wanted. This alone considered, it seems to be a most laudable design, and the success it has met with is such, that there are not many dioceses in the kingdom, where libraries of this kind are not more or less advanced.

But, in truth, he had something farther in view, than his design of having publick libraries for the parochial Clergy in every Deanery; which was to reduce into practice, and to restore more and more by degrees, the ancient use of rural Deans, and the jurisdiction pertaining to their respective Deaneries, whereby, as an excellent discipline was formerly maintained in our Church, so it might be again, in a good measure, revived.

And, indeed, whoever shall consider the antient constitution of our rural Deaneries, as represented in an extract the Doctor has made from some of our Antiquaries, and how admirably they were fitted for good discipline, and shall compare that with what is already found practicable in the Clergy's meeting at their libraries, spoke of above, he will be apt to conclude, that as her antient discipline is the Church of England's wish, and desire of all good people; so no means seem more likely to restore it, than the having libraries in our several rural Deaneries for the Clergy to meet in, where they may act to such purposes, and according to such powers, as shall be allowed them.

The Doctor observing also, that the Missionaries were often detained several weeks, and sometimes months, in our sea-ports, before they could go off; more especially in time of war, when not only the want of wind, but of convoys, occasioned such stay; and reflecting upon it, as of consequence to them, to have a library in each of the sea-ports, where they usually embark, in which they might study during their stay on shore; and this not only that they might lose no time towards their better improvement, but to prevent also the expence and scandal to which they might be exposed, by sauntring away their time in coffee-houses, or, perhaps, less sober places: But could they have a library in each of those ports, to be in all the time they could spare from their meals, and where they might recreate themselves, after hard study, with the conversation of their brethren, whether Fellow-Missionaries, Sea-Chaplains, or other ingenious passengers or persons; and were the use of those libraries strictly enjoined them at their departure, he presumed, scarcely any thing could contribute more to the advantage, and reputation of our Missions and Missionaries, the ports being generally very loose places, and dangerous for young men to abide in long, and where, without employment, and suitable retirement, they will be much exposed to such temptations as will stain their characters; upon which consideration, and presuming withal, that if the foundation of such sea-port libraries were once laid but by a few books, it would be no great difficulty to obtain such considerable additions from the benefactions of sea officers, who are usually generous enough, as well as from other gentlemen; if the Clergy in such places would be zealous and active in promoting the design, he formed proper proposals for the raising such libraries, obtained some benefactions towards making a beginning, and took with him some books to deposit for that purpose, in each port that should happen in his way; and being detained in three several places in his voyage to Maryland, experienced himself the first use of those libraries he had before projected; he accordingly put the design in execution in each of them, *viz.* at *Gravesend*, *Deal*, and *Plymouth*. He also made a beginning towards establishing parochial catechetical libraries in the Isle of Man.

And now we are upon this head of libraries, we shall consider how far he was also the instrument of establishing them in several of the meaner cures in England and Wales.

In 1703, Dr Bray published an Essay, to shew the incompetent provision in many parishes, thro' a greater part of the kingdom, to enable the Clergy to instruct the people; upon which this excellent work of founding libraries, begun by him, was countenanced, and brought to perfection, by the patronage of the Legislature; for an act of Parliament passed in the seventh year of Queen Anne, intitled, *An Act for the better preservation of parochial libraries in that part of Great-Britain called England* (5). Sir Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was the gentleman who brought the bill into the house, one equally distinguished by his knowledge in Christianity, and zeal for it.

(5) The Life, &c. of Dr Bray.

[*G*] *Bibliotheca parochialis.*] This book being a judicious performance, and of great use, especially to the Clergy, has been much bought up; and notwithstanding there was a second edition of it in 1707, is at present a little hard to be met with. One of his chief designs in this work, as well as a sort of common-place book for the use of the Clergy and others, was in order, as we hinted in the text, to promote the forming and erecting of libraries of three sorts, or degrees, both at home and abroad, *viz.* general, decanal or lending, and

A Scheme of such Theological and other Heads, as seem requisite to be perused, or occasionally consulted by the Rev. Clergy, together with a Catalogue of Books, which may be profitably read on each of those Points, &c. (*i*). The other, *Apostolick Charity, it's Nature and Excellency considered, in a Discourse upon Daniel* xii. 3. *preached at St Paul's, at the Ordination of some Protestant Missionaries to be sent into the Plantations. To which is prefixed, A General View of the English Colonies in America, in order to shew what provision is wanting for the Propagation of Christianity in those Parts, together with Proposals for the promoting the same, and to induce such of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Persons of Sobriety and Abilities, to accept of a Mission* (*k*). During this interval, *viz.* in the year 1697, a bill being brought into the House of Commons to alienate lands given to superstitious uses, and to vest them in Greenwich Hospital, he preferred a petition to the House, that some share thereof might be appropriated, for the propagation of the true religion in the Plantations, and that the same should be vested in a body politick, to be erected for that purpose, which petition was received very well in the house, and a fourth part of all that should be discovered, after one moiety to the discoverer, was readily and unanimously allotted by the Committee for that use, it being thought by far more reasonable, to appropriate some part, at least, of what was given to superstitious uses, to uses truly pious, than altogether to other, though charitable, purposes: but the bill was never suffered to be reported. In the year 1698, failing of a publick and settled provision by law, for carrying on the service of the Church in Maryland, and the other plantations, he addressed his Majesty for a grant of some arrears of taxes due to the Crown, and some time after, was obliged to be at the charge and trouble of going over to the King in Holland, to have the grant compleated. The recovery of these arrears of taxes, was represented as very feasible and very valuable, and also without any grievance to the subject; but as they proved troublesome to be recovered, so scarce of any value (*l*). All designs failing of getting a publick fund for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, he thereupon formed a design, whereof he then drew the plan, of having a Protestant congregation, *pro fide propaganda*, by charter from the King. But things did not seem ripe enough to encourage him to proceed at that time in the attempt, and so he laid it aside 'till a more favourable opportunity. However, to prepare the way for such charter-society, he soon after made it his endeavours, to find worthy persons ready to form a voluntary society, both to carry on the service already begun for the Plantations, and to propagate Christian knowledge as well at home as abroad, hoping afterwards to get such a society incorporated (†). This he laid before the Bishop of London, in the year 1697, and a Society was constituted on this plan, and

(*i*) Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis, title-page, 1707.

(*k*) The Life and Designs of Dr Tho. Bray, p. 16.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

(†) Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, p. 33.

and parochial libraries (7). How far this design had been already advanced, and how practicable it was to bring it to perfection, was intended to have been added to it in a prefatory account (8), setting forth also the history, nature, and use of libraries; but these articles making a good many sheets, were too much to be added to the second edition of this first volume, as it was already swelled, by great additions, to a very large octavo; and as the nature and design of this book had already, in a good measure, been understood and explained, by means of the introduction prefixed to the first edition; they were therefore deferred 'till the publication, and to be prefixed to the second volume, which he tells us (9), was, in a manner, ready for the press; however, we do not find he ever published it, tho' he has given us twenty pages, in an analytical table, of all the heads, both general and particular, or a complete view of the contents of it, which are the several species, or sorts, of history, *viz. Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Personal* or *Biography*; *Topographical, secret, fabulous, various*, and *miscellaneous History* appendent to each, taking in, as preparative, *Geography, Voyages, Travels*, and *Chronology* (10). Having mentioned Biography here, it cannot be thought improper, in a work of this nature, to quote a passage from him, in which he gives us his sentiments of it with respect to religion.

'It will be generally agreed by all who are conversant in books, that there is no part of history more useful and entertaining than Biography; or, the lives of persons eminent in any way or profession: But it is certain, when the lives of persons of any rank or station, either in Church or State; or, indeed, those of inferior condition, who have been illustrious for their uncommon virtue, and more exalted piety; come to be drawn out by a skilful hand, wherein their conflicts with an evil world, their triumphs over the various and mighty temptations of it, and their conduct thro' all the difficulties of their station in it; when these come to be advantageously set forth, and proposed for imitation, they will unquestionably afford great light in steering the course of our own lives; they must kindle noble desires in us to a virtuous emulation, and yield us a powerful support under our sorest trials, by letting us see, that when we are oppressed with sufferings, and crossed in the worthiest undertakings, we are not yet the most forlorn and forsaken men, since others, who have gone before us, have sustained a like trial of afflictions. And, lastly, these furnish a noble apology for the Christian religion against our modern libertines; since the greatest difficulties, they upbraid it withal, do appear, from those examples, to have been surmounted; and the severest rules of piety are thereby demonstrated to be not only practicable, but pleasant. Nay, they will teach us, with St Paul, to rejoice in sufferings, thro' which our blessed Lord himself was made perfect (11).'

But to return. It seems a matter of no small surprize, that this second volume was never published, as he tells us the first edition of the first volume *had found so kind a Reception from the public, as to occasion the second impression to be very much desired and enquired for* (12). And what he has published at the end of this analytical table, looks as if he had had still further designs than a second volume. It runs thus:

Part II.

'Or, Bibliotheca Parochialis Concionatoria.

Vol. I.

'will be the scheme of a library properly parochial; wherein will be exhibited, a view of such theological heads, as seem more peculiarly requisite to be well studied by every pastor of a parish: Together with a catalogue of books, which will be read upon each of those points.'

Vol. II.

'will be a scheme of concionatory Divinity: Or, a series of all the points in Theology both doctrinal and moral, necessary to be preached upon: And those digested withal in such order, as they do naturally lie: Together with the most considerable tracts and discourses, both ancient and modern; and the most valuable sermons which have been written upon the same (13).

[*H*] Dr

(7) See more about his Libraries under note [*F*].

(8) Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis, title-page.

(9) Bibliotheca Parochialis, Advertisement to the reader.

(10) Bibliotheca Paroch. chap. viii.

(11) Bibliotheca Paroch. p. 28, 29.

(12) Ibid. The end of the Advertisement to the reader.

(13) Ibid. The last page of the Analytical Table of the second Volume.

and though the design of having them incorporated by charter, could not then be brought to bear, yet they still subsisted and acted as a voluntary society; but their number and benefactions at last increasing, a different constitution, and more extensive powers, appeared necessary, for the success of the undertaking: application was therefore made by Dr Bray, to his then Majesty King William, for his royal charter. The Doctor's petition to his Majesty, with other papers relating to the corporation to be erected for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, was read May 5, 1701, and his Majesty's letters patent, under the great-seal of England, for erecting a corporation, by the name of *The Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts*, was laid before the Society, and read the ninth of June following (*m*). See Dr Bray's petition, and more of this, below in note [*H*]. He received no advantage all this time from his Commissary's place in Maryland, neither was any allowance made him at home, or preferment given him, to support the charge of living altogether in town, to sollicit the establishment and endowment of the Church of Maryland, and to provide Missionaries for that, and all the colonies on the Continent; which, except Virginia, lay upon him; all the benefactions that were received being to be laid out to raise them libraries, which also he did faster than money came in to answer the charge, which some of his friends observing, persuaded him to lay his design of going abroad aside, and take two good preferments that were then offered him at home, of as good or better value than what was proposed to him in Maryland, *viz.* that of Sub-Almoner, and the donative of Aldgate in the City of London But he declined all others that were inconsistent with his going to Maryland, as soon as it should become proper for him to take that voyage. By the year 1699, having waited upwards of two years for the return of the Act of Religion from Maryland, with such amendments as would render it without exception at the Court of England (*n*); and it being presumed by his superiors, that it would be requisite the Doctor should now hasten over, as well to encourage the passing of that Act in their Assemblies, as to promote other matters for the service of religion there, it was signified to him from them, that they would have him take the opportunity of the first ship: and indeed, the Doctor having, by this time, tried all ways he could think of, and done all he was able to do here, to serve those parts, and according to proposal having provided Maryland, as also many other colonies, with a competent

(*m*) The Minutes of the Society before, and at the time of the incorporation.

(*n*) See note [*C*].

[*H*] *Dr Bray's petition to his Majesty, and other things, relating to the Society for propagating the Gospel.*]

To the King's most excellent Majesty, the humble petition of *THOMAS BRAY*, D.D.

Humbly sheweth,

'THAT the number of the inhabitants of your Majesty's Provinces in *America*, have, of late years, 'greatly increased; that in many of the Colonies thereof, 'more especially on the Continent, they are in much 'want of instruction in the *Christian Religion*, and in 'some of them, utterly destitute of the same, they not 'being able, of themselves, to raise a sufficient mainte'nance for an orthodox Clergyman to live amongst 'them, and to make such other provision, as shall be 'necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those 'parts.

'Your petitioner farther sheweth, that upon his 'late arrival in England from thence, and his making 'known the aforesaid matters in this city and king'dom, he hath great reason to believe, that many per'sons would contribute as well by legacy, as gift, if 'there were any BODY CORPORATE, and of perpetual 'succession, now in being, and established in this king'dom, proper for the lodging of the said legacies and 'grants therein.

'Now forasmuch as your Majesty hath already been 'graciously pleased, to take the state of the souls of 'your Majesty's subjects in those parts, so far into con'sideration, as to found and endow a royal college in 'Virginia for the religious education of their youth; 'your petitioner is thereby the more encouraged to 'hope your Majesty will also favour any like designs 'and ends, which shall be prosecuted by proper and 'effectual methods.

'Your petitioner, therefore, who has lately been 'among your Majesty's subjects aforesaid, and has seen 'their wants, and knows their desires, is the more em'boldened, humbly to request, that your Majesty would 'be graciously pleased to issue letters patent, to such 'persons as your Majesty shall think fit, thereby consti'tuting them a BODY POLITICK and CORPORATE, and 'to grant them, and their successors, such powers, privi'leges, and immunities, as your Majesty, in your great 'wisdom, shall think meet and necessary for effecting 'the aforesaid ends and designs,

and your petitioner shall ever pray,

THOMAS BRAY.

Whitehall, April 7th, 1701.

'His Majesty having been moved upon this petition, 'is graciously pleased to refer the same to Mr Attorney, 'or Mr Sollicitor General, to consider thereof, and 'report his opinion, what his Majesty may fitly do 'therein; whereupon his Majesty will declare his fur'ther pleasure.

JA. VERNON.

The gentlemen who composed that venerable body, were so sensible how much was owing to the zeal and sollicitations of the Doctor, that it was resolved, that thanks should be returned him, for his great care and pains in procuring the grant of the said letters. If this Society is now enabled, by a revenue arising from occasional benefactions, and settled endowments, to support a number of Missionaries, School-masters, and Catechists, for the propagation of Christianity in foreign parts, the zealous labours of Dr Bray must be remembered with gratitude and honour, to which it owes it's establishment. One pamphlet has done him justice in the account of the origin of the incorporated Society, remarking, *that it took it's rise from the indefatigable endeavours of a reverend Clergyman now living (Dr Bray), to promote Christian knowledge in our foreign Plantations* (14). These gentlemen have since increased to a considerable body, and no small good has been done, as they assisted him in sending libraries abroad; and as they have dispersed numbers of excellent books among our fleets and armies, raised charity-schools in and about the city, and promoted the same, by their correspondence, in several parts of the kingdom; several thousand Psalters, ten thousand New Testaments, with great numbers of Catechisms, short histories of the Bible, and most sort of godly and religious books have been printed by it for the use of the eastern Churches; several of these have been sent over, and gratefully received, and this kingdom hath thereby had an opportunity of restoring, in some measure, the light of the Gospel, both in *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, and also in those countries from whence we first received it.

(14) A Letter from a residing Member of the Society of London for promoting Christian Knowledge, to a Corresponding Member in the country

[*I*] But

competent number of Missionaries, and furnished them with good libraries, to be fixed in the places where they were sent, to remain there for ever; he was himself eager to follow, and did accordingly, even in the winter, though he had no allowance made him towards his charge of the voyage, and the service he was to do, but forced to dispose of his own small effects, and raise money on credit to support him (*o*). With this poor encouragement, and thus, on his own provision, he took the voyage, December 16, 1699, and set sail from the Downs the twentieth of the same month, but was drove back into Plymouth-sound on Christmas-eve, and remained in harbour almost all the holidays, where his time was not unusefully spent, in the recovery of a tolerable library there out of dust and rubbish, which was also indebted to him for a benefaction of books, and where he left a proposal for taking in subscriptions to make it a sea-port library, for the use of Missionaries and Sea-Chaplains, as well as others. After an extream tedious and dangerous passage, the Doctor arrived at Maryland the twelfth of March, where not being so much concerned at his own, as the Church's, unsettlement, he applied himself immediately and wholly, to repair the breach made in the settlement of the parochial clergy; in order to which he consulted, in the first place, the Governor, whom he found ready to concur in all proper methods for the re-establishment of their maintenance. The next Assembly, which was to be in May following, he sent to all the clergy on the western shore, who only could come together in that season, to be acquainted from them with the disposition of the people, and their sentiments on this occasion, and to advise with them what was proper to be done, in order to dispose the members of the Assembly, to re-enact their law next meeting. Soon after he had dismissed the clergy, he made his parochial visitation, as far as it was possible for him at that season, in which he met with very singular respect from persons of the best condition in the country, which the Doctor, by a happy conduct (of which he only was not sensible) turned to the advantage of that poor Church. During the sessions of the Assembly, and whilst the re-establishment of the Church was depending, he preached very proper and seasonable sermons, and all of them with a tendency to incline the country to the establishment of the Church and clergy; all which were so well received, that he had the thanks of the Assembly, by messages from the House, for them, and for the service done to that Church and province (*p*). The Doctor was providentially on such good terms with the Assembly, that they ordered the Attorney-General to advise with him in drawing up the bill; and that he himself might be the better advised in that case, he sent for the most experienced clergy within reach, to suggest to him, what, upon their own and their brethrens experience, they found would be of advantage to them and the Church, to be inserted in, or left out of it; by which means the constitution of that Church has much the advantage of any in America. It may not be amiss to observe in this place, that as well during the General Court or Assize, which preceded the Assembly and lasted thirteen days, as during the sessions of the Assembly itself, he was under a necessity of much civil, but chargeable, entertainment of the gentlemen of the province, who universally visited him; a charge, however, which he thought requisite as circumstances then were, that he might strengthen his interest in them, the better to promote the establishment of the clergy's maintenance. The bill being prepared, passed with a *nemine contradicente*, but it was on all hands declared and confessed, that it was very providential that Dr Bray came into the country at that juncture [*I*]. Soon after the Assembly was up, the Commissary cited the whole clergy of the province to a general Visitation at Annapolis, to be held May 22, 1700: at the close of this visitation, the clergy taking into consideration, that the violent opposition of the Quakers against the establishment of that Church, would in all probability continue, so as to get the law for it's establishment so lately re-enacted, annulled again at home; they entered into debates, whether it would not be of consequence to the preservation and final settlement of that Church, that the Doctor should be requested to go home with the law, and to sollicit the Royal Assent (*q*). It had been before voted, at the passing the bill in the House of Burgesses, that he should be desired to request his Grace of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, to favour that good law, by obtaining his Majesty's royal assent to it with all convenient speed, and the members who gave him an account of passing their vote, told him withal, that it was the general opinion

(*o*) Life of Dr Bray, p. 26.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 29.

(*q*) See the Acts of the Visitation of Maryland.

[*I*] *But it was on all hands confessed and declared, that it was very providential that Dr* Bray *came into the country at that juncture.*] For it was looked upon as a difficult attempt, to have that law re-enacted, after two repulses at home; it being contrary to the instructions given with all Governors, that when a law has been reversed at home, a bill of the same nature should be again passed in any of their Assemblies; and considering also the interests of the people to be raised of the forty *per* poll, and the bad humour the country was brought into by insinuations of the Quakers and Papists, and the discouragement those who were well affected to the Church, met with, in having their laudable endeavours, for it's establishment and support, so often repulsed; all these things considered, it was often universally owned, that had not the Doctor come in when he did, the establishment would scarcely have been so much as attempted, much less have succeeded. It was undoubtedly designed by the Quakers, to put the greatest slur upon this new Church, and totally to discourage any farther strugglings to preserve it from falling, that they contrived not only to have the Law for it's establishment annulled, just before the Commissary's going for Maryland, but that they sent a Quaker with the order of Council in the very ship with him; which, however, rather contributed to it's establishment; for the insolence of the Quakers in that contrivance, raised a great indignation in the friends to that settlement, and the Doctor's presence not a little animating them to attempt it's restoration anew.

 [*K*] Happy

opinion of the House, that he could be most serviceable therein by waiting personally on their Lordships, rather than by letters, in which he could not crowd all that might be necessary to be represented concerning the then state of the Church, and the necessity, at that time, of their utmost patronage; and it was in debate, Whether this should not be the desire of the Assembly? but it was thought too unreasonable a request from them, who were sensible of the great danger and fatigue he had already been at in the service of that province, as they had a few days before acknowledged by a message of thanks from that House (r). Such were the sentiments of the members of the Assembly, as to the necessity of his coming home to sollicit the establishment of that Church; and the clergy meeting at their Visitation, some weeks after, as they had time to know more fully the sense of the province upon it; so they represented it to him, as the earnest desire of the more sensible persons throughout the country, as well as of the Assembly-men, that he should go over with the law for England; being aware that the Quakers would this time openly, and the Papists covertly, make the utmost efforts against the establishment of that Church, by false representations at home, of the numbers and riches of their party, and by insinuating, that to impose upon them an established maintenance for the clergy, would be prejudicial to the interest of the province, by obliging so many wealthy traders to remove from thence, the falsity of which, or any other suggestions, they thought him best able to make appear, by the information he had gained from this Visitation. There were also many other advantages to the Church in those parts, which they proposed by his coming home at that time, which were urged as reasons for it (s), upon the consideration of all which, though there was no provision could be made there to support him in that charge, and the Commissary's office would also yield him no profit, it not being tenable by the law of the country but by one residing in it, yet upon the consideration of much publick good, he determined himself, and took his voyage soon after. He was no sooner arrived in England, but he found their apprehensions in Maryland not ill grounded, for the Quakers forthwith bestirred themselves so exceedingly, that it was amazing to see what prejudices they had quickly raised in those who had then the cognizance of plantation affairs, and what false and formidable computations they gave in of the clergy's charge to the country; which false suggestions, when they were found to stick even with some that seemed well-affected to that Church, Dr Bray refuted, by a printed memorial, representing truly the state of the Church of Maryland, to the full satisfaction of all to whom it was communicated. Happy was the province of Maryland in having it's concerns managed, at this critical juncture, by such an able and indefatigable agent [K]. The Quakers opposition to the establishment now depending, was carried by united councils and contributions, but the Doctor refuted their specious objections by unanswerable reasons, and placed the affair in such an advantageous light, that his Majesty decided, without any appearance of hesitation, in the Church's favour, and gave the royal assent in these remarkable words: ***Have the Quakers the benefit of a toleration? let the Established Church have an established maintenance.*** This chargeable and laborious undertaking having swallowed up the Doctor's own small fortune. Lord Weymouth generously presented him with a bill of 300*l*. for his own private use, a large portion of which the Doctor devoted to the advancement of his farther designs. Though he was vested with the character of Commissary, yet no share of the revenue proposed was annexed to it; and this disappointment, though injurious in the highest degree, was not made by him either matter of complaint there, or of remonstrance here; nay, his generosity even induced him to throw in two sums of fifty pounds each, that were presented to himself in Maryland, towards defraying the charges of their libraries and law. But his generosity and indefatigable endeavours to promote the interest of the Church, together with the success which attended all his measures, for compleating and perfecting the polity and establishment of it, would swell this account too much, for which reason we shall refer the reader to the places where he may find those heads treated of more at large (t). After the return of Dr Bray from thence in 1701, he published his circular Letters to the clergy of Maryland, a memorial, representing the present state of religion on the Continent of North America, and the Acts of his Visitation held at Annapolis; for which he had the thanks of the Society abovementioned: not only the Bishop of London approved entirely of all these transactions, but also the Archbishop of Canterbury declared, that he was well satisfied with the reasons of Dr Bray's return from the West-Indies, and added, that his mission thither will be of the greatest

(r) The Life and Designs of Dr Bray, &c. p. 34.

(s) See the Acts of the Visitation.

(t) See the several Orders of Council, and Dr Bray's own Letters to the Governor, Speaker, and Attorney-General of Maryland.

[K] *Happy was the province of Maryland in having it's concerns managed, at this juncture, by such an able and indefatigable agent.*] And, indeed, considering the opposition which was made to the law, when it came home, the Doctor's presence seemed to be as seasonable here, as it had been before thought in getting it re-enacted in Maryland; for no sooner was the occasion understood (and it did quickly spread abroad of itself, without the printed account he gave of it) but it created such censures against those, who appeared no well-wishers to that settlement, as, perhaps, were none of the least occasions that it fared not again as formerly it had done.

But tho' the law, with much sollicitation and struggling, was preserved from being totally disannulled, yet many of the exceptions, which the Quakers made against it, sticking with the Lords of Trade, all that could be obtained was, that Dr Bray might, with advice of Counsel, draw up another Bill, according to the instructions of that Board, and sending that bill to Maryland, to be passed into a law; had the promise that his Majesty, upon it's return, would confirm it here. In the drawing up of this bill, he was at great charge with Counsel; and after it had been thrice attended at the Plantation Board, it was at last approved (15).

(15) The Life and Designs of Dr Bray, p. 35, 36.

greatest consequence imaginable to the establishment of religion in those parts. In 1706, he had the donative of St Botolph without Aldgate offered him again, which he then accepted of, worth about 150 pounds *per annum* by surplice fees and voluntary subscriptions (*t*), only eight pounds *per annum* being allowed by the impropriator (*u*). In the year 1712, the Doctor printed his *Martyrology: or, Papal Usurpation*, in folio; that nothing might be wanting to enrich and adorn the work, he established a correspondence with learned foreigners of the first distinction, and called in the assistance of the most eminent hands. This work consists of some choice and learned treatises of celebrated authors, which were grown very scarce, ranged and digested into as regular an History as the nature of the subject would admit. He proposed to compile a second volume, and had, at no small expence and pains, furnished himself with materials for it, but he was afterwards obliged to lay the prosecution of his design aside, and bequeathed by Will his valuable collection of Martyrological Memoirs, both printed and manuscript, to Sion-college. He was, indeed, so great a master of the History of Popery, that few authors could be presumed able, with equal accuracy and learning, to trace the origin and growth of those exorbitant claims, which are made by the See of Rome. He was happily formed by nature both for the active and for the retired life. Charity to the souls of other men, was wrought up to the highest pitch in his own; every reflection on the dark and forlorn condition of the Indians and Negroes, excited in his bosom the most generous emotions of pity and concern. He conceived nothing so desirable, as to be the instrument of recovering those lost sheep, and bringing them into the fold of their heavenly pastor. His voyage to Holland, to sollicit King William's protection and encouragement to his good designs, and the proofs he gave of a publick spirit and disinterested zeal, in such a series of generous undertakings, obtained him the esteem of M. d'Allone of the Hague, a gentleman not more celebrated for his penetration and address in state-affairs, than for a pious disposition of mind. An epistolary correspondence commenced very early between him and the Doctor upon this subject, the result whereof was, that he gave in his life-time, a sum to be applied to the conversion of negroes, desiring withal, the Doctor to accept the management and disposal of it. But that a standing provision might be made for this purpose, M. d'Allone bequeathed by Will a certain sum, *viz.* 900 pounds, out of his English estate, to Dr Bray and his associates, towards erecting a capital fund or stock, for converting the Negroes in the British plantations: this was in the year 1723, much about which time Dr Bray had an extreme dangerous fit of illness, so that his life and recovery was despaired of. See more about this legacy, and the disposal of it in note [*L*]. In the year 1726, he was employed in composing and printing his *Directorium Missionarium*, his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, and some other tracts of the like kind. About this time he also wrote a short account of Mr Rawlet, the author of the Christian Monitor; and reprinted the Life of Mr Gilpin; some of these were calculated for the use of the mission, and in one he has endeavoured to shew, that civilizing the Indians must be the first step, in any successful attempt for their conversion. In his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, we have several schemes of parochial libraries, and a method laid down to proceed by a gradual progression from strength to strength, from a collection not much exceeding one pound in value, to one of a hundred. His attention to other good works, occasioned no discontinuance of this design, whose success was so much the object of his desires; and accordingly benefactions came in so fast, that he had business enough upon his hands to form the libraries desired, and to discharge himself of them. As the furnishing the parochial clergy with the means of instruction, would be an effectual method to promote Christian knowledge; so another expedient, manifestly subservient to the same end would be, he thought, to imprint on the minds of those who are designed for the Ministry, previously

(*t*) See Newcourt's Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense. Vol. I. p. 307, 308.

(*u*) Newcourt, ut supra. Monthly Chronicle for Febr. 1730, Vol. III. p. 32.

[*L*] *M. d'Allone bequeathed by Will a certain sum, viz.* 900 *l. to Dr Bray and his associates, &c.*] The Doctor finding, by the words of Mr d'Allone's will, as well as by his letters in his life-time, that he depended much upon him to form and model the design; that he might not be wanting to give the best assistance he could to a work so truly Christian, immediately applied himself to form a scheme for the most effectual proceeding in this affair, though the legacy could not soon be paid in, yet, in assurance of it's certainty being intrusted to a person so truly honourable as Lord Palmerston, he endeavoured, as occasion offered, to set it a-going: this he did, by sounding the inclinations of some Missionaries, sent to him by the Bishop of London, whether they would engage in the measures proposed for the instruction of the Negroes, which they should find in their several cures? Those whom he observed well disposed to it, he furnished with books, as necessary helps to them and their successors, in discharging that part of their office; and as a further encouragement, he furnished them with other small pieces, more immediately proper for the instruction of the Negroes. When the legacy was paid, the early issues from it, being too inconsiderable to begin the work in such a manner as might assure himself, and his associates, the desired event, there was an apparent necessity either of breaking in upon the capital, or of furnishing books on it's credit, the Doctor being desirous, that the legacy might be handed down to his successors in the trust without any defalcation, chose to make up the deficiencies at his own expence, and charge what was expended in those provisions on the fund. He did not propose to receive any interest for his money; and at his death, obliged his Executrix to submit to the disadvantage of a gradual reimbursement. The better to prepare those young Divines that came to him, who had not read much for the work, he lent them such books as he thought proper to employ their studies whilst they should remain in London, and put them upon a catechetical exercise on Sunday evenings in his own parish of St Botolph's without Aldgate. Indeed he conceived it would be of singular use to have such Missionaries under a probation here, before sent abroad; and for this end founded a probationary Library, that, during the time of their probation, they might read over a whole course of Divinity, whereby they would be rendered more fit to teach, and give some specimens of their preaching abilities (16).

(16) Life of Dr Bray, p. 45, 46.

[*M*] He

previouſly to their admiſſion, a juſt ſenſe of it's various duties, and their great importance: with a view to this, he reprinted the Eccleſiaſtes of Eraſmus [*M*], a name of great authority in the Republick of Letters, and to whom the re-eſtabliſhment of polite literature was principally owing. In the year 1727, an acquaintance of Dr Bray's made a caſual viſit to Whitechapel-priſon, and his repreſentation of the miſerable ſtate of the priſoners, had ſuch an effect on the Doctor, that he immediately applied himſelf to ſollicit benefactions in order to relieve them, and he had ſoon contributions ſufficient to provide a quantity of bread, beef, and broth, on Sundays, and now and then on the intermediate days, for this priſon and the Borough-counter (*w*). To temporal, he always ſubjoined ſpiritual, proviſions; and to enure them to the moſt diſtaſteful part of their office, the intended Miſſionaries were here employed in reading and preaching. On this occaſion the ſore was firſt opened, and that ſcene of inhumanity imperfectly diſcovered, which afterwards, ſome worthy patriots of the Houſe of Commons took ſo much pains to enquire into and redreſs: that zeal and compaſſion which led them to carry on this inſpection, and regulate many groſs abuſes, could not but procure them the eſteem of one diſtinguiſhed by ſuch an extenſive benevolence as Dr Bray. The divine guardianſhip apparently accompanied both his deſigns, of founding libraries and converting Negroes. The former, particularly, was advanced under the patronage of perſons in the higheſt ſtations; but being now far advanced in years, and continually reminded of his approaching change, by the imbecility and decays of old age, he was deſirous of enlarging the number of his aſſociates, and adding ſuch to them, in whoſe zeal and integrity he might repoſe an entire confidence. His enquiry into the ſtate of the goals, made him acquainted with Mr (now General) Oglethorpe, who accepted the truſt himſelf, and engaged ſeveral others, ſome of the firſt rank and diſtinction, to act with him and the former aſſociates [*N*]. To theſe two deſigns of founding libraries, and inſtructing Negroes, a third was now added, which, though at firſt view it appears to be of different nature, has a perfect coincidence with them; the miſerable condition of multitudes for want of employment, has of late excited the higheſt degree of compaſſion in the breaſts of all charitable perſons: the proviſion which the legiſlature has made, by a late Act, for the erecting pariſh work-houſes, proves inſufficient; and therefore, out of the ſame charitable regard to mankind, a deſign was formed of eſtabliſhing a colony in America, than which, nothing can be better entitled to conſideration and encouragement (*x*). The advantages which will accrue to the publick from ſuch a ſettlement, is a ſubject of too large extent to be conſidered here. In ſhort, moſt of the religious ſocieties and good deſigns in London, owe grateful acknowledgment to his memory, and are, in a great meaſure, formed on the plans he projected; particularly the Society for the Reformation of Manners, Charity-ſchools, and the Society for the relief of poor proſelytes, *&c.* The Doctor having thus happily lodged his principal deſigns in the hands of able managers, and being on the verge of the grave, could not but review his undertakings with complacency, and thank the good providence of God, which appeared to lay ſuch trains for their advancement. His conſcience crowned him with a ſecret applauſe, which was an inexhauſtible ſource of comfortable reflections, and joyful preſages, in his laſt minutes, which happened on the fifteenth of February, 1730, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*y*), leaving iſſue (as we preſume) only one daughter (*z*).

(*w*) The Life of DrBray, ut ſupra. p. 38. Monthly Chron. ut ſupra.

(*x*) Life of Dr Bray, p. 54.

(*y*) Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, Vol. III. p. 32.

(*z*) See the Dedication of the Pamphlet intituled, Publick Spirit illuſtrated in the Life and Deſigns of the rev. Tho. Bray, D. D. to Mrs Marten.

[*M*] *He reprinted the* Ecclesiastes *of* Erasmus.] This treatiſe was written at the deſire of a Biſhop of the Romiſh Church; and it is well worthy our obſervation, with how much energy the learned author employs all his arguments that he could think proper to excite a conſcientious regard to the weight of the miniſterial office, and a becoming diligence in the diſcharge of it. As excellent as this performance is, it lay before mixed and undiſtinguiſhed in his voluminous works, and could rarely fall into the hands of any, except thoſe few who have acceſs to publick libraries; ſo that a diſtinct impreſſion of it is what the Doctor might juſtly intend, as a common benefit to the greater part of his order. Take his own opinion of the book, and his view in reprinting it, in his own words: 'Whenever I take into my hands this invaluable piece of Eraſmus his Eccleſiaſtes, methinks I experience what has been often ſaid by others, with reſpect to that of *Thomas à Kempis de Imitatione Chriſti*, namely, that let a man read him never ſo often, every time he will find ſomething new in him, ſo poignant, ſo penetrating, are the periods and ſentiments of the learned Eraſmus, relating to this great concern, even to the exceeding of himſelf in every thing he wrote: And it were much to be wiſhed, that among the many other tracts in Divinity, or relating to that ſubject, requiſite to be thoroughly read in our Univerſities by thoſe who are deſigned for the Miniſtry, previouſly to their entering into Holy Orders, this was alſo ſtrictly enjoined and inſiſted on. For, in ſhort, I may venture to ſay, that few of thoſe many who have written upon the nature and importance of the *Paſtoral Care*, ever exceeded the moſt eloquent and learned Eraſmus, in his awful way of delivering his ſentiments on this weighty office. Every period in his firſt book of Eccleſiaſtes being ſo pungent, and ſo admirably well levelled at the bold precipitancy and wretched views, with which many, too many, enter into Holy Orders; and I am perſuaded, that being read over before-hand, it would deter ſome at leaſt, from venturing, *illotis manibus*, upon an office they are ſo little qualified for, as a thing in itſelf horridly profane, and audacious in them; and the ſerious and frequent peruſal of the ſame afterwards, even thro' the whole courſe of the miniſtry, would ſtimulate and invigorate even the beſt qualified and diſpoſed amongſt us, to execute the ſacred truſt in a proper manner (17).'

(17) Bray's Primordia Bibliothecaria, p. 13, 14, 15.

[*N*] *Him and his former aſſociates.*] It may not, perhaps, be diſagreeable to our reader to have a ſmall liſt of thoſe worthy perſons that aſſociated with the Doctor in this laudable Deſign.

John Lord Viſcount Percival, now Earl of Egmont.—The Reverend Dr Stephen Hales.—William Belitha, Eſq;—The honourable Edward Digby, Eſq;—The Right Honourable George Lord Carpenter.—Major-General Oglethorpe.—Edward Harley, Eſq;—The Honourable James Vernon, Eſq;—Edward Hughes, Eſq;—Robert Hucks, Eſq;—Thomas Tower, Eſq;—John Laroche, Eſq;—Rogers Holland, Eſq—Major Charles Selwyn.—Robert More, Eſq;—William Sloper, Eſq;—Oliver St John, Eſq;—Henry Haſting, Eſq;—George Heathcote, Eſq;—Francis Eyles, Eſq;—Mr Adam Anderſon.—Sir James Lowther.—Captain Thomas Coram.—The Reverend Mr Digby Cotes.—The Reverend Mr Arthur Bedford.—The Reverend Mr Samuel Smith.—The Reverend Mr Richard Bundy.—The Reverend Mr John Ba[illegible].—The Reverend Mr Daniel Somerſcald, &c.

BRENT

BRENT (Sir NATHANAEL), a learned perſon in the XVIIth century, was born at Little Woolford in Warwickſhire, in 1573 (a), being the ſon of Anchor Brent of that place, Gent [A]. In the year 1589, he became Portioniſt, commonly called Poſt-Maſter of Merton-college in Oxford; and, on the twentieth of June 1593, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). The year following he was admitted Probationer-Fellow of the college aforeſaid (c). On the thirty-firſt of October 1598, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (d); and then entered upon the Law-line. In 1607, he was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity (e). Some years after, namely in 1613, &c. he travelled into foreign parts, and became acquainted with ſeveral of the moſt learned men abroad. After his return, he married Martha daughter and heir of Dr Robert Abbot Biſhop of Saliſbury, and niece to Dr George Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was the cauſe of his ſucceeding great preferments (f). About the year 1618, he was ſent to Venice by Archbiſhop Abbot, on purpoſe to get a copy of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent [B], then newly compoſed by the moſt renowned Padre Paolo Sarpi (g); in procuring of which he expoſed himſelf to very great dangers (h). In 1621, he was elected Warden of Merton-college (i), through the Archbiſhop's recommendation: who alſo made him his Vicar-General, Commiſſary of the dioceſe of Canterbury, Maſter of the Faculties, and at length Judge of the Prerogative (k) [C]. On the eleventh of October 1623, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Law (l). The twenty-third of Auguſt 1629, he received the honour of knighthood from King Charles I, at Woodſtock, being then ſuppoſed well-affected to the Church and Hierarchy (m). But in the great diſputes that aroſe between Archbiſhop Abbot and Biſhop Laud, he entirely ſided with the firſt, and his adherents, the Puritan party; and grew ſo inveterate againſt Laud, that he was a frequent witneſs againſt him at his trial (n). He likewiſe deſerted Oxford when King Charles I. garriſoned that place, and took the Covenant: for which reaſon he was deprived of his Wardenſhip of Merton-college, by his Majeſty's command; but reſtored again when Oxford garriſon was ſurrendered for the Parliament's uſe, in 1646 (o). In the years 1647 and 1648, he was appointed Chief-Viſitor of that Univerſity, and countenanced all the violent and arbitrary proceedings there uſed (p). When an order was made againſt Pluralities, he was forced to leave Merton-college, on the twenty-ſeventh of November, 1651; at which time he refuſed alſo the oath called the Engagement (q). Whereupon, retiring to his houſe in Little Britain in London (r), he died there November 6, 1652, aged ſeventy-nine; and was buried, the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, with great ſolemnity, in the church of St Bartholomew the Leſs (s).

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 161. He was 79 years old at the time of his death, in 1652. Ibid. col. 162.

(b) Ibid. Vol. I. Faſti, col. 145.

(c) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(d) [illegible] Faſti, col. 154.

(e) Ibid. col. 176.

(f) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(g) See *Some Letters relating to the Hiſt. of the Council of Trent*: publiſhed by Dr Lewis Atterbury, Lond. 1705, 4*to*.

(h) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(i) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 86.

(k) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(l) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 225, 226.

(m) Athenæ, ut ſupra.

(n) Ibid. See alſo Canterbury's Doome, by W. Prynne.

(o) Wood, Ath. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ut ſupra.

(p) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 369, &c.

(q) Athenæ, ubi ſupra. Kennet's Regiſt. and Chron &c. edit. 1728, fol. p. 197.

(r) R. Smith, in his Obituary, ſays, that it was in Alderſgate ſtreet. See F. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 25.

(s) Ibid. and Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra.

[A] *Being the ſon of Anchor Brent of that place, Gent.*] Who was a younger ſon of Richard Brent, Gent. eldeſt ſon of John Brent, of the houſe of Brent of Coſington in Somerſetſhire (1).

[B] *About the year 1618, he was ſent to Venice by Archbiſhop Abbot, on purpoſe to get a copy of The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.*] This appears from two letters, (publiſhed by Dr Lewis Atterbury, in the collection above-mentioned) from Archbiſhop Abbot to our author (2). The firſt of which, dated at Lambeth, June the twenty-firſt, 1618, is as follows. '*Salutem in Chriſto.* I am glad that you are ſafely arrived whether you deſired to go. I have read your letters, and the *Canzoni* (3) incloſed, which are twelve in number, whereof I ſhall make ſuch uſe as is fit. I have not acquainted the greateſt with any thing of your perſon, nor with the matter ſo much deſired; ſo that you may confidently tell your two good friends (4), that they need to dread nothing. And I may ſay in general, that there is no man living, to whom I have made known any thing in this matter, ſaving to you; only in general the old man, that liveth with me, underſtandeth of my deſire to get what I can appertaining to thoſe ſongs. Perſiſt, I pray you, in that courſe, which you have begun; and ſo commending me unto you, and wiſhing you to live as privately as you can, I reſt,

Your very loving friend,

G. CANT.

As Father Paul, and Father Fulgentio, the two joint authors of that excellent hiſtory, compoſed it, they privately delivered a copy of the ſame to Mr Brent; who ſent it over weekly, to the Archbiſhop in the original Italian; and it came to his hands, after five or ſix ſuperſcriptions to other perſons, for the greater ſecurity (5). When Mr Brent had ſent it all over, he came back himſelf, and tranſlated it out of Italian into Engliſh and Latin. The original Italian was printed firſt at London in 1619, and dedicated to King James I. by D. Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato, who had been inſtrumental in procuring that Hiſtory (6). The Engliſh Tranſlation was publiſhed in 1619, under this title, 'The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, containing eight Books. In which, beſides the ordinary Acts of the Councell, are declared many notable Occurrences, which happened in Chriſtendom, during the ſpace of forty years and more. And particularly the Practices of the Court of Rome, to hinder the Reformation of their Errours, and to maintain their Greatneſs.' In fol. A new edition was printed in 1640; and another in 1676, with other pieces of Father Paul, at the end.—Beſides this tranſlation, Sir Nathanael Brent reviewed Mr Fr. Maſon's 'Vindication of the Church of England, concerning the Conſecration and Ordination of the Biſhops, &c.' examined the quotations, compared them with the originals, and printed that book from the author's manuſcript, in 1625, fol (7). Whatever elſe he compoſed, hath not been publiſhed.

[C] *Judge of the Prerogative.*] It is probable he was turned out of this place, by Archbiſhop Laud. For, thus we read in Whitelock's Memorials (8): 'The Commons took orders touching the Prerogative Court, and appointed Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, to be the Judge of that Court.'

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(2) Some Letters relating to the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, &c. Lond. 1705, 4*to*, as above.

(3) That feigned name [which ſignifies *Songs* in Italian] they gave to the Sheets of the Hiſt. of the Council of Trent.

(4) F. Paul, and F. Fulgentio.

(5) See ſome Letters, &c. as above, p. 2, 3.

(6) Echard's Hiſt. edit. 1720, p. 393.

(7) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 464, and Vol. II. col. 162.

(8) Edit. 1732, fol. p. 92.

BREVINT (Daniel), a learned Divine of the XVIIth century, was born in the Isle of Jersey, in the reign of King James I (*a*), and probably educated in grammar-learning in that place. From thence he went and studied Logic and Philosophy in the Protestant University of Saumur [*A*], where he took the degree of Master of Arts, on Septemb. 12, 1634 (*b*). Coming to Oxford, he, in all likelihood, studied for some time in that famous University, and October 12, 1638, was incorporated there Master of Arts (*c*), as he stood at Saumur. About this time King Charles I, having, through Archbishop Laud's persuasion, founded three fellowships in the colleges of Pembroke, Exeter, and Jesus, for the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, alternately; Mr Brevint was nominated or chosen, to be the first Fellow at Jesus-College upon this foundation, in 1638 (*d*). Here he continued 'till he was ejected from his fellowship by the Parliament-Visitors [*B*], for refusing to take the Solemn League and Covenant (*e*). Whereupon he withdrew to his native country (*f*). But upon the reduction of that place by the Parliament's forces, he fled into France, and became Minister of a Protestant congregation in Normandy. Not long after, he had the honour of being made Chaplain to the Viscount de Turenne, afterwards Marshal of France, whose Lady was one of the most worthy and pious women in her time (*g*). Whilst he was in that station, he was one of the persons 'employed about the great design then in 'hand, of reconciling the Protestant and Popish religions; which gave him an access 'into, and made him acquainted with, every corner of that Church,' as he says himself (*h*). At the Restoration of King Charles II, he came back to England, and was presented by that Prince (who had known him abroad) to the tenth prebend in the church of Durham, vacant by the promotion of Dr J. Cosin to that See. He was installed March 15, 1660-61 (*i*). By Bishop Cosin, who had been his fellow-sufferer, he was also collated to a living in the diocese of Durham (*k*). On the twenty-seventh of February 1661-62, he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford (*l*). Having, during his exile, seen Popery in it's native deformity, and observed all the mean and dishonest arts that are used to support that weak and ill-shaped building, he took all opportunities to attack, and endeavour to pull it down. Accordingly, in 1672, he published *Missale Romanum: or, The Depth and Mystery of the Roman Mass, laid open and explained, for the Use of both Reformed and Unreformed Christians* [*C*]. And, the next year, *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice, by way of Discourse, Meditation, and Prayer, upon the Nature, Parts, and Blessings of the Holy Communion* [*D*]. And in 1674, *Saul and Samuel at Endor, or the new Waies of Salvation and Service, which usually tempt Men to Rome, and detain them there, truly represented and refuted.* At the end of which is, *A brief Account of R. F. his* Missale Vindicatum, or *Vindication of the Roman Mass* [*E*], being an answer to *The Depth and*

(*a*) In the year 1616. He was baptized May 11, 1616. Register book of Sr John's in Jersey.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol II. col. 927, edit. 1721, and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. P. ii. p. 322.

(*c*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 277.

(*d*) Idem, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 927.

(*e*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714, fol. p. 120.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*g*) From the information of a friend who knew him.

(*h*) In Preface to Saul and Samuel at Endor, p. 5. edit. Oxf. 1674, 8*vo*.

(*i*) Br. Will's's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. Lond. 1727, p. 273.

(*k*) From the information of a friend.

(*l*) Wood. Fasti, Vol. II. col. 148.

[*A*] *From thence he went and studied Logic and Philosophy, in the Protestant University of Saumur.*] Before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and 'till the encouragement, given by the foundation of the three Fellowships above-mentioned, in the University of Oxford, the young gentlemen of the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, designed for the Ministry, were sent to study among the Protestants in France, particularly at Saumur. This University was founded by the learned Philip de Mornay, Lord Plessis Marly, who brought Professors to teach academical learning in that town, of which King Henry IV. had made him Governor (1). It was for several years in great repute, on account of it's eminent Professors of Divinity, John Cameron, Lewis Cappel, Moses Amyrauld, John de la Place, &c. The learned Tannegui le Feve, father of Madam Dacier, was also one of the Regents, or Masters, in that University. It was at length suppressed by Lewis XIV. in 1684.

[*B*] *He was ejected from his Fellowship, by the Parliament-Visitors.*] He must have been dispossessed of it, or at least have quitted it, before the general visitation in 1647, &c. for he says himself, that he was 'kept by the times of rebellion, *seventeen years* a-'broad among the Romanists (2);' that is from 1643 to 1660.

[*C*] *The depth and mystery of the Roman Mass.*] It was printed at Oxford 1672, and again in 1673, 8*vo*. In 1674, there came out an answer to it, entituled, *Missale Romanum Vindicatum; or, the Mass vindicated from Dr Dan. Brevint's calumnious and scandalous Tract.* 8vo. Of this the Doctor gave an account, with some short observations upon it, at the end of his *Saul and Samuel at Endor,* as is mentioned in the text above.

[*D*] *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice,* &c.] Printed at Oxford 1673, in 12*mo*. It passed through a second edition. And the third was published at London in 1739, upon the following recommendation given of it, by Dr Waterland, in his Charge, entituled, *The Christian Sacrifice explained* (3). 'He [Dr Brevint] 'was well read in the Eucharistick Sacrifice: no man 'understood it better;——and he explained the prac-'tical uses of that doctrine, in so clear, so lively, and 'so affecting a way, that one can scarce meet with 'any thing on the subject, that can be justly thought 'to exceed it. So that I could heartily join my wishes 'with a late learned writer (4), that that excellent 'little book, entituled, *The Christian Sacrament and* '*Sacrifice*, might be reprinted, for the honour of God 'and the benefit of the Church.' In the dedication of this book, the author says, 'That it is one of the 'many tracts, which he made at Paris, on several 'subjects, at the instance of those two incomparable 'Princesses [of Turenne, and Bouillon] who there for 'many years during his banishment, employed him in 'their service.'

[*E*] *Saul and Samuel at Endor,* &c.] It was printed at Oxford 1674, 8*vo*. and reprinted at London 1688. in 12*mo*. The design of it, is, to shew the falseness and absurdity, of the new ways of salvation and service, which usually tempt men to embrace the Romish religion; namely, 1. The Romanists, pretending theirs to be the only true Catholick Church. 2. Romish miracles. 3. The protection and assistance of their imaginary Saints; particularly the Virgin Mary. Under this article, he fully shows, to what an excessive degree of superstitious idolatry, the veneration for her hath been carried by the Papists. They bestow upon her the highest titles, which are in Scripture attributed to God; and in their prayers and praises, commonly join her with the Supreme Being. They apply to her the most illustrious passages of Scripture, that belong directly to Christ. They have composed a psalter, *Psalterium S. Bonaventuræ*; nay even a whole bible, *Biblia Mariæ*, to her honour. 4. Another inducement to Popery, is the Beads, called the Rosary. 5. The next is, the Church's treasury. 6. Indulgences. 7. Pardon of sins, by means of holy confraternities, and friends. 8. The girdle of St Francis; the 150 beads of St Dominic, and the scapulary of St Simon Stock. 9. Relics, Agnus Dei's, &c. 10. Consecrated images.

[*F*] *He*

(1) Account of Jersey by Falle, second edition, Lond. 1733, p. 316.

(2) Preface to Saul and Samuel at Endor, ubi supra.

(3) Page 31.

(4) Dr Hickes, Christian Priesthood Prefat. Discourse, Vol. I. p. 39, 40.

and Mystery of the Roman Mass, abovementioned. The learning, and other eminent qualifications of the author, having recommended him to the esteem of the world, and to the favour of his Sovereign, he was promoted to the Deanery of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Michael Honeywood, D. D. Into this dignity he was installed, January 3, 1681-82: and, into the prebend of Welton Payns-hall annexed thereto, January 7, following (*m*). Besides the books already mentioned, he hath published some others in Latin, of which there is an account in the note [*F*]. He died May 5, 1695, and was buried in the cathedral church of Lincoln, behind the high-altar (*n*); where, on a grave-stone, is an inscription to his memory [*G*]. He was a person of great reading, especially in the controversy between the Protestants and Papists; zealous for the Church of England; and for his life and learning truly praise-worthy (*o*).

(*m*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedral of Lincoln, &c. 4to. p. 81, 261.

(*n*) Willis, ubi supra, p. 81.

(*o*) Wood's Ath. ubi supra.

[*F*] *He hath published some other books, &c.*] The titles of them are, I. *Ecclesiæ primitivæ Sacramentum & Sacrificium, à pontificiis corruptelis, & exinde natis controversiis liberum*; written at the desire of the Princesses of Turenne and Bouillon, *i. e.* 'The Sacrament 'and Sacrifice of the primitive Church, freed from 'Popish Corruptions, and the disputes occasioned there-'by.' II. *Eucharistiæ Christianæ præsentia realis & pontificia ficta, luculentissimis non testimoniis modo, sed etiam fundamentis, quibus fere tota S. S. Patrum Theologia nititur, hæc explosa, illa suffulta & asserta*, i. e. 'A confutation of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, 'as maintained by the Papists, with an account of the 'manner how Christ is present in the Sacrament, ac-'cording to the writings of the ancient Fathers.' III. *Pro Serenissima Principe Weimariensi ad Theses Jenenses accurata Responsio*, i. e. 'An exact answer to 'the Theses of Jena, for the Princess of Weimar.' IV. *Ducentæ plus minus Prælectiones in S. Matthæi xxv Capita & aliorum Evangelistarum locos hisce passim parallelos*, i. e. 'About two hundred Lectures, upon 'twenty-five chapters of St Matthew, and those pas-'sages of the other Evangelists that are parallel there-'to.' He also translated into French, The Judgment of the University of Oxford, concerning the solemn League and Covenant (5).

[*G*] *On a grave-stone is an inscription to his memory.*] Which is as follows. 'Here lyeth the body of 'Daniel Brevint, D. D. late Dean of this Cathedral 'Church of Lincoln, who departed this life, May 5. '1695. I have waited for thy Salvation, O Lord '(6).' C

(5) Wood's Ath. ubi supra; & Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 322.

(6) Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 81.

BRIGGS (HENRY) an eminent Mathematician of the XVIth century, descended from the antient family of that name at Salle in Norfolk, was born at Warley Wood, a small hamlet in the parish of Halifax in Yorkshire (*a*): the time of his birth is uncertain; but, most probably, it was about the year 1556 [*A*]. After his education at a grammar school in the country, he was sent to St John's college in Cambridge, about the year 1757, and admitted a scholar of the house, November 5, 1579. In 1581, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, that of Master in 1585; and was chosen Fellow of his college, March 29, 1588. He applied himself chiefly to the study of the Mathematicks, in which he greatly excelled; and, in 1592, was made Examiner and Lecturer in that faculty, and, soon after, Reader of the Physick-Lecture founded by Dr Linacre. Upon the settlement of Gresham-college in London, he was chosen the first Professor of Geometry there, about the beginning of March 1596; and some time after he constructed a *Table*, by the help of which, the *Magnetical Declination* being given, the height of the *Pole* may easily be found. This Table was suited to an instrument described by Dr Gilbert (*b*), and published by Mr Blondeville (*c*). In 1609, Mr Briggs contracted an intimacy with the learned Mr James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, which was kept up many years by letters, two of which, written by our author, are yet extant (*d*). In the former of them, dated in *August* 1610, he tells his friend, 'he was engaged in the 'subject of Eclipses;' and in the latter, dated *March* 10, 1615, he acquaints him with his being 'wholly employed about the noble invention of *Logarithms*, then lately discovered:' in the improvement of which he was particularly concerned [*B*]. In the summer of the year

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 549. & Dr T. Smith's Comment. de vit. et stud. H. Briggii, in his Vit. quorund. erudit. et Illustr. Virorum, Lond. 1707, 4to. See also Mr J. Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 120. And the Rev. Mr Blomefield's Topographical Hist. of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 641.

(*b*) In his fifth Book of the Load-stone.

(*c*) In his Theoriques of the Seven Planets, Lond. 1602. 4to.

(*d*) In Archbishop Usher's Letters, No. 4. and 16, Lond. 1686. fol.

[*A*] *About the year 1556.*] Dr Smith (1) places his birth *about the year* 1560; which, probably, he might collect from what is said by Anthony Wood (2), that he died on the twenty-sixth of January 1630, *aged seventy or more*; and likewise from Mr Gellibrand, who, speaking of his death, calls him, *Apellem nostrum Septuagenarium* (3). But, in a Letter from Mr Joseph Mede of Christ's College in Cambridge, dated the 6th of February 1630, it is said, *Mr Henry Brigges of Oxford, the great Mathematician, is lately dead, at 74 years of age* (4). According to this account, which is more express and determinate than either of the former, he must have been born in the year 1556.

[*B*] *He was particularly concerned in the improvement of* Logarithms.] Mr Wood tells us (5), that 'one Dr Craig, a Scotchman, coming out of Denmark 'into his own country, called upon John Neper, Baron 'of Marcheston, near Edinburgh, and told him, 'among other discourses, of a new invention in Den-'mark by Longomontanus, as it is said, to save the 'tedious multiplication and division in astronomical 'calculations. Neper being sollicitous to know farther 'of him concerning this matter, he could give no 'other account of it, than that it was by *proportionable* '*numbers*. Which hint Neper taking, he desired him 'at his return to call upon him again. Craig, after 'some weeks had passed, did so; and Neper then 'shewed him a rude draught of what he called *Canon* '*mirabilis Logarithmorum*. Which draught, with 'some alterations, he printing in 1614, it came forth-'with into the hands of our author Briggs, and into 'those of William Oughtred, from whom the relation 'of this matter came.' As this story is told, one would imagine it came from Mr Oughtred. But there is no mention of it in his writings. And it seems strange, that Longomontanus, had he any pretensions to it, should have no where laid claim to the honour of this admirable invention (6); but have left the glory of it's first discovery to be solely ascribed to the Baron of Marcheston (7). This could not be for want of attention to a thing of that importance, or an opportunity of doing himself justice in so long a course of time: for he lived, as Vossius tells us (8), to the year 1647, and was upwards of eighty years old, when he died. Gassendus indeed mentions (9) a compendious method of calculation in Trigonometry, as discovered by Tycho Brahe, in which Addition and Substraction were used instead of Multiplication and Division; and he adds this remark: *Quod ut fieri possit, docuit postmodum suo Logarithmorum Canone Neperus.* But that Neper's discovery was altogether different from the method spoken of by Gassendus, may appear by consulting

(1) Comment. de vit. & stud. H. Briggii, p. 1.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 550.

(3) Pref. ad Trigon. Brit.

(4) Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 120.

(5) Ubi supra, col. 549.

(6) Vid. Smith, ubi supra, p. 5.

(7) See Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, p. 522.

(8) De Natura Artium, l. iii. c. 46.

(9) Vit. T. Brahei. p 109, 165, edit. 1655. 4to.

year 1616, he took a journey into Scotland, to converse with John Neper, Baron of Marcheston near Edinburgh, upon his new invention of *Logarithms*; and the summer following made him a second visit (*e*). In 1617, for the sake of his friends and hearers at Gresham-College, he printed, in 8*vo*, his *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima* [*C*]. In 1619, he was made Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford [*D*]; but continued to hold his Professorship of Gresham-College, 'till the twenty of July 1620, and then resigned it. Upon his going to Oxford he settled himself at Merton-College, and soon after was incorporated Master of Arts in that University, where he continued 'till his death. In 1622, he published a small tract in 4*to*. concerning the *North-west Passage to the South-Sea, through the Continent of Virginia, and Hudson's Bay* (*f*). The reason, which led him to it, was, probably, his being then a member of the Company trading to Virginia. His next performance was his great and elaborate work, intitled, *Arithmetica Logarithmica* [*E*]; and soon

(*e*) See remark [*B*].

(*f*) Reprinted in Purchas's Pilgrimes, Vol. III. p. 852.

sulting the authors, in which the artifice then used for that purpose is particularly explained (10) This invention was no sooner known, than it gained the general applause of all the eminent Mathematicians of that age, who found it to answer, what the noble author had said of it in his Dedication to Prince Charles, that *illius adminiculo plures quæstiones Mathematicæ unius horæ spatio, quam pristina et communiter recepta forma Sinuum, Tangentium, et Secantium, vel integro die absolvantur*, i. e. 'By the help of this invention, 'more mathematical questions may be determined in 'one hour, than in a whole day, by the old, and com'monly received method of Sines, Tangents, and Se'cants.' But no one extolled it more than Mr Briggs, who, in a letter to Mr James Usher (afterwards Archbishop of Armagh) speaks of it thus: *Naper, Lord of Markinston, hath set my head and hands at work with his new and admirable Logarithms. I hope to see him this summer, for I never saw a book which pleased me better, and made me more wonder* (11). This year the Baron published his *Rabdologia*, in the Dedication of which to the Lord Chancellor Seton, he mentions another species of *Logarithms*, different from what he had published in 1614, and which he had invented since that time. His words are these: *Logarithmorum speciem aliam multo præstantiorem nunc etiam invenimus, et creandi methodum una cum eorum usu, si Deus longiorem vitæ et valetudinis usuram concesserit, evulgare statuimus. Ipsam autem novi Canonis supputationem, ob infirmam corporis nostri valetudinem, viris in hoc studii genere versatis relinquimus; imprimis vero D. Henrico Briggs, Londini publico Geometriæ Professori, et amico mihi longe charissimo*, i. e. 'I have lately in'vented another, and a much better, kind of *Loga'rithms*; and I purpose, if God grant me life and 'health, to publish the method of constructing them, 'together with their use. But, on account of the bad 'state of my health, I leave the computation of the 'new Canon to persons conversant in this kind of 'study; particularly to Mr Henry Briggs, publick 'Professor of Geometry at London, and my most dear 'friend.' It seems from this passage, as if the Baron, being sensible of his declining health, was desirous, by this publick notice of his new method of *Logarithms*, and his expectations from Mr Briggs, to engage him more firmly in the prosecution of that useful, but very laborious, work here mentioned. Soon after the publication of the *Canon Mirificus Logarithmorum*, it was translated into English by Mr Edward Wright, and sent to the author into Scotland for his perusal, who approved of it very well. But Mr Wright dying before the book was returned from Scotland, the care of the impression was, both by him and the Baron, committed to Mr Briggs, who published it in the year 1616, with a Preface of his own, containing some account of it's excellent uses, and a description of the instrumental *Table*, to find the *part proportional*, placed at the end. We find by the passage transcribed above, from the Baron's *Dedication* of his *Rabdologia*, that what he proposed to do himself in relation to the second species of *Logarithms*, was only to give an account how they were made, and explain the use of them, and to leave the labour of their calculation to others, and particularly to Mr Briggs. But he did not live to go through what he intended; and therefore, after his decease, the manuscript being sent to Mr Briggs, he made several additions to it, as will appear by looking into the Contents of the book itself, published by the Baron's son (12). In 1615, Mr Briggs, in explaining the subject of *Logarithms* to his hearers at Gresham-College, observed, that it would be more commodious if they were so altered, that o should be the *Logarithm* of the whole *Sine*, as in the *Canon*, and 10000000000 be made the *Logarithm* of a tenth part of the whole *Sine*, namely, 5 *degrees*, 44 *minutes*, and 21 *seconds*. And presently after he acquainted the author with this by a letter; and, having calculated some *Logarithms* in that manner, he took a journey to Edinburgh, to shew the Baron what he had done. He was very kindly received by Neper, and stay'd with him a month; and in their conversation upon that head the Baron told him, he was sensible the *Logarithms* might be altered for the better, before he published his *Canon*; but chose to have them printed, in the manner he had prepared them, 'till he had leisure and health to make others more commodious; which he thought would be best, if o was made the *Logarithm* of an *Unite*, and 10000000000 that of the whole *Sine*. Mr Briggs agreed with him in this, and, at his desire, after he came back to London, throwing by those he had calculated upon his former scheme, made others in the manner suggested by the Baron, who highly approved of them, and earnestly pressed him to proceed (13). And upon this plan was Mr Briggs's *Arithmetica Logarithmica* formed. *See the remark* [*E*].

(10) Vid. Clavium De Astrolab. l. i. lemma 53. Pitisci Trigonom. l. v. init. &c.

(11) Usher's Letters, p. 36.

(12) Edinburgi, 1619, 4*to*.

(13) See the Preface to Briggs's Arithmetica Logarithmica.

[*C*] His *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima.*] These *Logarithms*, he tells us in the Preface, are of a different kind from those published by the illustrious inventer of the art in his *Canon Mirificus*: *Quod autem hi Logarithmi diversi sint ab iis, quos clarissimus inventor, memoriæ semper colendæ, in suo edidit Canone Mirifico*, &c. And this *Chilias Prima* is what Sir Henry Bourchier refers to in the following passage of a letter written by him to Dr Usher: 'Our kind friend Mr Briggs hath 'lately published a *Supplement* to the most excellent '*Tables* of *Logarithms*, which I presume he has sent 'you (14).' This letter is dated, Decemb. 6. 1617.

(14) Usher's Letters, p. 62.

[*D*] *He was made Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford.*] Sir Henry Savile, the founder of that Lecture, had himself for some time discharged that province, and read thirteen lectures upon the first eight Propositions of Euclid's *Elements*, which were afterwards printed (15); and then he surrendered the chair to Mr Briggs, taking leave of his audience, in his last lecture, with these words: *Trado lampadem successori meo, doctissimo viro, qui vos ad intima Geometriæ mysteria perducet.* Mr Briggs entered upon this new province, January the 8th, that year, which he opened with an eloquent Oration, and the week following began his lectures with the ninth Proposition of Euclid, where Sir Henry Savile had left off (16).

(15) Oxon. 1621, 4*to*.

(16) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 324.

[*E*] *His* Arithmetica Logarithmica.] The Title at length is: *Arithmetica Logarithmica; sive, Logarithmorum Chiliades triginta, pro numeris naturali serie crescentibus ab unitate ad* 20,000, *et à* 90,000, *ad* 100,000. *Quarum ope multa perficiuntur arithmetica Problemata et geometrica. Hos numeros primus invenit clarissimus vir* Johannes Neperus, *baron Merchistonii; eos autem ex ejusdem sententia mutavit eorumque ortum et usum illustravit* Henricus Briggius, *in celeberrima Academia Oxoniensi Geometriæ Professor Savilianus: Londini*, 1624, *folio*. There was a second edition of this noble work published by Mr Adrian Vlacq, of Targou, in Holland, in which the intervening numbers from 20,000 to 90,000 were filled up. The title of that edition runs thus: *Arithmetica Logarithmica; sive, Logarithmorum Chiliades centum, pro numeris naturali serie crescentibus ab unitate ad* 100,000; *una cum Canone Triangulorum, seu Tabula artificialium sinuum, tangentium, et secantium, ad radium* 10000000,00000, *et ad singula scrupula prima quadrantis. Quibus novum traditur compendium, quo nullum nec admirabilius,*

nec

soon after he engaged in another grand work, intitled *Trigonometria Britannica* [*F*]. This great Mathematician died the twenty-sixth of January 1630, in Merton-College [*G*], and was buried in the choir of the chapel there, under the honorary monument of Sir Henry Savile; a plain stone being laid over him, with his name only inscribed on it. Besides the pieces already mentioned, Mr Briggs wrote many others; some of which have never been published [*H*], and others published by other persons [*I*]. We shall give his character, and the opinions of writers concerning him, in the remark [*K*].

BRIGGS

nec utilius, ad solvenda pleraque problemata arithmetica et geometrica. Hos numeros, &c. *Editio secunda, aucta per Adrianum Vlacq, Goudanum: Goudæ*, 1628, *folio*. This Edition, soon after his death, was translated into English, with the following title: 'Logarithmicall Arithmetike, or, Tables of Logarithmes for absolute numbers, from an unite to 100,000; as also for sines, tangentes, and secantes, for ev'ry minute of a quadrant: With a plain description of their use in arithmetike, geometrie, geographie, astronomie, navigation, &c. These Numbers were first invented by the most excellent *John Neper*, Baron of Marchiston; and the same were transform'd, and the foundation and use of them illustrated, with his approbation, by *Henry Briggs*, Sir Henry Savile's Professor of Geometrie in the Universitie of Oxford: the uses whereof were written in Latin by the author himselfe; and since his death published in English by diverse of his friends, according to his mind, for the benefit of such as understand not the Latin tongue. London, 1631, *folio*.'

[*F*] *A work intitled* Trigonometria Britannica.] He proposed to complete it in two books, but lived to write the first only; leaving the second to the care of his old friend Mr Henry Gellibrand, who finished the work, and published it under the title of *Trigonometria Britannica, sive, De Doctrina Triangulorum: Libri duo*, &c. (17). This seems to be the work promised, in a manner, by our author in the *Dissertation* prefixed to his *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, where he says; *Superest adhuc logarithmorum usus nobilissimus, et maxime necessarius, in doctrina triangulorum sphæricorum, quem seorsim, uti spero, peculiari libro exhibebo.* i. e. 'The noblest, and the most important, use of Logarithms, namely, in the doctrine of Spherical Triangles, is still behind; which I purpose to explain in a distinct treatise.'

(17) See the article GELLIBRAND (HENRY).

[*G*] *He died —— in Merton-College.*] The following account of him stands yet in the College Register. *Jan.* 26, 1630. *Obiit apud nos commensalis, magister Henricus Briggs, vir quidem moribus ac vita integerrimus; quem in rebus Geometricis, quarum studiis primum Cantabrigiæ in societate Collegii S. Johannis sese a juventute sua addixerat, dein publicus prælector Londini in Collegio Greshamensi multos per annos sustinuerat, omnium sui temporis eruditissimum, D. Henricus Savilius, ut primo ex fundatione sua geometriæ professoris munere fungeretur, Oxonium evocavit: cujus exequias 29 die proxime sequente, concione habita a magistro Sellar, et oratione funebri a magistro Cressy, una cum primoribus Academiæ celebravimus.* We learn from this account, that the Heads, and other chief persons, of the University, attended his funeral; and that a Sermon was preached by Mr Sellar, and a funeral Oration spoken by Mr Cressy (Fellows of Merton-College) on that occasion.

[*H*] *He wrote some pieces, which have never been published.*] They are: I. *Commentaries on the Geometry of Peter Ramus.* Mr Wood (18) tells us, that, after the author's death, this Treatise came into the hands of Mr John Greaves, from him to his brother Dr Thomas Greaves, and then to Mr Theodore Haak, a Fellow of the Royal Society. II. *Duæ Epistolæ ad celeberrimum virum, Christianum Longomontanum.* One of these Letters contained some Remarks upon a Treatise of Longomontanus, about squaring the Circle; and the other a Defence of Arithmetical Geometry. Both of them were in the possession of Dr Smith, who intended to publish them, but did not live to execute his design (19). These, which follow, Mr Ward tells us (20), are in the hands of Mr Jones. III. *Animadversiones Geometricæ:* 4to. IV. *De eodem Argumento:* 4to. Both these Treatises contain great variety of Geometrical Propositions concerning the Properties of many Figures, with several Arithmetical Computations relating to the Circle, Angular Sections, &c. V. *An English Treatise of Common Arithmetick*, folio. In this are contained not only the Vulgar Rules, but also the manner of extracting the square and cube roots, with the Rules of Proportion, Allegation, Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression. VI. *A Letter to Mr Clarke of Gravesend*, dated from Gresham-College the 25th of February, 1606; with which he sends him *the description of a Ruler, call'd Bedwell's Ruler*, with *Directions how to draw it.* This Mr Bedwell was a Clergyman, who had a living at Tottenham (21), and was one of the Divines in that class at Westminster, who were appointed by King James I. to revise the English Translation of the Bible (22).

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 550.

(19) Smith, ubi supra, p. 13.

(20) Lives of the Professors, &c. p. 129.

(21) Usher's Letters, p. 12.

(22) Fuller's Ch. Hist. &c. l. x. p. 45.

[*I*]—*Some others, published by other persons.*] Namely; I. *Tables for the improvement of Navigation. A Table of Declination of every minute of the Ecliptick, in degrees, minutes, and seconds. A Table of the Sun's Postaphæreses. A Table of Equations of the Sun's Ephemerides. A Table of the Sun's Declination. Tables to find the height of the Pole, in any latitude, from the height of the Pole-Star.* These Tables are printed in the second edition of Mr Edward Wright's Treatise, intitled, *Certain Errors in Navigation detected and corrected:* London, 1610, 4to (23). II. *Euclidis Elementorum VI libri priores, secundum vetera Exemplaria restituti, ex Versione Latina Frederici Commandini, aliquam multis in locis castigati: Londini*, 1620, *folio*. This was printed without his name to it. III. *Mathematica ab antiquis minus cognita.* This is a summary of the most observable inventions of modern Mathematicians, communicated by Mr Briggs to Dr George Hakewill, and published by him in several editions of his *Apologie:* London, *folio*. It is likewise printed in Mr Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham-College.* Append. No. 9.

(23) See the end of Mr Wright's Preface.

[*K*] *His character, and the opinions of writers concerning him.*] Dr Smith (24) gives him the character of a man of great probity; easy and accessible to all; free from arrogance, morosenefs, envy, ambition, and avarice; a contemner of riches, and contented with his own station; preferring a studious retirement to all the splendid circumstances of life. The learned Mr Thomas Gataker, who attended his lectures, when he was Reader of Mathematicks at St John's College in Cambridge, represents him as highly esteemed by all persons skilled in the Mathematicks both at home and abroad; and says, that desiring him once to give him his judgment concerning *Judicial Astrology*, his answer was, that he conceived it to be *a meer system of groundless conceits* (25). And Mr Oughtred calls him 'the mirror of the age for excellent skill in Geometry (26).' But his successor at Gresham-College, the famous Dr Isaac Barrow, in his *Oration* there upon his admission (27), has given his character more fully in the following passage, wherein he celebrates his great abilities, skill, and industry, in perfecting Neper's admirable invention of Logarithms; which, but for his care and pains, might have continued an imperfect and useless design. *Attestor tuum, quod nostris agmen ducit in tabulis, omni laude majus, omnique encomio celebratius nomen, doctrina, acumine, solertia, præstantissime Briggi, tu, qui Logarithmorum illud præclarissimum artificium non tua quidem (quod ad gloriam maxime fecerit) reperisti fortuna; sed (quod æque laudem meretur) consummasti industria, atque omnibus numeris absolvisti: Quod inutile forsan adhuc et imperfectum jaceret opus, fundamenti sui ruderibus obvolutum, nisi subtilissimi tu limam ingenii, et indefessæ diligentiam manus adhibuisses: Qui densas istas numerorum phalanges dum velut in aciem ordinatim instrueres, totque immensos nobis canonas concinnares, tui temporis dispendio nostri otium redemisti, tuo labore nostrum sublevasti tædium, nostro ut somno parceres ærumnosis teipsum vigiliis macerasti; dignus propterea, qui innumerabiles a nobis, neque per tuos etiam logarithmos computabiles, gratias reportares.* We shall subjoin an Epigram upon Mr Briggs, written by Mr Henry Jacob (28), who was much celebrated at that

(24) In Vit. Briggii, ubi supra.

(25) Vindicat. of the Annot. on Jerem. x. 2. p. 87.

(26) Apolog. Ep. against Rich. de Laman, p. 30.

(27) See Ward's Lives of the Professors, &c. Append. No. 10.

(28) See his Poemata Græca & Latina.

that time for his ſkill in Philology. The Point or Sting, of it is, that *Death had not put an end to his art, for his ſoul continued to* aſtronomize, *and his body to* geometrize.

Βριγγιάδης ζαστὴρ γαίης, καὶ σύνδρομος ἄστρων,
Εὐκλείδην φρονέων, καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ὅλως.
Ἦν ἔτι τεχνόβιος· μάλα γὰρ πέλεν αὐτοφανής τις
Πράξεας ἔμμετρος, φροντίδας οὐράνιος.
Παῦσε δέ μιν τέχνης οὐδ᾽ αὐτὴ μοῖρα, θανόντος
Ἀστρονομεῖ ψυχὴ, σῶμα γεωμετρέει.

BRIGGS (William), an eminent Engliſh Phyſician in the latter end of the ſeventeenth century, was born in the city of Norwich, and ſon of Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq; [*A*] four times Member of Parliament for that city; deſcended from an ancient family at Sall (*a*) in Norfolk (*b*). He was admitted into Bennet-College, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, at thirteen years of age; and educated under the care of Dr Thomas Tenniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was choſen Fellow of that Society; in which he continued ſeveral years, and had the tuition of a good number of pupils; diſcharging that truſt with honour to the college. He there took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts; and entered on the Phyſick line; in which faculty he commenced Doctor in 1677. He ſtudied with the utmoſt application, and was a good Linguiſt and Philoſopher, and well verſed in moſt parts of learning. October the twenty-ſixth 1670, he was incorporated in the Univerſity of Oxford, being then Maſter of Arts (*c*). After he had improved himſelf by his travels into foreign countries, he ſettled at London, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs, and ſoon became eminent in his profeſſion, being much eſteemed by perſons of the higheſt rank, and moſt learned of his time. He was particularly famous for his exquiſite ſkill in difficult caſes of the eye, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage; he accurately ſurveyed the eye, and was a judicious Anatomiſt, as appears by his *Ophthalmographia* and *Nova Viſionis Theoria* [*B*], an account of which treatiſes is inſerted in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*

(*a*) See Baronetage, 8vo, 1741, Vol. II. p. 251.

(*b*) See the Pedigree of the Briggs's in Blomfield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 640.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 182, ſecond edit. Lond. 1721.

[*A*] *Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq;*] Was ſon of Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq; and was educated at Norwich; where he lived many years in great credit and eſteem He was Major of the Trained-Bands, or City Militia; being ſtrenuous for his royal maſter King Charles I. In the Rebellion, he was one of thoſe gentlemen, who in 1643, joined the Earl of Newcaſtle in the ſiege of Lynn. In 1660, at the Reſtoration, he was very ſerviceable in compoſing the differences between the Dean and Chapter, and City of Norwich; and in procuring a new charter for the city. He died Auguſt 28th, 1684, in the 63d year of his age; having juſtly deſerved the character given him by the late Reverend Mr Whitefoot, Miniſter of St Peter's, who compoſed the inſcription on his monument erected in that church; for he was indeed highly loyal to his King, and yet a ſtudious preſerver of the ancient privileges of his country; was always firm and reſolute in upholding the Church of England, and aſſiduous and punctual in all the important truſts that were committed to him, whether in the auguſt aſſembly of Parliament, his honourable commands in the Militia, or his juſticiary affairs upon the Bench; gaining the affections of the people by his hoſpitality, and repeated acts of kindneſs; which he continued beyond his death, leaving the charities mentioned in his will, as a more certain remembrance to poſterity, than the periſhing monument erected by his friends, on which is the following inſcription:

Auguſtinus Briggs Armiger,
Urbis & Agri Icenorum bonus Genius:
Vir Famæ Integræ,
Judicio Sano, Ingenio ſagaci præditus:
Pietatis, Charitatis, Comitatis,
Exemplar probatiſſimum.
Civitatis aliquando Præfectus, diu Senator;
Cohortis Urbanæ Dux militaris:
Regni ad Concilium publicum 4ter Cooptatus
Suffragio Civium Unanimi.
Regi Servus (ſi quis alius) Fidiſſimus,
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Filius pientiſſimus.
Pauperum patronus munificentiſſimus.
Filium Cognominem,
Honoris & Amoris publici,
Hæredem reliquit;
Cujus pietate, hoc quicquid eſt, Monumenti
Memoriæ Sacrum,
Invidia carentis
Erectum eſt,
Obiit 28° Auguſt:
Anno { Æræ Xanæ 1684
Ætatis 67.
Cum Uxore Eliza Aldred ut diu jucundè vixit
Hic tandem placide quieſcit (*).

(*) See Blomfield's Hiſtory of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 642.

[*B*] *His Opthalmographia, and Nova Viſionis Theoria.*] They were publiſhed at Cambridge 1676, in 12mo, under this following title: *Ophthalmographia, ſive oculi ejuſque partium deſcriptio Anatomica, cui acceſſit nova viſionis Theoria.* Theſe two treatiſes are highly commended by moſt authors, who have ſince written upon that ſubject. Dr William Derham, in his *Phyſico-Theology* (1), cites them with great commendation; and Sir Iſaac Newton, then Profeſſor of Mathematicks in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in his letter to the author, expreſſes his approbation of thoſe treatiſes in the following terms. 'Vir clariſſime, hiſce 'tuis tractatibus duas magni nominis ſcientias uno 'opere promoves, Anatomicum dico et Opticam. Or'gani enim (in quo utraque verſatur) artificio ſummo 'constructi diligenter perſcrutaris myſteria. In hujus 'diſſectione peritiam et dexteritatem tuam non exiguo 'olim mihi oblectamento fuiſſe recorder. Muſculis 'motoriis ſecundum ſitum ſuum naturalem eleganter à 'te expanſis, cæteriſque partibus coram expoſitis, ſic 'ut ſingulorum uſus et miniſteria non tam intelligere 'liceret, quam cernere, effecerat dudum, ut ex cultro 'hic nihil non accuratum ſperarem. Nec ſpem falle'bat eximius ille Tractatus Anatomicus, quem poſt'modum edidiſti. Jam praxeos hujus ἀκρίβειαν per'gis ingenioſiſſimâ Theoriâ inſtruere et exornare. 'Et quis Theoriis condendis aptior extiterit, quam 'qui phænomenis accuratè obſervandis navârit ope'ram? &c.——i. e. *By theſe two Treatiſes you pro'mote two ſciences of great importance, Anatomy and 'Optics. For you have accurately penetrated into the 'myſteries of the Organ, upon which both of them is con'verſant, and which is formed with the higheſt art 'imaginable. I remember, that your ſkill and dexte'rity in the diſſection of that organ formerly gave me 'great pleaſure. And as you had elegantly opened the 'motory muſcles according to their natural ſituation, 'and explained the other parts in ſuch a manner, that 'we might not only underſtand, but even ſee the ſecret 'uſes of each of them, I expected every thing to be accu'rately performed by your diſſection. Nor was I de'ceived in my hopes by your extellent Anatomical Trea'tiſe, which you publiſhed ſince. You are now going on 'to adorn theſe exact diſcoveries with a very ingenious 'Theory. And indeed who is more qualified to form 'theories, than he, who has taken ſuch pains in ob'ſerving the phænomena of nature with ſo much accu'racy?*' Sir Iſaac concludes with encouraging the Doctor to proceed, as he had begun, in improving thoſe ſciences with his admirable diſcoveries; and to ſhew the world, that the difficulties with regard to natural cauſes, may be as eaſily ſurmounted by application and ſagacity, as they are hard to be overcome by the ordinary efforts of the generality of mankind. 'Pergas 'itaque, Vir ornatiſſime, ſcientias haſce præclaris in'ventis, uti facis, excolere, doceaſque difficultates 'cauſarum naturalium tam facilè ſolertia vinci poſſe,

(1) Book iv, cap. ii.

'quam

Transactions of the Royal Society (*d*), of which he was Fellow, as well as of the College of Physicians. He likewise wrote two other pieces [C]. In his letter before Mr John Brown's *Graphical Description of the Muscles* 1697, he informs the publick, that he had thoughts of publishing a tract about the uses and distempers of the Eye; and also another against the Epicurean Sect, about the origin of man [D], but he did not finish them. He was Physician in ordinary to King William III, and Physician to St Thomas's Hospital in Southwark (*e*). He married Hannah, sole Daughter and heiress of Edmund Hobart, Gent. of Holt in Norfolk [E], a descendant of Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-

(*d*) No. CXXIX, and CXLVII.

(*e*) Wood, ubi supra.

'quam solent conatibus vulgaribus difficulter cedere. 'Vale.' In this work the Doctor considers the form, parts, and motions of the eye, in an exact and curious manner; and as he thoroughly understood the œconomy of this admirable organ, he gives this character of it. 'Inter præcipuas corporis animati partes, quæ 'magni conditoris nostri sapientiam ostenderunt, nulla 'fane reperitur, quæ majori pompâ eluceat, quam ipse 'oculus, aut quæ elegantiori formâ concinnatur. Dum 'enim aliæ partes vel minori satellitio stipantur, vel in 'tantam venustatem haud assurgunt, Ocelli peculiarem 'honorem et decus a supremo Numine afflatum reserunt, et nunquam non stupendæ suæ potentiæ characteres repræsentant. Nulla sanè pars tam divino 'artificio et ordine, &c (z). —— *Among the principal parts of an animated body, which display the 'wisdom of our great Creator, there is none which appears with greater magnificence, or is formed in a 'more elegant manner, than the eye. For while other 'parts are either less attended and guarded, or do not 'rise to so great a share of beauty; the eyes have a 'peculiar grace and honour breathed upon them by the 'Almighty himself, and perpetually display the marks of 'his amazing power. For no part indeed with such 'divine skill and harmony*, &c.' The *Theory of Vision*, and the continuation of that discourse, were at first inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions* in English; but the author, a few years after, translated them into Latin, and annexed them to his *Ophthalmographia*, to which they properly belong, in a second edition printed at London 1685, in 8vo. They were published also at Leyden; and are more frequently to be met with in the booksellers shops in Holland, than in England. Dr William Wotton in his *Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning* (3), gives an account of the discoveries of our author with regard to the eye; and having remarked, that the Ancients found out the humours of it, the watry, crystalline, and glassy, and all it's tunicles, and gave a good description of them; but that the optic nerve, the aqueous ducts, which supply the watry humour, and the vessels, which carry tears, were not sufficiently examined; he tells us, that the first was done by Dr Briggs, who has found, that in the Tunica Retiformis, which is contiguous to the glassy humour, the filaments of the optic nerve there expanded, lie in a most exact and regular order, all parallel one to another; which, when they are united afterwards in the nerve, are not shuffled confusedly together, but still preserve the same order, until they come to the brain. The crystalline humour, continues Dr Wotton, had already been discovered to be of a double-convex figure, made of two unequal segments of spheres, and not perfectly spherical, as the Ancients thought. So that this farther discovery made by Dr Briggs, shews evidently why all the parts of the image are so distinctly carried to the brain, since every ray strikes upon a several filament of the optic nerve, and all those strings so struck are moved equably at the same time. He observes afterwards (4), that the Lymphæducts, through which the moisture is conveyed from the two glands in the corner of the eyes, were not fully traced 'till Steno (5) and Briggs described them.

(z) Ophthalmog. cap. i. §. 1.

(3) Cap. xvii. p. 203, & seq. third edit. Lond. 1705, 8vo.

(4) Page 205.

(5) Observat. Anatomicæ de Oris Oculorum & Narium Vasis.

[C] *Wrote two other pieces.*] The first is intituled, *Two remarkable Cases relating to Vision*: published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. CLIX. p. 562. May the 20th, 1684. The other is intituled, Solutio Philosophica casus cujusdem rarioris in Actis Philosophicis, No. CLIX. nuper edit. de Juvene vesperi cæcutiente, *i. e. A Philosophical Solution of an uncommon Case*, lately printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No CLIX. concerning a youth, who was blind in the evening.

[D] *About the origin of man.*] The Doctor after commending Mr Brown's industry, says — 'The peculiar frame and uses of the muscles in man (particularly of the hands) are wonderful, as they are requisite 'not only in the fine operations of your art, but also 'in Agriculture, Navigation, Writing, Manufacture, 'Building, and all sorts of mechanic Arts (which the 'brutes are not capable of) to which the exquisite 'fabrick of those of the legs in some of these assist; 'but besides, the formation of the *lumbricales* and '*perforantes* in the hand (described Tab. 22, and '24.) are requisite in the fine stops of the organ, 'and other musical instruments in the service of the 'great Creator, as the muscles of the tongue and 'larynx are subservient to those hymns and praises we 'duly offer to him; whereas, the beasts (who were not 'designed for that harmony) have only one particular 'note to call to their kind, or be distinguished by. It 'was the consideration of this, that made Galen so 'sensible of the admirable œconomy of the body in 'his tract *de Usu partium*; and Mr Hobbes confesses 'the same (*Lib. de Homine, cap.* 1.) where representing 'Epicurus's opinion, about the *autocthones* or *terrigenæ*, he is ashamed of it, (as I also knew by his 'conversation) and, like a convert of the more learned Harvey on that subject, as to the formation of 'the fœtus, and it's nourishment afterwards by the 'breasts, ends the chapter in these words: *Qui machinas omnes, tum generationis tum nutritionis satis 'perspexerint, nec tamen eas a mente aliqua, conditas 'ordinatasque ad sua quasque officia viderint, ipsi profecto 'sine mente esse censendi sunt.*

'The make indeed of the parts of the human 'body, at first view, is very surprizing; and the rude 'dissections in the time of Galen, the inspections of 'the *viscera*, and the sacrifices of the dark ages '(which obtained universally) gave many glimpses of 'the great author; but the improvement of Anatomy 'in our times, and the help we have by Microscopes 'of viewing more thoroughly the curious formation of 'the parts, sets us in a much better light, and raises 'our admiration higher. The consideration hereof 'may afford excellent and convincing arguments against 'the growing atheism of our age, and may prevail more 'than those of a metaphysical nature on the Scepticks or 'half-witted Philosophers amongst us; and I doubt not, 'but by a *Mecænas* that may encourage here, a set of 'ingenious Anatomists, the learned Mr Boyle's noble 'design in his Lectures might be compleated. I confess, I have sometimes thought of publishing a tract, 'against the Epicurean sect, that has lain by me for 'some years, about the *Origin of Man*; (before I shall 'those I have promised about the uses and distempers 'of the parts of the eye) and I question not but the 'argument, with the fore-mentioned assistance, might 'be so managed as to make atheism as ridiculous as 'those excellent Prelates, and others of our times, have 'done superstition and idolatry. I could wish, in order hereunto, that Anatomical studies were encouraged and brought to the greatest perfection, and 'the description and uses of all the parts accurately 'set forth; and as you have taken a great deal of 'pains in this treatise, so I could wish (wherein I 'hope you will excuse the liberty of friendship) that 'there might be a further progress in the graphical 'description of the muscles, and that their admirable '*series fibrarum* (as they serve to so many several motions of the body) were delineated in the Mathematical method of the learned Steno, if any *Taille Douce* 'can reach it.'

[E] *Of Holt in Norfolk.*] This Mr Hobart was an eminent Royalist in the late civil wars; he was forced from his paternal seat, upon it's being discovered that he was one of those Norfolk gentlemen that intended an insurrection in favour of the King; a party of soldiers were sent to Holt to take him, who were very industrious so to do: he was three days concealed by Anthony Riches, a Currier in Holt, in the top of an out-house where he laid his firing; and after that, narrowly

Common-Pleas, in the reign of King James I, and related to the honourable family of that name, at Blicking in the said county; she was a woman of excellent sense and great virtue, highly valued and loved in every relation of life. Our author died September the fourth, 1704, aged sixty-two years, at Town-Malling in Kent, where he lies interred. He left three children, Mary, Henry, and Hannah. Mary, married to Thomas Bromfield, M.D. of London; Hannah, to Denny Martin, Gent. of Loose in Kent; and Henry, now Rector of Holt, and Chaplain in ordinary to His Majesty.

narrowly escaped them as he went to London; but getting thither safely, he let himself as a servant to a Shoemaker in Turnstile, Holbourn, who was made privy to his man's circumstances. He was once near being taken up on suspicion in the way of his business, as he was fitting a wife of one of Oliver's Colonels with a pair of shoes, observing he had a very white hand, she could not forbear saying, she feared he was some cavalier rogue in disguise, being sure those hands never handled shoe-maker's wax; upon which, he confessed to her good Ladyship, that he was a very idle fellow, and not being able to settle to the working part of his trade, his master wholly employed him to carry out shoes; and so he was dismissed without further examination.——At the Restoration he carried his master with him to Holt, and maintained him as long as he lived. N

BROUNCKER, or BROUNKER (Sir WILLIAM) Lord Viscount of Castle-Lyons, in Ireland, and the first President of the Royal Society, was the son of Sir William Brounker, Knt. [A], and born about the year 1620 (a). What place he was educated at we cannot learn. But he applied himself with so much diligence and success, to the study of the Mathematicks, that he arrived to great perfection in that branch of useful knowledge. On the twenty-third of June 1646, he was created Doctor of Physick at Oxford (b). In April 1660, he subscribed, among many others of the Nobility and Gentry, a Declaration, wherein General Monk was acknowledged the restorer of the laws and privileges of these nations (c). Before the forming of the Royal Society, he was one of those ingenious persons, of which the assemblies that gave rise to it consisted (d). And when it was incorporated by charter, in the fourteenth of King Charles II (e), he was nominated the first President of that illustrious Society (f). In this station he continued about fifteen years [B]; and was of great service, as well as a considerable ornament, to the Society, by his learning and experience. He enjoyed at the same time the following places of honour and profit; namely, the office of Chancellor to Queen Catharine, and the keeping of her Great Seal: he was also one of the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral; and Master of St Catharine's Hospital near the Tower of London. This last he obtained in 1681, after a long suit at law, between him and Sir Robert Atkins, one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas, concerning the right of the same (g). Tho' he was a learned and ingenious person, there are but these few things extant under his name, *viz.* 'Experiments of the recoiling of Guns (h).' 'An Alegebraical Paper upon the Squaring of the Hyperbola (i).' 'Several Letters to Dr James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh,' printed at the end of that Primate's life, by Dr R. Parr. He died at his house in St James's-street, Westminster, April the fifth 1684, aged sixty-four years; and was buried the fourteenth of the same month, in a little vault, which he had caused to be made in the middle of the choir, belonging to the Hospital of St Catharine abovementioned (k). He was succeeded in his honour by his younger brother Henry [C].

(a) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 25, 56. That he was born in 1620, I gather from hence: because Mr Wood tells us, he was 25 years old at the time of his father's decease, in 1645, col. 25.

(b) Ibid. col. 56.

(c) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c Lond. 1728, fol. p. 120, 121.

(d) Ibid. p. 868.

(e) Anno 1662. See Bp. Spratt's Hist. of the Royal Society, second edit. p. 134.

(f) Ibid. p. 134, &c.

(g) Wood, ubi supra, col. 56, 57.

(h) Published in Bishop Spratt's Hist. of the Royal Society, Lond. 1702, second edit. p. 233, &c.

(i) Published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. XXXIV, p. 645. and in Lowthorp's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 10, &c.

(k) Wood, ubi supra, col. 57.

[A] *Was the son of Sir* William *Brounker, Kt.*] This Sir William (who was son of Sir Henry Brounker, President of Munster in Ireland, by Anne his wife, sister of (*) Henry Lord Morley) was Commissary-General of the Musters in the expedition against the Scots in 1639; and, afterwards, one of the Privy-chamber to King Charles I. and Vice-Chamberlain to Prince Charles. On the 1st of November, 1642, he was created Doctor of the Civil Law at Oxford; and, the 12th of September, 1645, made Viscount of Castle-Lyons in Ireland. He died in Wadham-College about the middle of November following, and was buried the 20th of the same month, in the cathedral of Christ-Church in Oxford. Winefride, his widow, daughter of William Leigh, of Newnham in Warwickshire, died the 20th of July 1649, and was buried by her husband. Many years after a large marble-stone was laid over their graves, and in the wall near it was erected a splendid monument of alabaster with their statues sitting, both leaning on a table that stands between them (1).

[B] *In this station he continued about fifteen years.*] And, as Bishop Spratt observes (2), 'This office was annually renewed to him by election, out of the true judgment, which the Society made of his great abilities in all Natural, and especially Mathematical Knowledge.'

[C] *By his younger brother* Henry.] Who was created Doctor of Physick June 23, 1646; and dying about the 4th of January 1687, was buried at Richmond in Surrey, where there is a monument over his grave (3). C

(*) There is no such person mentioned by Sir W. Dugdale in his Baronage, Vol. II. p. 307.

(1) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 25.

(2) Ubi supra, p. 433.

(3) Wood, ubi supra, col. 57.

BROWN (ROBERT) an English Divine, of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century; and a famous Schismatick, from whom the sect of the Brownists derived it's name. He was descended of an antient and worshipful family, says Fuller (a), (one whereof founded a fair hospital in Stamford (b)) and was nearly allied to the Lord-Treasurer Cecil. He was the son of Anthony Brown, of Tolthorp in Rutlandshire, Esq; (*) (tho' born at Northampton, according to (†) Mr Collier) and grandson of Francis Brown, whom King Henry VIII, in the eighteenth year of his reign, privileged by charter to wear his cap in the presence of himself, his heirs, or any of his nobles, and not to uncover but at his own pleasure; which charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament. Robert Brown studied Divinity at Cambridge, Fuller thinks in Corpus Christi College, but Mr Collier (c) says he was of Bennet, and was afterwards a schoolmaster in Southwark (||). He was soon discovered

(a) Fuller's Ch. Hist B. ix. p. 166.

(b) Camd Britan. in Lincolnshire.

(*) Ant. Wood says he was the son of a Knight. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 341.

(†) Collier's Great Historical Dict. Vol. I. article *Brownists*. Fuller, ut supra.

(c) Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 581.

(||) Collier's Dict. ut supra. Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Notitiæ, in the Index Hæreticus, p. 16.

discovered by Dr Still, Master of Trinity-College, to have somewhat extraordinary in him that would prove a great disturbance to the Church. Brown soon verified what the Doctor foretold, for he fell into Cartwright's opinions, in which however having discovered some defects, he resolved to refine upon his scheme, and to produce something more perfect of his own. Accordingly, about the year 1580, he began to enveigh openly against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, and soon shewed, that he intended to go much farther than Cartwright had ever done (*). In his discourses the Church government was Antichristian, her Sacraments clogged with superstition; the Liturgy had a mixture of Popery and Paganism in it; and the Mission of the Clergy, was no better than that of Baal's Priests in the Old Testament. He first preached at Norwich, in 1581, where the Dutch having a numerous congregation, many of them inclined to Anabaptism, and therefore the more disposed to entertain any new resembling opinion, he made his first essay upon them, and having made some progress amongst them, and raised himself a character for zeal and sanctity, he then began to infect his own countrymen, for which purpose he called in the assistance of one Richard Harrison, a country schoolmaster (*d*), and they formed Churches out of both nations, but mostly of the English. He instructed his audience, that the Church of England was no true Church, that there was little of Christ's institution in the publick ministrations, and that all good Christians were obliged to separate from those impure assemblies; that their only way was to join him and his disciples, among whom all was pure and unexceptionable, evidently inspired by the Spirit of God, and refined from all alloy and prophanation (*e*). These discourses prevailed on the audience, and his disciples, now called Brownists, formed a society, and made a total defection from the Church, refusing to join any congregation in any publick office of worship. Brown being convened before Dr Freake, Bishop of Norwich, and other Ecclesiastical Commissioners; he not only maintained his schism, to justify which he had also wrote a book, but he misbehaved himself to the Court, upon which he was committed to the custody of the Sheriff of Norwich; but his relation, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, imputing his error and obstinancy, to zeal, rather than malice, interceeded to have him charitably persuaded out of his opinions, and released. To this end, he wrote the following letter to the Bishop of Norwich, which procured his enlargement [*A*]. After this his Lordship ordered Brown up to London, and recommended him to Archbishop Whitgift for his instruction and counsel, in order to his amendment; but Brown left the kingdom, and settled at Middleburgh in Zealand, where he and his followers, obtained leave of the States, to worship God in their own way, and form a church according to their own model, which was drawn in a book published by Brown at Middleburgh in 1582, and called a *Treatise of Reformation, without staying for any Man*, and of which we shall give an account hereafter. What stay Brown made at Middleburgh, is not precisely known, but that he was in England in 1585, is very certain, for in that year he was cited to appear before Archbishop Whitgift, to answer to certain matters contained in a book by him published; but what this was we are not informed. The Archbishop however, a mild and moderate Prelate, by force of reasoning, brought Brown at last to a tolerable compliance with the Church of England, and having dismissed him, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, sent him to his father in the country, with a letter to recommend him to his favour and countenance. It is from this letter, which see in note [*B*], that

(*) See the article CARTWRIGHT (THOMAS).

(*d*) Fuller and Collier, ubi supra.

(*e*) Heylyn's Hist. of Presbyt. l. vii.

[*A*] *Wrote the following Letter* (*) *to the Bishop of Norwich, which procured his enlargement.*] viz.

(*) Extant in Fuller's Church Hist. ut supra.

'AFTER my very hearty recommendations to 'your Lordship; whereas, I understand that one 'Brown a preacher, is by your Lordship and others 'of the ecclesiastical commission, committed to the 'custody of the Sheriff of Norfolk, where he remains 'a prisoner, for some matter of offence uttered by 'him by way of preaching, wherein I perceive by 'sight of some Letters written by certain godly preach-'ers in your Lordship's diocese he hath been dealt 'with, and by them dissuaded from that course he 'hath taken. Forasmuch, as he is my kinsman, if he 'be son to him whom I take him to be, and that 'his error seemeth to proceed of zeal rather than of 'malice, I do therefore wish he were charitably con-'ferred with, and reformed; which course I pray 'your Lordship may be taken with him, either by 'your Lordship, or such as your Lordship shall assign 'for that purpose. And in case there shall not follow 'thereof such success, as may be to your liking, that 'then you would be content to permit him to repair 'hither to London, to be further dealt with as I 'shall take order for upon his coming, for which 'purpose I have written a Letter to the Sheriff, if 'your Lordship shall like thereof. And so I bid your 'Lordship heartily farewel. From the court at 'Westminster, this 21st of April, 1581.'

Your Lordship's ever loving friend,

W. B.

[*B*] *It is from this letter, which see in note* [*B*].

'AFTER my very hearty recommendations; un-'derstanding that your son Robert Brown had 'been sent for up by my Lord Bishop of Canterbury to 'answer to such matters as he was to be charged with-'al, contained in a book made by him, and pub-'lished in print (as it was thought) by his means; I 'thought good, considering he was your son, and of 'my blood, to send unto my Lord of Canterbury in 'his behalf, that he might find what reasonable fa-'vour he could shew him; before whom I perceive he 'hath answered in some good sort; and altho' I think 'he will not deny the making of the book, yet by 'no means will he confess to be acquainted with the 'printing of it. He hath besides yielded unto his 'Lordship such further contentment, as he is contented '(the rather at my motion) to discharge him; and 'therefore for that he purposeth to repair to you, I 'have thought good to accompany him with these my 'letters, and to pray you for this cause, or any his 'former dealings, not to withdraw from him your 'fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with 'time he will be fully recovered, and withdraw from 'the reliques of some fond opinions of his, which 'will be the better done, if he be dealt withal in some 'kind, and temperate manner. And so I bid you 'heartily farewel. From my house near the Savoy 'this eighth of October 1585.'

Your loving friend and cousin,

WILLIAM BURGHLEY.

that we have gathered this circumstance of his life. And from another letter of the Lord Treasurer's in note [C], we also learn, that Brown's errors had sunk so deep in him, as not to be so easily rooted out as was imagined, and that he soon relapsed into his former opinions and heterodoxies, and shewed himself so incorrigible, that his good old father resolved to own him for his son, no longer than his son owned the Church of England for his mother; and Brown choosing rather to part with his aged sire, than his new schism, he was discharged the family. When gentleness was found ineffectual, severity was next practised, and Brown, after wandering up and down, and enduring great hardships, at length went to live at Northampton, where, industriously labouring to promote his sect, Lindsell, Bishop of Peterborough, sent him a citation to come before him, which Brown refused to obey; for which contempt he was excommunicated (f). And this it was which proved the means of his reformation, for he was so deeply affected with the solemnity of this censure, that he made his submission, moved for absolution, and received it, and from that time continued in the communion of the Church, tho' it was not in his power to close the chasm, or heal the wound he had made in it [D]. It was towards the year 1590, that Brown renounced his principles of separation, and was soon after preferred to the Rectory of a church in Northamptonshire (g). Fuller does not believe that Brown ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main points of his doctrine; but that his promise of a general compliance with the Church of England, improved by the countenance of his patron and kinsman, the Earl of Exeter, prevailed upon the Archbishop, and procured this extraordinary favour for him. He adds, that Brown allowed a salary for one to discharge his cure, and tho' he opposed his parishioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tythes (h). Brown was a man of good parts and some learning, but was of a nature imperious and uncontroulable, so far from the Sabbatarian strictness, afterwards espoused by some of his followers, that he rather seemed a libertine therein. In a word, says our author (i), he has a wife with whom he never lived, and a church in which he never preached, tho' he received the profits thereof; and as all the other scenes of his life were stormy and turbulent, so was his end; for the constable of his parish, requiring somewhat roughly, the payment of certain rates, his passion moved him to blows, of which the constable complaining to Justice St John, he rather inclined to pity, than punish him; but Brown, at fair words also disgusted, behaved with so much insolence, that he was sent to Northampton goal, on a feather bed in a cart, being very infirm, and aged about eighty years; where he soon after sickened and died, anno 1630 (k), after boasting, *that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day.* This was the life and tragical end, of the famous Schismatic, Robert Brown, whose writings,

(f) Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 582.

(g) Collier, ut supra.

(h) Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. ix. p. 168.

(i) Fuller, ubi supra.

(k) Heylyn's Hist. Presbyt. Biblioth. Scriptor. Ecclef. Anglic. Præfat. Fuller and Collier, ut supra.

Mr Collier places this circumstance of the Lord Treasurer's sending Brown home to his father, with his letter of recommendation, immediately after his being released from his confinement at Norwich, in the year 1581; and both he and Fuller seem to be mistaken in another circumstance also, for they say, that Brown went first to Zealand before he began preaching at Norwich; if this be true, he must have been twice abroad, for it is certain, he was there in 1582, when he published the book above-mentioned at Middleburgh; it seems however, more probable that he did not go there at all, 'till 1581, after he had been released from his confinement at Norwich.

[C] *Another Letter of the Lord Treasurer's.*

'AFTER my very hearty commendations; I perceive by your Letters, that you have little or no hopes of your son's conformity, as you had when you received him into your house, and therefore you seem desirous that you might have liberty to remove him further off from you, as either to Stamford or some other place, which I know no cause, but you may very well and lawfully do, where I wish he might better be persuaded to conform himself for his own good, and your's and his friends comfort. And so I very heartily bid you farewel. From the Court this 17th of February, 1585.'

Your very loving friend and cousin,

WILLIAM BURGHLEY.

[D] *It was not in his power to heal the wound he had made in the Church.*] The revolt of Brown was far from being followed with the dissolution of the sect, on the contrary it daily increased, insomuch that in 1592, Sir Walter Ralegh, in a speech which he delivered in the House of Commons, computes no less than twenty thousand followers of it. This speech was made upon occasion of a scheme which was then on foot, for transporting all the Brownists, and which actually produced a bill in Parliament for explaining a branch in *an act to retain the Queen's subjects in due obedience.* But before the bill was committed, many speeches passed in the house, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the said bill: for it pretended a punishment only of the Brownists and other sectaries; but, alledging nothing against them in particular, contained some ensnaring clauses that might comprehend more innocent persons (1). As the speeches before Sir Walter Ralegh's, on this occasion, are not rehearsed, we can only guess at them by what is preserved of his; who said, 'in my conceit, the Brownists are worthy to be rooted out of a commonwealth, but what danger may grow to ourselves if this law pass, were fit to be considered. For it is to be feared, that men not guilty will be included in it; and that law is hard, that taketh life, and sendeth into banishment, where men's intentions shall be judged by a Jury, and they shall be judges what another means. But that law which is against a fact, is but just, and punish the fact as severally as you will. If two or three thousand Brownists meet at sea, at whose charge shall they be transported, or whither will you send them? I am sorry for it, but I am afraid there are near twenty thousand of them in England; and when they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and children (2)?' A committee was therefore appointed to revise and correct this bill; among whom Sir Walter Ralegh was the foremost named; who, after many alterations, and debates, moved it might be read to the house for their approbation: and after many arguments and conferences, being read the third time, as were also the additions and amendments, it passed, upon the question. Accordingly the laws were executed with great severity on the Brownists, their books were prohibited by the Queen's orders, and their persons imprisoned, and many of them hanged (3). The ecclesiastical commission, and the Star-Chamber, in fine, distressed them to such a degree, that they resolved to quit their country. Accordingly many families retired to Holland and settled at Amsterdam, where they formed a Church (*).

(1) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr Oldys, p. 68.

(2) Townshend's Histor. Collect. p. 76. Dewes's Journal, fol. 517. Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr Oldys, p. 69. Happy Future State of England, fol. 28c.

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. ix p. 167. Stow's Chronic. p. 697.

(*) See note [F].

[E] Whose

writings, and those of other authors, both for and against Brownism, come next under our consideration [*E*]; as also the particular tenets of the Brownists, their progress and end, which we

[*E*] *Whose writings, and those of other authors, both for and against* Brownism, *come next under our consideration.*] The writings and controversies which the separation of the *Brownists* occasioned, are many; the chief of *Brown*'s own works is a small thin quarto, which contains the model and seeds of *Brownism*, in three pieces, printed at Middleburgh in 1582. The title of the first is, *A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those preachers which will not reform themselves and their charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them. By me,* Robert Brown. The drift of this piece is to spirit up the people to separate themselves from the Church and follow him; and also to exclude the Civil Magistrate from having any authority over ecclesiastical persons or affairs.—The second piece is, *A Treatise upon the 23d chapter of St Matthew, both for an order of studying and handling the Scriptures, and also for avoiding the Popish disorders, and ungodly communion of all false Christians, and especially of wicked preachers and hirelings.* In this piece he exclaims against the abuse of Tongues in preaching, that is against the use of Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, in sermons: Also against the Use of Logick and Rhetorick, Tropes, Figures, &c. Against disorderly preaching at Paul's Cross in London, or before the Queen, the Bishops, or Noblemen; and against parish Preachers and hired Lecturers.—The title of the third piece is, *A Book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are unto Turks and Papists, and Heathen folk. Also the points and parts of all Divinity, that is, of the revealed will and word of God, are declared by their several definitions and divisions, following.* Every Page is divided into Columns, thus:

The State of Christians.	The State of Heathens.	Definitions.	Divisions.
1. Wherefore are we called the People of God and Christians? Because that by a willing Covenant made with our God, we are under the government of God and Christ, and thereby lead a godly and Christian life.	1. Wherefore are the Heathen forsaken of God, and be the cursed People of the world? Because they forsake or refuse the Lord's Covenant and government; and therefore they lead an ungodly and worldly life.	1. Christians are a company or number of believers, which by a willing Covenant made with their God, are under the Government of God, and Christ, and keep his Laws in one Holy Communion: Because they are redeemed by Christ, unto holiness and happiness for ever, for which they were fallen by the sin of Adam.	Christians which shoud lead a godly life, by knowing God, and the duties of Godliness.
2. How should we lead a godly and Christian life? By knowing God, and the duties of Godliness; and by keeping those duties.	2. How do the Heathen lead an ungodly and worldly life? By ignorance of God, and deceiving themselves; and by sinning and faulting to their own destruction.	2. The knowledge of God and Godliness, is a right and stedfast judgment in his Godhead and most blessed state; and of his whole will in his word, &c.	By keeping those duties.

This is a very curious and well wrote piece; the first column, containing the state of Christians, is orthodox, and a pretty system of Divinity, shewing the several points of the Christian faith, and the several duties and offices of Religion. The Definitions, in the third column, are very clear and expressive; but the second column, containing the Heathen State, and also the Antichristian State, as it is afterwards called, is entirely levelled against the Church, as to it's discipline and form of government, which it revises in bitter terms, and, at the same time, defends the separation of the Brownists. Some part of it is also called the Jewish State; and the whole contains 185 queries, and answers.

In the year 1596, was published another piece in defence of the Brownists, under the title of, *A true Confession of the Faith, and humble acknowledgement of the allegiance which we, her Majesty's subjects, falsely called Brownists, do hold towards God, and yield to her Majesty and all other that are over us in the Lord. Set down in articles or positions, for the better and more easy understanding of those that shall read it; and published for the clearing ourselves from those unchristian slanders of Heresy, Schism, Pride, Obstinacy, Disloyalty, Sedition, &c. which by our adversaries are in all places given out against us.* The preface to this piece is full of complaints of the severe usage to the Brownists; and the Confession of Faith itself, is no other than that of every Protestant; but what regards the Church, agrees only with the principles of their separation, laid down from numberless texts of Scripture. In the last page of this work, which is a thin octavo pamphlet, we have an account of their opinion concerning the Lord's Prayer, in these words. 'Finally, whereas we are 'much slandered, as if we denied or misliked that 'form of prayer commonly called the Lord's Prayer, 'we thought it needful here also concerning it, to make 'known, that we believe and acknowledge it to be a 'most absolute and most excellent form of Prayer, such 'as no men or angels can set down the like. And that 'it was taught and appointed by our Lord Jesus Christ, 'not that we should be tied to the use of those very 'words, but that we should, according to that rule, 'make all our requests and thanksgivings unto God; 'forasmuch as it is a perfect form and pattern, con'taining in it plain and sufficient directions for prayer 'upon all occasions, and necessities that have been, are, 'or shall be, to the Church of God, or any member 'thereof to the end of the world.' This opinion they ground upon the following passages of the New Testament, among many others, Matth. vi. 9. *After this manner therefore pray ye: Our father which,* &c. Luke xi. 1, 2. *One of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And he said unto them, when ye pray, say, Our father,* &c. (5). (5) True Confession of the Faith of the Brownists, article 45.
There was also a Confession of the Faith of the Brownists published in the Year 1602, by the learned Mr Ainsworth and Mr Johnson. There was likewise an Apology for the Brownists published by Mr Robinson, one of their Ministers.

In the year 1612 appeared a very severe piece against the Brownists, called *The profane Schism of the Brownists, or Separatists; with the impiety, dissensions, lewd and abominable vices, of that impure sect;* discovered by four of their members lately returned from the company of Mr Johnson, into the bosom of the Church of England. If this be a true picture of the Brownists, they must have been a very profligate set of people. There were some very learned men who took great pains to confute the Brownists. Dr Hall, Bishop of Exeter, wrote with great strength of reason against them, in a piece called, *A common apology for the Church of England, against the unjust challenges of the over-just sect, commonly called Brownists, wherein the grounds and differences of the separation are largely discussed.* The famous and learned Dr John Rainolds wrote *A Defence of the*

we shall take a view of in note [*F*].

(*) See the article RAINOLDS (JOHN).

the English Liturgy against Robert Brown's schismatical book, &c (*). Dr Fulke also wrote very learnedly against the Brownists; as did Mr Daytel; Bredwell in his *Detection of Glover the Brownist*; Giffard's *Treatise of English Donatists*, and his *Reply to Barrow and Greenwood*, &c.

[*F*] *The particular tenets of the Brownists, their progress and end, we shall take a view of in the note.*] In the year 1599, there was a long controversy carried on in print, between Francis Johnson a Brownist, and H. Jacob, about some of the tenets of the Brownists. The whole of this was published together at Middleburgh, the same year, in a small quarto pamphlet, consisting of 91 pages, under the title of, *A defence of the churches and ministery of England, against the reasons and objections of Maister Francis Johnson, and others of the separation commonly called Brownists. In two treatises. Published especially for the benefit of those in these parts of the Low Countries.* In one of these treatises is a recapitulation of all the chief objections raised by the Brownists against the Church of England; and from which we may gather a much more complete account of the tenets and doctrines of this famous sect, than from any thing else ever published concerning it; and it is truly authentick, because wrote by a Brownist, then one of the leaders of that sect, we shall therefore give it a place here, not for the same reason for which the author published it, which was to shew the black constitution of the Church, as he terms it, and the Antichristian enormities still remaining and practised therein; but to give the reader, at one view, the whole system of Brownism, many particulars of which, but for this recapitulation, might have remained unknown, and seem indeed to have been so to all those who have hitherto wrote concerning this sect. It will therefore be the more acceptable to the reader, since it is no where extant, that we know of, but in the piece in which it was originally published, and which perhaps few, if any, of our readers, may at this time meet with. It is called,

Antichristian Abominations yet reteyned in England.

1. *The confusion of all sorts of people in the body of their (the English) Church; even the most polluted, and their seed being members thereof.* It then enumerates all the Officers and Ministers of the Church, from the Archbishop, down even to the Sexton and Organ Blower, all of them of the Antichristian and *viperous generation.* 2. *Their ministration of the Word, Sacraments, and Government of the Church by virtue of the officers aforesaid.* The Brownists held, that the evil life of the Minister took away the efficacy of the Sacraments. *The titles of Primate, Metropolitan, Lords, Grace, Lordship, &c. ascribed to the Prelates.* 3. *The inferior Prelates swearing obedience to the metropolitical Sees of Canterbury and York.* 4. *The inferior Ministers when they enter into the ministery, promising obedience to the Prelates, and their ordinances; and when they are inducted to benefices, confirming it with their oath.* 5. *The Deacon's and Priest's presentation to a Lord Bishop, by an Archdeacon.* 6. *Their receiving of orders of the Prelates, or their suffragans.* 7. *Their pontifical, or book of consecrating Bishops, and of ordering Priests and Deacons, taken out of the Pope's pontifical, where their abuse of Scripture to that end, their Collects, Epistles,* &c. *may be seen.* 8. *Their making, and being made, Priests, with blasphemy; the Prelates saying to whom they make Priests,* Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven, *&c.* 9. *Their confounding of Civil and Ecclesiastical Offices, and authorities in ecclesiastical persons.* 10. *Their retaining and using in their publick worship, the apocryphal books, which have in them divers errors, untruths, blasphemies, and contradiction to the canonical Scriptures.* 11. *Their stinted Prayers and Liturgy, taken out of the Pope's Mass book, with the same order of Psalms, Lessons, Collects, Pater Nosters, Epistles, Gospels, Versicles, Responds,* &c. The Brownists, in general, rejected all set forms of prayer, and held, that the Lord's Prayer ought not to be used as a prayer, in it's present form of words, being only intended as a model whereon our extempore prayers are to be formed (6). 12. *The Cross in Baptism.* 13. *The Halloved Font, questions to the Infants at Baptism.* 14. *The Godfathers and Godmothers promising that the child doth believe, forsake the Devil and all his works,* &c. 15. *Womens baptising of children; which maintaineth that heresy, that the children are damned, which die unbaptized.* They would not allow any children to be baptized, whose parents were not members of the Church, or of such as did not take sufficient care of the education of those formerly baptized. 16. *Their howseling of the Sick, and ministring the Communion to one alone.* 17. *The ministring it, not with the words of Christ's institution, but with others taken out of the Pope's Portuis.* 18. *They sell that sacrament for two-pence to all comers.* 19. *The receiving of it kneeling, which maketh it an idol, and nourisheth that heresy of receiving their Maker, of worshiping it,* &c. The reason of our kneeling at the Sacrament, is explained in the Rubrick at the end of the Communion Service, for which purpose it was inserted there in the reign of Edward VI. 20. *Their ring in Marriage, making it a sacramental sign, and Marriage an ecclesiastical action: thereby nourishing the Popish heresy, that Matrimony is a Sacrament.* They looked upon matrimony as a political contract, and therefore said, that the confirmation of it ought to come from the Civil Magistrate; and hence they condemned the solemn celebration of marriages in the Church. 21. *Their praying over the dead, making it also a part of the Minister's duty, and nourishing the heresy of prayer for the dead.* 22. *Their churching or purifying of women, then also abusing that Scripture,* The Sun shall not burn them by day, nor the Moon by night. 23. *Their Gang week,* * *and praying then over the corn and grass.* At the time of the Reformation, when processions, which made a part of the solemnities at this season, were abolished, by reason of the abuse of them, yet, for retaining the *perambulation of the circuits of parishes*, it was enjoined (7), 'that the people should once a year, at the 'accustomed time, with the Minister and substantial 'men of the parish, walk round the parish as usual, and 'at their return to church, make the common prayers: 'provided that the Minister, at certain convenient 'places, shall admonish the people to give thanks to 'God for the increase and abundance of the fruits of 'the earth, repeating the 103d Psalm; at which time 'also the Minister shall inculcate this and such like 'sentences: *Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's 'land-mark.*' No such prayers indeed have been since appointed: But there is an Homily, divided into four parts; the three first to be used on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; and the fourth upon the day when the parish make their procession. 24. *Their forbidding of Marriage in* Gang-week, *in* Advent, *in* Lent, *and on all the* Ember Days; *which the Apostle calleth* a Doctrine of Devils, 1 *Tim.* iv. 1, 2, 3. 25. *Their Saints, Angels, and Apostles days, with their prescript service.* 26. *Their Fasts, and abstaining from flesh, on their Eves, on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-Days, and all Lent through.* 27. *Their dispensations from the Prelates courts of Faculties, to eat flesh at these times; which dispensations also have this wholsome clause in them,* sanâ conscientiâ, *that is, with a* safe conscience: *plainly shewing that they make it a matter of conscience. This is another Doctrine of Devils, noted in the Scripture before alledged,* 1 Tim iv. 28. *Their dispensations in like manner to marry in the times among the forbidden, which are noted before.* 29. *Licences from the same authority, to marry in places exempt.* 30. *Dispensations also from thence, for boys aud ignorant fools to have benefices.* 31. *Dispensations also for non-residents.* 32. *For having two, three, four, or more benefices, even* tot, quot, *that is to say, as many as a man will have and can get.* 33. *Tolerations.* 34. *Patronages of, and presentations to, benefices, with buying and selling of advowsons.* 35. *Their institutions into benefices by the Prelates, their inductions, proxies,* &c. 36. *Their Suspensations, Absolutions, Degradations, Deprivations,* &c. 37. *The Prelate's Chancellor's, and Commissarie's Courts, having power to excommunicate alone, and to absolve.* 38. *Their Penance in a white sheet.* 39. *Their commutation of Penance, and absolving one man for another.* 40. *The Prelate's Confirmation, or Bishopping of children, to assure them of God's favour, by a sign of man's devising.* 41. *The standing at the Gospel.* 42. *The putting off the cap, and making a leg when the word Jesus is read.* 43.

(6) Stoup, or Stubbs's Religion of the Hollanders. Alaxander Ross's View of all Religions.

(*) Gang-Week it what we call Rogation-Week; the word Gang is Saxon, and signifies a *walking* or *going about*; and was particularly applied to this week, from the custom observed at that time of walking the bounds of a parish, still in use amongst us, under the name of Processioning. Hence also the Gang-flower, or Rogation-flower, i. e. *Flos Ambulatorius*, so called, because it flowers about this time.

(7) Injunct. Q. Eliz. 18, 19.

The ring of peals at burials. They objected against bells, because they pretended they were consecrated to the service of idolatry (8). 44. *Bead-men at burials, and hired mourners in mourning apparel.* 45. *The hanging and mourning of churches and hearses with black, at burials.* 46. *Their absolving the dead, dying excommunicate, before they can have, as they say, Christian burial.* 47. *The Idol temples.* 48. *The Popish vestments, as Rochet, horned Cap, Tippet, the Surplice in Parish Churches, and Cope in Cathedral Churches.* 49. *The Visitations of the Lord Bishops, and Archdeacons.* 50. *The Prelates lordly dominion, revenues, and retinue.* 51. *The Priests maintenance by tythes, Christmas offerings*, &c. 52. *The oathes* ex officio *in their Ecclesiastical Courts, making men swear to accuse themselves.* 53. *The Church-warden's oath to present to the Prelates, all the offences, faults, and defaults, committed in their parishes, against their articles and injunctions.* 54. *The Prelates ruling of the Church, by the Pope's cursed Canon Law.* 55. *Finally, their imprisoning, and banishing, such as renounce and refuse to witness these abominations aforesaid, and the rest yet retained among them* — They might well find fault with the Church for this last article, since they had smarted so severely under it.

(8) Religion of the Hollanders, by Stubbs.

From the same curious piece, we also learn the texts of Scripture, upon which they grounded their reasons of separation. They are these.

Gen. vi. 2 Then the sons of God saw the daughters of men. *Levit.* xx. 22, 26. Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes, and all my judgments, and do them; that the land whither *I bring you to dwell therein*, spew you not out.—— And ye shall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy, and have *severed* you from other people, that ye should be mine. *Ezra* vi 21. And the children of Israel which were come again out of captivity, and all such as had *separated* themselves unto them from the *filthiness* of the *Heathen* of the land, to seek the Lord God of Israel, did eat. — *Isa.* lii. 11. *Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out* from thence, *touch* no unclean thing, *go ye out* of the midst of her; *be ye clean*, that *bear* the vessels of the Lord.—*Jer.* l. 8. *Remove* out of the midst of Babylon, and *go forth* out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as clean as the he-goats before the flocks. — *Jer.* li. 6, 45. *Flee* out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul; be *ye* not cut off in *her* iniquity; for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompence.—— My people *go ye* out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every man his soul from the fierce anger of the Lord.— *Hosea* iv. 15. Though *thou* Israel play the harlot, yet let not *Judah offend*, &c.—*Amos* iv. 4, 5. *Come* to Bethel and transgress, at Gilgal multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tythes after three years. And offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with a leaven, and proclaim and publish the free-offerings; for this liketh you, O ye children of Israel, saith the Lord God.—*Acts* ii. 40. And with many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, *save yourselves from this untoward generation.* —*Acts* xix. 9. But when *diverse* were *hardned*, and believed not, but spake evil of that before the multitude, he *departed from* them, and *separated* the disciples, &c. —2 *Cor.* vi. 17. Wherefore *come ye out* from among them, and be ye *separate*, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will *receive you.*— *Rev.* xviii. 4. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, *Come out of her* my people, that *ye* be not *pertakers* of *her* sins, and that *ye* receive not of *her* plagues.

Thus the occasion of the separation of the Brownists, was not for any fault they found with the faith, but only with the discipline or form of government of the other Churches in England. They eqally condemned Episcopacy and Presbytery, as to the jurisdiction of Consistories, Classes, and Synods; and therefore they would not join with any other reformed Churches, because they were not sufficiently assured of the sanctity and probity of the members who composed it; and on account of the toleration of sinners, with whom they maintained it an impiety to communicate. The form of Church Government they established, was democratical. When a church was to be gathered, such as desired to be members, made a confession of it, and signed a covenant, by which they obliged themselves to walk together in the order of the Gospel. The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the decision of all controversies, was lodged in the brotherhood. Their Church-officers were chosen from among themselves, for preaching the word, and taking care of the poor, and separated to their several offices by fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands of some of the brethren. But they did not allow the priesthood to be any distinct order, or to give any indelible character. As the vote of the brotherhood made a man a minister, and gave authority to preach the word and administer the Sacraments amongst them; so the same power could discharge him from his office, and reduce him to a meer Layman again. As they maintained the bounds of a church to be no greater than what would contain as many as could meet together in one place, and join in one Communion, so the power of these officers was prescribed within the same limits. The Minister or Pastor of a church could not administer the Sacrament to another, nor baptize the children of any but those of his own society. Any lay-brother was allowed the liberty of giving a word of exhortation to the people; and it was usual for some of them after sermon to ask questions, and reason upon the doctrines that had been preached. In a word, every church, on the Brownists model, is a body corporate, having full power to do every thing which the good of the community requires, without being accountable to any Classis, Synod, Convocation, or other jurisdiction whatever.

But the model of the Brownists was far from being a new one; for if we compare their principles with those of the antient Donatists, we shall find them to be the same, as the learned Dr Fulke has proved. The Donatists were the Puritans of their age; they held that the Roman-Catholic Church was prostituted, and was no where to be found but among them who were perfect, wherefore they re-baptized all those that came over to them; for no other Baptism was valid: They held the validity of the Sacraments to depend upon the dignity of the Minister; they disowned the power of the Magistrate to punish Heretics, &c (9). But Brown was not the first that brought Donatism into England, the principles of which, as well as of Brownism, had been adopted here long before, by others, under the different appellations of Puritans, and Separatists. These latter, Hornius tells us (10), were those who, under Edward VI. Elizabeth, and James I. refused to conform to the Church of England, and were first called Puritans, then Separatists, and lastly Nonconformists. The first leader of the Separatists, was Bolton; who, upon quitting the party he had formed, and abjuring his errors, was succeeded by Robert Brown, from whom the Separatists were called Brownists: When Brown, in imitation of Bolton, deserted the sect, he was succeeded by Barrow, who unfortunately made his exit at Tyburn, at the instigation of the Bishops. Their fourth chief was Johnson, (author of the piece from whence we have, above, extracted the tenets of Brownism) who, together with Mr Ainsworth, author of the learned *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, set up a Church at Amsterdam (11), but they differing about some points of discipline, separated, and even went so far as to excommunicate each other (*). Soon afterwards, one Smith set up a Church at Leyden; but he dying, his sect could not long survive him, and Separatism was brought very low when Robinson appeared, and raised it's head. He softened the dogma's of Brown, and set on foot a good understanding among them, but was not able to unite the whole sect. Part of it still adhered to the rigid opinions of their old master, Brown, and part of them followed Robinson, and pretended to steer a middle course between the Brownists and the Church of England, calling themselves Semi-Separatists, but at last, in reality, went further even than the Brownists themselves. The Brownists however, notwithstanding the frequent change of their masters, did, in general, still retain the name they derived from their first leader Brown, and this even after his death several years; for in the Civil Wars in 1640, &c. We read of a mob of 2000 Brownists entring St Paul's church, London (where the High-Commission Court was sitting) and making a great tumult, tearing down the benches, and crying out, *no Bishops, no High Commission*, &c (12). And in 1642, King Charles, in a speech which he made at the head of his forces, then marching towards Shrewsbury, makes particular mention of the Brownists, and that not at all to their honour. ‘ You shall meet, says his Majesty, with no ‘ enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, Ana- ‘ baptists, and Atheists; such who desire to destroy ‘ both Church and State, and who have already con- ‘ demned

(9) Index Hæreticus, before Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Notitia, p. 15. Optatus de Schis. Donatistarum.

(10) Hornius. Hist. Eccles. Cent. XVI.

(11) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 47.

(*) See the article AINSWORTH (HENRY).

(12) Echard's Hist of England, p. 483.

'demned you to ruin for being loyal to us (13).' And the next year the King made it an article in his propositions to the Parliament, 'that a good bill might be 'framed for the better preserving the book of Common-Prayer from the scorn and violence of Brownists, 'Anabaptists, aud other sectaries (14).' At length, however, the Brownists degenerated into Independents, a party which adopted most of their principles, and were first called Congregationalists, then Independents, from their holding the independency of churches; but it will be necessary to give some further account of this sect, as it is the spawn of that whose author makes the subject of this article. The Independents owed their rise chiefly to Goodwin, Rye, Bridge, Sympson, and Burroughs, five Devines in the reign of King Charles I. who had transported themselves into Holland, for Liberty of Conscience (15). These had proselyted several wealthy merchants and others, who went along with them. The States of Holland gave them a friendly reception, assigned them churches to meet in, and allowed their ministers a competent maintenance. Some of these English refugees settled at Rotterdam, and some at Arnheim in Guelderland. Being thus encouraged by the Dutch government, they set about forming their Church-discipline. And here, to speak in their own language, 'they consulted the Scriptures without any 'prejudice: they considerd the word of God as impartially as men of flesh and blood are like to do, in 'any juncture of time; the place they went to, the condition they were in, and the company they went 'with, affording no temptation to any byass (16).' They asserted, that every church, and congregation, has sufficient power to act and do every thing, relating to religious government, within itself, and is no ways subject or accountable to other churches, or their Deputies. The principles upon which they founded their Church-Government, were, to confine themselves to what the Scriptures prescribed, without paying any regard to the opinions or practice of men; nor to tie themselves down so strictly to their present resolutions, as to leave no room for alterations, upon farther views and enquiry. They steered a middle course between Presbytery and Brownism: the first they accounted too arbitrary and decisive; the other too loose and indeterminate (17). They disallowed parochial and provincial subordination, and formed all their congregations upon a scheme of co-ordinancy; allowing, however, some sort of ceremonious preference to the elder church, but without any addition of authority. As to their Service they prayed publickly for Kings, and all in authority; they read and expounded the Scriptures, and administered the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. They rejected all learning in order to preach the Gospel; all set forms of Prayer; abhorred tythes as superstitious and judaical (18). Their publick officers were Pastors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders, and Deacons. Their Church-Censures lay all within the compass of admonition and excommunication (19).

These Congregationalists, or Independents, took the opportunity occasioned by the Civil War, and the ruin of Episcopacy, to quit Holland, and come over into England, where they began to put in practice their scheme, and gather churches. The Presbyterians complained of this as an encroachment, and insisted that the Independents should come under the Scotch regulation. This the latter refused to comply with, and continued a distinct sect, or faction (20); and, during the Civil Wars, became the most powerful party; and getting to the head of affairs, most of the other sects, which were averse to the Church of England, particularly the Brownists, joined with them, and all of them yielded to lose their former names, in the general one of Independents. H

(13) Hist. of the Troubles of Great Britain, by Monteth, p. 115.

(14) Hist. of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 124.

(15) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. B. ix. p. 829.

(16) Apologetical Narrative, p. 3.

(17) Collier's Eccles. Hist. ut supra.

(18) Index Hæreticus, p. 37.

(19) Apologetical Narrative, p. 8, 9. Actus Regiminis à Synodis debent porrigi, non peragi. Responsio Jo. Norton. p. 114.

(20) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 830.

BROWNE (George) the first Bishop that embraced and promoted the Reformation in Ireland, was originally an Austin Frier of London (a). He received his academical education in the house of his order, near Halywell in Oxford (b); and becoming eminent for his learning and other good qualities, was made Provincial of the Austin Monks in England. About which time he supplicated the University for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, namely in 1523; but it doth not appear he was then admitted. He took afterwards the degree of Doctor in Divinity, in some University beyond sea, and was incorporated in the same degree at Oxford, in 1534, and soon after at Cambridge (c). Before that time having read some of Luther's writings, he took a liking to his doctrine; and, among other things, was wont to inculcate into the people, 'That they should make their applications 'solely to Christ, and not to the Virgin Mary, or the Saints.' King Henry VIII. being informed of this, took him into his favour, and promoted him to the Archbishoprick of Dublin (d). He had the royal assent, March the twelfth 1534-5 (e); was consecrated the nineteenth of the same month, by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of Rochester and Salisbury (f); and had restitution of the temporalities, the twenty-third following (g). A few months after his arrival into Ireland, the Lord Privy-Seal, Cromwell, signified to him, that His Majesty having renounced the Papal Supremacy in England, it was his Highness's pleasure, that his subjects of Ireland should obey his commands in that respect as in England; and nominated him one of the Commissioners for the execution thereof. The twenty-eighth of November 1535, he acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his success, telling him [A], that he had 'endeavoured, 'almost

(a) The site of their convent is still known by the name of Austin Friers, in Throckmorton-street.

(b) Where Wadham-college now stands. See Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 116, &c.

(c) Wood's Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 678. & Fasti, Vol. I. col. 56.

(d) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. edit. 1739, fol. by Walter Harris, Esq; p. 348, &c.

(e) Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 560.

(f) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype, Lond. 1694, fol. p. 37.

(g) Rymer, ubi supra, p. 561.

[A] *He acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his success*, &c. In the following letter:

'My most honoured Lord,

'YOUR humble servant receiving your mandate, 'as one of his Highness's Commissioners, hath 'endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of this 'temporal life, to procure the Nobility and Gentry of 'this nation to due obedience, in owning of his Highness their supream Head as well Spiritual as Temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially 'by my brother of Armagh (1), who hath been the 'main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his 'Suffragans and Clergy within his See and Jurisdiction. 'He made a Speech to them, laying a curse on the 'people whosoever should own his Highness's Supremacy; saying, that isle, as it is in their Irish Chronicles, *Insula sacra*, belongs to none but the Bishop 'of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome's predecessors gave it to the King's ancestors. There be 'two messengers by the Priests of Armagh, and by 'that Archbishop, now lately sent to the Bishop of 'Rome. Your Lordship may inform his Highness, 'that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this nation, to pass the Supremacy by Act; for they do not 'much matter his Highness's Commission which your 'Lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a 'long time held in ignorance by the Romish Orders; 'and as for their Secular Orders, they be in a manner 'as ignorant as the people, being not able to say Mass, 'or pronounce the words, they not knowing what 'they themselves say in the Roman tongue: The common people of this isle are more zealous in their 'blindness, than the Saints and Martyrs were in the 'truth at the beginning of the Gospel. I send to you, 'my very good Lord, these things, that your Lordship, and his Highness, may consult what is to be 'done. It is feared O-Neal will be ordered by the 'Bishop of Rome, to oppose your Lordship's order 'from

(1) George Cromer, then Archbishop of Armagh.

'almoſt to the danger and hazard of his life, to procure the nobility and gentry of the 'Iriſh nation to due obedience, in owning the King their ſupream Head, as well ſpiritual 'as temporal (*b*).' In the Parliament which met at Dublin, May 1, 1536, he was very inſtrumental in having the Act, for the King's Supremacy over the Church of Ireland, paſſed [*B*]: But he met with great and many obſtacles in the execution of it [*C*]. And the Court of Rome left no ſtone unturned, to prevent any alterations in Ireland, with regard to religious matters. For the Pope ſent over a Bull of Excommunication, againſt all ſuch as had owned, or ſhould own, the King's Supremacy within that kingdom: as alſo the form of an oath of obedience [*D*], to be taken to his Holineſs, at confeſſions. Nay endeavours

(*b*) Life and Death of George Browne &c. edit. Lond. 1681, 4to, p. 1, 2.

'from the King's Highneſs; for the natives are much 'in numbers within his power. I do pray the Lord 'Chriſt to defend you from your enemies. Dublin '4 Kalend. Decembris 1535.'

[*B*] *He was very inſtrumental in having the Act, for the King's Supremacy over the Church of Ireland, paſſed.*] Upon that occaſion he made this ſpeech. 'My Lords 'and Gentry of this his Majeſties realm of Ireland, Be'hold your obedience to your King is the obſerving of 'your God and Saviour Chriſt; for he, that High-'Prieſt of our ſouls, paid tribute to Cæſar (though no 'Chriſtian). Greater honour then ſurely is due to 'your Prince, his Highneſs the King, and a Chriſtian 'one. Rome, and her Biſhops, in the Fathers days, 'acknowledged Emperors, Kings, and Princes to be 'ſupream over their dominions, nay, Chriſt's own Vi'cars. And it is as much to the Biſhop of Rome's 'ſhame, to deny what their precedent Biſhops owned. 'Therefore his Highneſs claims but what he can juſti'fy the Biſhop Elutherius gave to St Lucius, the firſt 'Chriſtian King of the Britains; ſo that I ſhall, with'out ſcruple, vote his Highneſs King Henry my Su'preme, over Eccleſiaſtick matters as well as Tempo'ral, and Head thereof, even of both iſles England 'and Ireland, and that without guilt of conſcience, or 'ſin to God, and he who will not paſs this Act as I do, 'is no true Subject to his Highneſs.' The other Biſhops, and other Lords, were ſo ſtartled at this ſpeech, that the Act paſſed, tho' with great difficulty (2).

(2) Life of G. Browne, &c. p. 3.

[*C*] *But he met with great and many obſtacles in the execution of it.*] Of which he gave the Lord Cromwell an account in the following letter.

'Right honourable and my ſingular good Lord,

'I Acknowledge my bounden duty to your Lord'ſhip's good will to me, next to my Saviour Chriſt's, 'for the place I now poſſeſs; I pray God give me 'his grace to execute the ſame to his glory, and his 'Highneſs's honour, with your Lordſhip's inſtructions. 'The people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and 'unknowing; moſt of the Clergy, as your Lord'ſhip hath had from me before, being ignorant, and 'not able to ſpeak right words in the Maſs or Liturgy, 'as being not ſkilled in the Latin Grammar; ſo that a 'bird may be taught to ſpeak with as much ſenſe, as 'ſeveral of them do in this country. Theſe ſorts, 'though not ſcholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor 'common people, and to diſſuade them from follow'ing his Highneſs's orders: George (3), my brother 'of Armagh, doth underhand occaſion quarrels, and 'is not active to execute his Highneſs's orders in his 'dioceſe. I have obſerved your Lordſhip's Letter of 'Commiſſion, and do find ſeveral of my pupils leave 'me for ſo doing. I will not put others in their Liv'ings, till I know your Lordſhip's pleaſure; for it is 'meet I acquaint you firſt, the Romiſh relicks and 'images of both my Cathedrals in Dublin, of the Ho'ly Trinity and of St Patrick's, took off the common 'people from the true worſhip, but the Prior and the 'Dean find them ſo ſweet for their gain, that they heed 'not my words: Therefore ſend in your Lordſhip's 'next to me an order more full, and a chide to them 'and their Canons, that they might be removed. Let 'the order be, that the chief governors may aſſiſt me 'in it. The Prior and Dean have written to Rome, 'to be encouraged, and if it be not hindered before 'they have a mandate from the Biſhop of Rome, 'the people will be bold, and then tugg long before 'his Highneſs can ſubmit them to his Grace's orders. 'The country folk here much hate your Lordſhip, and 'deſpitefully call you in their Iriſh tongue, *the Black-'ſmith's ſon.* The Duke of Norfolk is by Armagh, 'and that Clergy, deſired to aſſiſt them, not to ſuffer 'his Highneſs to alter church-rules here in Ireland: 'As a friend, I deſire your Lordſhip to look to your 'noble perſon; for Rome hath a great kindneſs for 'that Duke (for it is ſo talked here) and will reward 'him and his children. Rome hath great favours for 'this nation, purpoſely to oppoſe his Highneſs; and 'ſo having got, ſince the Act paſſed, great Indulgences 'for Rebellion, therefore my hope is loſt, yet my zeal 'is to do according to your Lordſhip's orders. God 'keep your Lordſhip from your enemies here and in 'England. Dublin the 3d Kalends April 1538.'

(3) Cromer.

[*D*] *As alſo the form of an oath of obedience.*] This the Archbiſhop ſent in a letter to the Lord Cromwell, which was as follows.

'Right Honourable,

'MY duty premiſed, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip 'to be advertiſed, ſithence my laſt there has 'come to Armagh and his Clergy, a private commiſ'ſion from the Biſhop of Rome, prohibiting his gra'cious Highneſs's people here in this nation to own 'his Royal Supremacy, and joining a curſe to all them 'and theirs who ſhall not, within forty days, confeſs 'to their Confeſſors (after the publiſhing of it to them) 'that they have done amiſs in ſo doing: the ſubſtance, 'as our Secretary hath tranſlated the ſame into Eng'liſh, is thus.'

I A. B. from this preſent hour forward, in the preſence of the holy Trinity, of the bleſſed Virgin Mother of God, of St Peter, of the holy Apoſtles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the holy Hoſt of Heaven, ſhall and will be always obedient to the holy See of St Peter of Rome, and to my holy Lord the Pope of Rome and his ſucceſſors, in all things as well ſpiritual as temporal, not conſenting in the leaſt that his Holineſs ſhall loſe the leaſt title or dignity belonging to the Papacy of our Mother Church of Rome, or to the regality of St Peter. I do vow and ſwear to maintain, help and aſſiſt the juſt laws, liberties and rights of the Mother Church of Rome. I do likewiſe promiſe to confer, to defend, and promote, if not perſonally, yet willingly as far as able, either by advice, ſkill, eſtate, money, or otherwiſe, the Church of Rome and her laws, againſt all whatſoever reſiſting the ſame. I further vow to oppugn all Hereticks, either in making or ſetting forth Edicts or Commands contrary to the Mother Church of Rome, and in caſe any ſuch be moved or compoſed, to reſiſt it to the uttermoſt of my power, with the firſt convenience and opportunity I can poſſibly. I count and value all acts made or to be made by heretical Powers of no force or worth, or be practiſed or obeyed by myſelf, or by any other ſon of the Mother Church of Rome. I do farther declare him or her, father or mother, brother or ſiſter, ſon or daughter, huſband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinſman or kinſwoman, maſter or miſtreſs, and all others, neareſt or deareſt relations, friends or acquaintance whatſoever, accurſed, that either do or ſhall hold for the time to come, any Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Power above the authority of the Mother Church, or that do or ſhall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of Churches, oppoſers or enemies, or contrary to the ſame, which I have here ſworn unto: So God, the bleſſed Virgin, St Peter, St Paul, and the holy Evangeliſts help me.

'His Highneſs's Vice-roy of this nation (4), is of 'little or no power with the old natives, therefore 'your Lordſhip will expect of me no more than I 'am able: This nation is poor in wealth, and not ſuf'ficient

(4) Sir Anthony St Leger. The Archbiſhop ſent complaints againſt him to England; whereupon he was recalled. R. Cox, ubi ſupra, p. 290.

endeavours were used to raise a rebellion there: for one Thady O-Birne, a Franciscan Frier, being seized by Archbishop Browne's order, letters were found about him, from the Pope and Cardinals (*i*) to O-Neal; wherein, after commending his own, and his father's faithfulness to the Church of Rome, he was exhorted 'for the glory of the Mother Church, the honour of St Peter, and his own security, to suppress Heresie, and his Holiness's enemies.' And the Council of Cardinals thought fit to encourage his country, as a sacred island, being certain, while Mother Church had a son of worth as himself, and those that should succour him, and join therein, she would never fall, but have more or less a holding in Britain, in spite of fate (*k*). In pursuance of this letter, O-Neal began to declare himself the champion of Popery; and having entered into a confederacy with others, they jointly invaded the Pale, and committed several ravages; but were soon after quelled (*l*). About the time that King Henry VIII. began to suppress the Monasteries in England and Ireland, Archbishop Browne, compleated his design of removing all superstitious reliques and images out of the two cathedrals of St Patrick's and the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, and out of the rest of the churches within his diocese; and, in their room, placed the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in gold letters. And, soon after, namely in 1541, the King having converted the priory of the Holy Trinity, into a cathedral church, consisting of a Dean and Chapter [*E*], our Archbishop founded three prebends in the same, in 1544, namely, St Michael's, St John's, and St Michan's: from which time it hath generally been known by the name of Christ-Church (*m*). King Edward VI. having caused the Liturgy to be compiled, and published in English, sent an order to Sir Anthony St Leger, Governor of Ireland, dated February 6, 1550-1, to notify to all the clergy of that kingdom, that they should use this book in all their churches; and the Bible in the vulgar tongue. When Sir Anthony imparted this order to the Clergy (which was on the first of March) it was vehemently opposed by the Popish party, especially by George Dowdall, Primate of Armagh: but Archbishop Browne, received it with the utmost satisfaction and pleasure (*n*) [*F*]. And, upon Easter-day following, the Liturgy was accordingly read, for the first time within Ireland, in Christ-Church Dublin, in presence of the Mayor and Bayliffs of that city, the Lord-Deputy St Leger, Archbishop Browne, &c. (*o*) On which occasion, the Archbishop preached a sermon against keeping the Scriptures in the Latin tongue, and the worship of images [*G*]. But Dowdall, by reason of his violent and unseasonable opposition to the King's order, was deprived of the title of Primate of all Ireland; which, by letters patent, bearing date the twentieth of October 1551 (*p*), was conferred on Archbishop Browne, and his successors in the See of Dublin for ever (*q*). However he did not long enjoy this dignity; for he was deprived, both of it, and his Archbishoprick, in 1554, the first of Queen Mary I, under pretence that he was married; but in truth, because he had zealously promoted the Reformation. And then Archbishop Dowdall, who had lived in exile during part of the reign of King Edward VI, recovered the title of Primate, and also the Archbishoprick of Armagh, which had been given to Hugh Goodacre. While Archbishop Browne enjoyed the See of Dublin, the cathedral of St Patrick's was suppressed, for about the space of eight years; but Queen Mary restored it to it's antient dignity, towards the end of the year 1554. The exact time of Archbishop Browne's death is not recorded; only we are told, that he died about the year 1556 (*r*). He was a man of a chearful countenance; meek and peaceable; in his acts and deeds plain and downright; of good parts and very stirring in what he judged to be for the interest of religion, or the service of his King; merciful and compassionate to the poor and miserable; and adorned with every good and valuable qualification (*s*).

(*i*) These Letters ware dated at Rome, April 28, 1538, and signed by the Bishop of Meath.

(*k*) Life of G. Browne, &c. p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(*l*) Hist. of Ireland, &c by R. Cox, P. 1. p. 259.

(*m*) Sir J. Ware's Works, edit. 1739, as above.

(*n*) Ibid. & Life of G. Browne, as above, p. 8, 9, 10.

(*o*) Ware's Works as above. R. Cox, as above, p. 290.

(*p*) Rot. Canc. de ann. 5 Edw. VI.

(*q*) Sir J. Ware's Works, as above.

(*r*) Life of G. Browne, as above, p. 11, 12.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 1.

'ficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed, 'that ever since his Highness's ancestors had this nation in possession, the old natives have been craving foreign Powers to assist and rule them; and now both English race and Irish begin to oppose your Lordship's orders, and do lay aside their national old quarrels; which I fear will, if any thing will, cause a foreigner to invade this nation. I pray God I may be a false Prophet, yet your Lordship must pardon my opinion, for I write it to your Lordship as a warning. Dublin, May, 1538 (5).'

(5) Life of G. Browne, as above.

[*E*] *Consisting of a Dean and Chapter.*] It consisted, upon this alteration, of a Dean and Chapter, a Chanter, a Treasurer, six Vicars choral, and two Singing-Boys; who were allowed 45 *l.* 6 *s.* English money: This sum Queen Mary confirmed for ever. But King James I. altered what King Henry, and his daughter, had done; and upon this second alteration he constituted a Dean, a Chanter, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, three Prebends, six Vicars choral, and four Singing-Boys: Ordering likewise, that the Archdeacon of Dublin should have a place in the choir, and a vote in the Chapter (6).

(6) Ibid.

[*F*] *Archbishop Browne received it with the utmost satisfaction and pleasure.*] At which time he spoke to this effect: 'This order, good brethren, is from our gracious King, and from the rest of our Brethren the Fathers and Clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the Holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar in all things just and lawful, making no question why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful King.' Edward Staples Bishop of Meath, and Thomas Lancaster Bishop of Kildare, both concurred with the Archbishop; and were, for so doing, deprived of their Bishopricks in Queen Mary's reign (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

[*G*] *On which occasion the Archbishop preached a sermon*, &c.] This sermon is printed at the end of the Archbishop's life, and is the only piece of his extant; besides his Letters set down above. C

BROWNE

BROWNE (Sir Thomas) an eminent English Physician, and celebrated writer, of the XVIIth century, for whose memoirs we have very ample materials, tho' hitherto they have been but inaccurately written [*A*]. He was the son of Mr Thomas Browne, Merchant of London, descended from an antient and genteel family of that name, seated at Upton in Cheshire. He was born October the nineteenth 1605, in the parish of St Michael, Cheapside, in the city of London (*a*), and had the misfortune to lose his father in his nonage, who left him however a considerable fortune, in which he was injured not a little by one of his guardians (*b*). He was first sent for education to Winchester-College, and thence removed to the University of Oxford, where he was entered a Fellow-Commoner of Broadgate's-Hall, soon after stiled Pembroke-College, in the beginning of the year 1623 (*c*), took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, January the thirty-first 1626 (*d*), proceeded in due time to his degree of Master of Arts, entered on the Physick line, and practised that faculty (*e*) for some time in Oxfordshire. His mother having married Sir Thomas Dutton, a very worthy gentleman, who enjoyed an honourable post in the government of Ireland; Mr Browne went over with him into that island, where he accompanied him in a visitation of all the fortresses of the kingdom, which heightening his natural inclination to travel, he went over to France, made some stay at Montpellier, and then making the tour of Italy, and residing some time at Padua, he returned into Holland, and took his degree of Doctor in Physick, in the University of Leyden (*f*). We have no certain account when he came back into England, but it must have been earlier than most of our writers have placed it, I think it might be about the year 1634 (*g*), but I can say nothing as to the place of his residence, unless it was in London [*B*]. In 1635 he wrote his *Religio Medici*, or at least made the sketch of it, which afterwards being handed about in manuscript, at last stole abroad (tho' very incorrectly) in print (*h*) [*C*]. In 1636 he settled himself at Norwich, by the persuasion of his old tutor Dr Thomas Lushington, who was Rector of Burnham-Westgate, not far from thence, and on the invitation of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and other principal persons of the county; and the year following was incorporated as Doctor of Physick at Oxford (*i*). He had impaired his fortune pretty much while abroad, though he had increased his learning and experience, and therefore he applied himself with the more diligence to his practice, which soon became very extensive, not a little furthered perhaps by his marrying a lady, whose maiden name was Mileham, of a very considerable family in Norfolk (*k*). This change in his condition happened in 1641, and he enjoyed the society of this lady, equally distinguished by the graces of her body and mind, one and forty years. It does not appear, that he had any inclination to be known to the world as an author, but was

(*a*) Life of Sir T. Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich.

(*b*) Memoirs of our author's Life by Mr John Whitefoot, prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich.

(*c*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, beforementioned, p. 2.

(*d*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 233.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 713.

(*f*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, p. 2.

(*g*) See this fact established in note [*B*].

(*h*) See Sir Thomas's complaint of this, in his Preface to that piece.

(*i*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 273.

(*k*) See Whitefoot's Memoirs of our author, before cited.

[*A*] *Inaccurately written.*] The collections made by the industrious Anthony Wood, in reference to the life of Sir Thomas Browne, are remarkably full, and more regular than is common with that author (1). Dr Tennison, who published part of our author's works, contents himself with saying something briefly as to his character, because it was expected that an intimate friend of Sir Thomas's would publish his life at large (2). This intimate friend was, very probably, the Rev. Mr John Whitefoot, Rector of Heigham in Norfolk, whom I find mentioned as such by Sir Thomas himself (3), and who, in all probability, preached his funeral-sermon. His minutes for that life consisting chiefly of the facts made use of in his sermon, are still preserved, and were published by the editor of our author's posthumous works (4), who has also prefixed a short life of Sir Thomas to that piece (5). Father Niceron has likewise given us, in his manner, a sketch of this gentleman's life (6), which has been canvassed by many other foreigners, as will be shewn hereafter. My reason for taking notice of these facts, is plainly this, that the reader may not be surprized at the unusual length of this article. The worth of this gentleman, and the excellency of his writings, might well justify the pains that has been taken to set his history in a true light, and to rectify the mistakes that have been made about them; but the principal motive which led us to this copious account, is, the notice taken by foreigners of our author and his works, which has been such as few Englishmen have met with, and it seems to be a reflection on his countrymen, that while his fame is so great abroad, there should be nothing of this sort worthy of his memory, performed at home. In order to wipe off this reflection, the utmost industry has been used in collecting and digesting whatever might be necessary to satisfy the curious and intelligent peruser; and if this has grown to a greater Bulk than is common, it must be ascribed to the author's extensive reputation, and to the numerous circumstances worthy of remembrance which occur in the history of his life and writings.

(1) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 233, 273. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713, 714.

(2) In his Preface to certain Miscellany Tracts by Sir Thomas Browne.

(3) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 20.

(4) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Posthumous Works, p. xxiv.

(5) See the Posthumous Works, of the learned Sir Thomas Browne, M. D. London, 1712, 8*vo*.

(6) Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illust. Tom. XXIII. p. 353.

[*B*] *Unless it was in London.*] In a letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, dated from Norwich March 3d, 1642, Sir Thomas himself says (7), that the *Religio Medici* was written many years before. In his epistle to the reader, he limits this to about seven years. In the piece itself he observes, that his life had been hitherto but a restless pilgrimage, and that he had but very lately leisure to make reflections; from all which it is evident, that he wrote this treatise in 1635, and therefore he must have been in England that year, or the year before. Mr Wood seems to think, that he did not settle at Norwich 'till about the time of his being incorporated Doctor of Physick at Oxford; but the fact is otherwise, as appears by his monumental inscription, where it is said that he practised Physick there forty-six years. These are, it must be confessed, but trivial circumstances; and yet there is no reason that we should not be right in these, as well as in matters of greater moment, and the rather, because hitherto these mistakes have past unobserved.

[*C*] *Tho' very incorrectly, in print.*] This piece, which was the first essay of our author's pen, was written for his private exercise and satisfaction, then being communicated to one, it became, as he tells us, common to many; and was, by transcription, successively corrupted, until it arrived in a most depraved copy at the Press (8). It contains abundance of curious particulars relating to himself; he tells us therein, that his life was a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a history but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common ears like a fable (9). He observes, that he was at that time unmarried; nay, he says plainly, I never yet cast a true affection on a woman (10). He informs us likewise, that he understood six languages (11); that he had been a great traveller (12); and many other little circumstances, which abundantly shew the truth of his assertion, that he never intended it should appear in print. The consideration, however, of these peculiarities afford us such means of entering into his character, and of forming a true idea of the nature and excellency of that little treatise, as will enable us to understand it better than any commentary could have done.

(7) This Letter is prefixed to the *Religio Medici*, in our author's Works.

(8) See the Epistle to the reader prefixed to the *Religio Medici*.

(9) Religio Medici, P. ii. §. 11.

(10) Ibid. §. 5.

(11) Ibid. §. 8.

(12) Ibid. §. 1.

was rather forced to it, by the unforeseen accident of the *Religio Medici's* being printed surreptitiously, and being so much taken notice of, as to engage the Earl of Dorset, to recommend it to the perusal of the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who not only read it over, but also wrote notes upon it in the space of a night (*l*) [*D*]. There hardly ever was a book published in Britain, that made more noise than the *Religio Medici*. The novelty of the title, the brilliancy of it's sentiments, and the neat turn of the language, struck the lovers of polite literature with unusual delight. But as we rarely see pieces of this nature, received with great applause, and yet remain exempt from the attacks of envy; so in this case answers quickly appeared, and we may safely affirm, that few things have been more commended on the one hand, or on the other more eagerly censured (*m*) [*E*]. The translation of it into Latin, which was the pure effects of a gentleman's value for the piece, tho' he had no knowledge of the author, spread the book throughout all Europe, first among the learned who differed widely in their opinions, some applauding, others condemning it; and then through the general mass of readers, by various translations into most of the languages of Europe (*n*) [*F*]. As this contributed to raise the author's reputation, for wit, learning,

(*l*) See this explained in the note [*D*].

(*m*) Remarks upon modern authors by J. D. p. 195.

(*n*) See the Preface to the last edition.

[*D*] *In the space of a night.*] Whoever has read and considered the observations of this learned Knight, would be inclined to doubt the truth of the fact, if we had not Sir Kenelm's authority for it, in his answer to that letter from Sir Thomas Browne before cited, wherein he gives the following distinct and particular account of the matter (13). 'I verily believe there is 'some mistake in the information given you, and that 'what is printing must be from some other pen than 'mine: for such reflections as I made upon your 'learned and ingenious discourse, are so far from meriting the Press, as they can tempt no body to a serious reading of them: they were notes hastily set 'down, as I suddenly ran over your excellent piece, 'which is of so weighty a subject, and so strongly 'penned, as requireth much time and sharp attention 'but to comprehend it; whereas what I wrote, was 'the employment but of one sitting; and there was 'not twenty-four hours between my receiving my Lord 'of Dorset's letter, that occasioned what I said, and 'the finishing my answer to him; and yet part of that 'time was taken up in procuring your book, which he 'desired me to read, and give him an account of; for, 'till then, I was so unhappy as never to have heard of 'that discourse. If that letter ever comes to your 'view, you will see the high value I set upon your 'great parts; and if it should be thought I have been 'something too bold in differing from your sense, I 'hope I shall easily obtain pardon, when it shall be 'considered, that his Lordship assigned it me, as an 'exercitation to oppose in it for entertainment, such 'passages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein 'what liberty I took, is to be attributed to the security 'of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my 'Lord's) the person whom it concerned.' This letter is dated from Winchester-House where the author was prisoner, March 20, 1642.

(13) This Letter stands before the *Religio Medici*, in the last edition of our author's Works, fol. 1686.

[*E*] *More eagerly censured.*] It may not be amiss to begin with a succinct and impartial character of this book, which so much alarmed the publick at it's first appearance, and which the learned have never ceased to talk of since (14). 'The *Religio Medici* may pass 'for a treatise, on which it is extremely hard to pass any 'judgment. It is to weak heads, perhaps, a dangerous, 'to proper judges a most salutary counsellor. It is the 'picture of the author's mind painted by himself; and 'who would not rejoice to see so fair a piece drawn by 'so fine a pencil? It is a noble representation of human nature as it is, and who can be untouched at 'the sight of what so nearly concerns him? It is a 'brave attempt to bring down those subjects, which 'have been supposed to be superior to man's intellects, 'within the view of his reason; and tho' not near 'enough to acquaint him with their nature, yet within 'such a space as to delight him with their prospect. 'Who then that considers this, but must own an obligation to the author? If singularities, prejudices, extravagancies, wild excursions, and sometimes gloomy 'reflections strike us, let us strictly examine whether 'the fault lies in us or in him; we ought not too readily exalt our own, at the expence of his judgment. 'If we meet with strange thoughts, free remarks, disagreeable discoveries, let us bring them to the touch-stone of truth, and remember, that tho' anatomies 'of human bodies are frequent, yet we are rarely 'called to the dissection of a human soul. If his sentiments seem too fine spun, his conjectures brisk, his 'disquisitions daring, his descriptions astonishing, and 'his flights prodigious, let us consider that Columbus 'told strange tales when he returned first from his new 'world. In short, he has undertaken a hard task, *viz.* 'to make us, in some measure, acquainted with the 'Essence, as well as Attributes of God, the Nature 'of Angels, the Mysteries of Providence, the Divinity 'of the Scriptures, and which is, perhaps, most difficult of all, with ourselves. How easily he might 'mistake; how often he must seem obscure, how frequently digress from vulgar tracks, every candid critick will conceive, and therefore more easily excuse. 'To conclude, our author shares the fortune of such as 'are distinguished by exalted merit; such as taste his 'excellencies, magnify him beyond measure, while 'those who want the power of digesting his strong sentences, revenge themselves on his character, and intimate such suspicions, as are bred only in ignorant 'heads, and are published merely from malevolence 'of heart. With the pious and the wise, *Religio Medici* will always be esteemed the Gospel of Reason (15).' The surreptitious edition of this book, which made the true one necessary, was printed in the winter of 1642, and the genuine edition did not come out 'till the spring following (16). By the year 1685, it had run through eight editions, and there have come out two, if not three, since (17). The first annotations that were written upon it, fell from the pen of Sir Kenelm Digby in the night of the 22d of December, 1642. They are addressed to the Earl of Dorset, tho' to say the truth, it is rather a refutation, in many respects, than an explanation; and yet, upon the whole, he confesses the *Religio Medici* to be a very learned and excellent piece, and speaks every where, with much veneration, of it's author's great abilities. The later editions of the book, are usually accompanied with a very complete body of notes, originally written in 1644, tho' frequently re-touched for ten years after. Who the author was of these annotations remains still a secret, but that they were not written under the direction of the author, as one might be easily tempted to think they were from their being bound up in his works, appears from hence, that now and then he mistakes the sense of his author. Soon after it was published, it was attacked by Alexander Ross, who wrote an express treatise against it, under the title of *Medicus medicatus, or, the Physician cured* (18), but it was far from meeting with success. There never were indeed men more unequally matched, than Dr Browne and Mr Ross, the former having all the advantages of strong parts and lively wit, the latter scarce any other qualification than a confused erudition grounded on a laborious course of reading without taste, penetration, or judgment, at least in any degree of comparison with the author he censures.

(14) A Century of short Characters of Books and Authors, MS.

(15) This appears from Dr Browne's Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, dated March 3, 1642.

(16) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(17) These Observations corrected and enlarged, are to be found in the folio edition of Sir Tho. Browne's Works.

(18) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

[*F*] *Most of the languages of Europe.*] As to the first version of it into Latin, it was made in 1644, and published in Holland, but with some difficulty, as appears from the following letter written to Dr Browne by the author of that traslation, dated from Magdalen-College in Cambridge October 1, 1649. 'It met 'with some demur in the first impression at Leyden, 'and upon this occasion, one Haye, a book-merchant 'there to whom I first offered it, carried it to Salmasius for his approbation, who, in state, first laid it 'by for very near a quarter of a year, and then at last 'told him, that there were indeed in it many things

"well

learning, and a singular solidity of judgment, it subjected him at the same time to the imputation of Atheism, especially among foreigners; some having charged it upon him as a crime, the proofs of which were to be found in this book (o), and others vindicating him from that aspersion, yet with such tenderness for themselves, that they are content to leave some stain upon him as to heresy, though perhaps never any man of his abilities and learning, gave stronger proofs of sincere belief. Of these censurers we shall in the notes give some account [G], it is sufficient to observe here, that the very dispute was favourable to his character as an author, and made his subsequent writings appear with the greater lustre. He published in 1646, his *Treatise on vulgar Errors*, intituled by himself *Pseudodoxia Epidemica; or, Enquiries into very many received Tenets, and commonly presumed Truths* (p). This was a book as singular in it's way as the former, and was read with equal avidity, by such as were capable of understanding the diversity of subjects which are therein treated [H]. This

(o) Reimanni, Histor. Atheism. p. 446.

(p) It was printed originally in a small folio.

'well said, but that it contained also many exorbitant 'conceptions in Religion, and would probably find but 'frowning entertainment, especially amongst the Mi-'nisters; which deterred him from undertaking the 'printing. After I shewed it to two more, De Vogel 'and Christian, both Printers; but they, upon advice, 'returned it also; from these I went to Hackius, who, 'upon two days deliberation, undertook it (19).' It came quickly to a second edition, and in 1652 it was printed at Strasbourg, with a large body of notes written by a learned German whose name was Levinus Nicolaus Moltkenius. In his preface this writer observes, that he was first led to the perusal of this book by the reception it met with from the best judges, that England, France, Italy, Holland, and Germany rung with his applause, and much more to the sawe purpose. About 1668 it was printed in French, having been before translated into *Italian*, *High-Dutch*, and *Low*, and is still read with the highest satisfaction by persons of true genius, though the sense and spirit of the author have been not a little injured by translations from translations; none but the Latin being made from the original, and that too having considerable deficiencies.

(19) See the Letter at large in the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich, p. vi.

[G] *In the notes gives some account.*] The first writer of note that we find detracting from our author's merit, is the famous Guy Patin, who, in a letter of his dated from Paris, April 7th, 1645, gives his judgment on the *Religio Medici* in the following words. 'The 'book intituled *Religio Medici* is in high credit here. 'The author has wit; there are abundance of fine 'things in that book; he is a humourist whose thoughts 'are very agreeable, but who, in my opinion, is to 'seek for a master in Religion as many others are, and 'in the end, perhaps, may find none. One may say 'of him, as Philip de Comines did of the Founder of 'the Minimes, a Hermit of Calabria, Francis de Paula, '*he is still alive, and may grow worse as well as bet-'ter* (20).' I should not have cited this passage but that I find it has made some impression on the French criticks, and even upon (21) Mr Bayle, which is the more wonderful, since he could not but know, that Patin scarce spoke well of any body, and was a smatterer himself: One who dipped into books and then decided upon them, which easily accounts for his notions of the *Religio Medici* and it's author. Yet this stroke of French censure is but gentle, in comparison of the correction given our author, and his writings, by German pens (22). One Tobias Wagner is pleased to say, that the seeds of atheistical impiety are so scattered through this book, that it can hardly be read without danger of infection. Two other learned men of the same nation, (23) Muller and (24) Reiser, agree with him in passing sentence on our author as an atheist. The very learned John Francis Buddeus is a little more moderate, for though he puts Sir Thomas Browne's name into the list of English Atheists, in conjunction with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Thomas Hobbes, and John Toland; yet he is pleased to add, that as for Thomas Browne though he is not free from the suspicion of absolute indifference in Religion, yet from the charge of Atheism he ought certainly to be acquitted (25). But the no less learned James Frederick Reimmannus, who also wrote very largely on Atheism, and of such as have been justly or unjustly suspected thereof, has takan great pains to wipe off not only the former, but the latter aspersion from our author, and has very fairly shewn the true state of the case, that the *Religio Medici* has been condemned by some without reading it carefully, and by others for want of understanding what they did read (26). In a subsequent note I shall have occasion to mention a still larger defence of our author, written by an illustrious Foreigner. Here, perhaps, it may not be amiss to add, that the *Religio Medici*, as soon at it was published in Latin, had a place given it in the *Index Expurgatorius* (27), tho' the French translator wrote a long preface, to prove that the author was very favourably inclined to the Church of Rome.

(20) Lettres Choises de feu M. Guy Patin, &c. Franckfort, 1683, 12mo, p. 12.

(21) Oeuvres de M. P. Bayle, Tom. I. p. 25. a.

(22) In examine elenchtico atheismi speculativi, cap. v. p. 11.

(23) Exam. Atheismi, c. vi. §. 34.

(24) In Differtat. de Atheismo, p. 35.

(25) Theses Theologicæ de Atheismo & Superstitione, p. 136.

(26) Historia Universalis Atheismi & Authorum falso & merito suspectorum, p. 448.

(27) Index Libror. Prohibit. p. 24.

[H] *Which are therein treated.*] This noble monument of our author's learning consists of seven books. In the first he considers the general causes of vulgar errors, wherein with equal penetration he discovers, and patience pursues, these sources of error, 'till he has fully described the course of the streams to which they swell. In the remaining books he treats of particular errors; in the second of such as relate to mineral and vegetable bodies, in the third as to animals, with respect to man in the fourth, in the fifth of things questionable in pictures, of Geographical and Philosophical errors in the sixth, and of such as are historical in the seventh. As to the author's intention in this treatise, and how much further he has prosecuted his subject, than other writers handling it before him, together with the obligation he thought himself under of defending what he wrote, information may be best received from his own pen. 'We hope (says he in his epistle to the reader prefixed to the sixth edition, printed in 1673) 'it will not be unconsidered, that 'we find no open track or constant manuduction in this 'labyrinth; but are oft-times fain to wander in the 'America and untravelled parts of truth. For though 'not many years past, Dr Primrose hath made a learn-'ed discourse of vulgar errors in Physick, yet have 'we discussed but two or three thereof. *Scipio Mer-'curii* hath also left an excellent tract in Italian 'concerning popular errors, but confining himself only 'to those in Physick, he hath little conduced unto the 'generality of our doctrine. *Laurentius Joubertus*, 'by the same title led our expectations into thoughts of 'great relief; whereby, notwithstanding we reaped 'no advantage, it answering scarce at all the promise 'of the inscription. Nor perhaps, if it were yet 'extant, should we find any further assistance from 'that ancient piece of *Andreas*, pretending the same 'title. And therefore, we are often constrained to 'stand alone against the strength of opinion, and 'to meet Goliah and giant of authority, with con-'temptible pebbles, and feeble arguments drawn from 'the scrip and slender stock of ourselves. Nor have 'we indeed, scarce named any author whose name 'we do not honour; and if detraction could invite 'us, discretion surely would contain us from any de-'rogatory intention, where highest pens and friend-'less eloquence must fail in commendation. And 'therefore, also we cannot but hope the equitable 'considerations and candour of reasonable minds. 'We cannot expect the frown of Theology herein; 'nor can they which behold the present state of things, 'and controversy of points so long received in Divini-'ty, condemn our sober enquiries in the doubtful ap-'purtenances of Arts and Receptaries of Philosophy. 'Surely Philologers and critical discoursers, who look 'beyond the shell and obvious exteriors of things, 'will not be angry with our narrower explorations. 'And we cannot doubt our brothers in Physick, whose 'knowledge in naturals will lead them into a nearer 'apprehension of many things delivered, will friendly 'accept if not countenance our endeavours. Nor 'can we conceive it may be unwelcome unto those 'honoured worthies who endeavour the advancement 'of learning, as being likely to find a clearer progres-'sion, when so many rubs are levelled, and many 'untruths taken off, which passing as principles with 'common

This too met with answers, written with more heat than learning, and with much stronger marks of passion than concern for Truth [*I*]. We need not wonder therefore, that such opposition contributed rather to the fame of this performance, than any way affected it's credit, especially since foreigners have unanimously declared in it's favour, and bestowed the highest praises on the author's wisdom, learning, and penetration, of which abundant testimonies may be produced [*K*]. The profound learning discovered in this last book, induced some mercenary scribbler, of which that age, as well as this, wanted not one in every corner, to make free with our author's name, by prefixing it to a book, which he not only never wrote, but without all doubt would never have read, considering it's bombast and foolish title [*L*]; and yet our author contented himself, with hinting this deceit to the publick, in the softest and modestest terms, and without expressing the least resentment against so impudent an impostor (*q*). In 1658 he published, *Hydriotaphia, Urne Burial; or, a Discourse of the Sepulchral Urnes, lately found in Norfolk. Together with the Garden of Cyrus, or the quincuncial Lozenge, or Net-Work Plantations of the Antients, artificially, naturally, mystically, considered. With sundry Observations.* The first of these treatises he dedicated to Thomas Le Gros, Esq; afterwards Sir Thomas Le Gros, of Crostwick; and the latter to Nicholas Bacon, of Gillingham, Esq; both are dated from Norwich, May 1, 1658, and shew that he lived in the strictest intimacy and warmest friendship, with the worthiest of his neighbours. These treatises are in themselves extreamly curious,

(*q*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

'common beliefs, disturb the tranquillity of axioms, 'which otherwise might be raised. And wise men 'cannot but know, that Arts and Learning want this 'expurgation; and if the course of truth be permitted unto itself, like that of time and uncorrected 'computations; it cannot escape many errors, which 'duration still enlargeth. Lastly, we are not magisterial in opinions, nor have we, dictator like, obtruded 'our conceptions; but in the humility of enquiries or 'disquisitions, have only proposed them unto more 'ocular discerners. And therefore opinions are free, 'and open it is for any to think or declare the contrary. 'And we shall so far encourage contradiction, as to 'promise no disturbance, or re-oppose any pen that 'shall fallaciously or captiously refute us; that shall 'only lay hold of our lapses, single our digressions, 'corollaries, or ornamental conceptions, to evidence 'his own in as indifferent truths. And shall only take 'notice of such, whose experimental and judicious 'knowledge shall solemnly look upon it; not only to 'destroy of ours, but to establish of his own; not 'to traduce or extenuate but to explain and dilucidate, 'to add and ampliate, according to the laudable custom 'of the Antients in their sober promotions of learning. Unto whom, notwithstanding, we shall not 'contentiously rejoin, or only to justify your own, 'but to applaud or confirm his maturer assertions; 'and shall confer what is in us unto his name and 'honour; ready to be swallowed in any worthy enlarger, as having acquired our end, if any way, or 'under any name, we may obtain a work so much desired, and yet desiderated of truth.'

[*I*] *Than concern for Truth.*] The first of these appeared under this title, *Arcana Microcosmi, or the hid secrets of Man's Body discovered in an anatomical duel between Aristotle and Galen concerning the parts thereof; as also by a discovery of the strange and marvelous diseases, symptoms, and accidents of man's body. With a Refutation of Dr Brown's Vulgar Errors, the Lord Bacon's Natural History, and Dr Harvey's book de Generatione, Comenius, and others; whereunto is annexed a Letter from Dr Primrose to the author, and his answer thereto, touching Dr. Harvey's Book de Generatione, By A. R.* i. e. Alexander Ross, London 1652. By transcribing this whole title it appears, that the author had a great inclination to distinguish himself by combating the opinions of famous men. He was a sort of knight-errant in the learned world, whose Dulcinea was Antiquity. Much of this humour appears in the manner of printing his book, the running title of which to page 92 is, *The hid Secrets of Man's Body discovered*; from 92 to 207, Dr Brrowne's *Vulgar Errors refuted and answered*; from 224 to 243, *a Refutation of Dr Harvey and Fernelius*; from 244 to 265, *a Refutation of the Lord Bacon's Natural History*; and thence to the end of the book, *a Refutation of Comenius.* Yet on the whole it must be allowed, that this is far from being so mean a piece as many have represented it, there is in it a great deal of vanity, and more spleen, but withal there wants not truth, learning, and some sense. There was another answer published under the following title,

(28) *Eudoxa, seu Quæstionum quarundam Miscellanearum Examen probabile*, &c. London 1656. 8*vo*. written by John Robinson, M. D. But this did it's author no great honour, and had not merit enough to make it much known in the world.

(28) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol II. col. 713.

[*K*] *Abundant testimonies may be produced.*] It is somewhat surprizing, that so very learned a treatise as this, and which it's author once thought to have published in Latin, should never have been translated into that language, which however has not hindered it from being very well known abroad. It was first translated into Low-Dutch by John Grundal, and printed at Amsterdam, in 1668, 8*vo*. It was afterwards published in High-Dutch by a noble author, for though in the title-page of the book, printed at Nuremberg, in 1680. 4*to*. the translator calls himself Christopher Peganius, yet this was only according to the mode of Germany, the true author being Christian Knorr, Baron of Rosenroth. The judicious Morhof (29) speaks of this work of our author's twice, with all possible marks of approbation and esteem. 'No modern author, says he, has treated this subject more accurately 'or copiously. In his first book he learnedly enquires 'into the general causes of error, and in his succeeding books he not only discourses of the mistakes 'which are crept into Natural Philosophy, but such 'also as have corrupted History, Theology, Mechanic 'Arts, and Physick.' The famous Reimmannus (30) delivers himself in these terms. 'As he excelled in 'Theoretical and Practical Divinity, so he shone no 'less in Philosophy, wherein he emulated Hercules, 'and undertaking by his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* to 'clear the Sciences from errors, he fell nothing short of 'the other's labour in cleansing the *Augean Stable*.' Father Niceron (31) speaking of this book says, 'That 'it is an excellent work and contains abundance of 'curious things.'

(29) Polyhistor. II. 2, 1, 9. III. 5, 1, 10.

(30) Historia universalis Atheismi, p. 448.

(31) Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illust. Tom. XXIII. p. 357.

[*L*] *Considering it's bombast and foolish title.*] This book called itself, *Nature's Cabinet unlock'd; wherein is discovered the natural causes of Metals, Stones, precious Earth*, &c. London 1657. 12*mo* Mr Wood's character of this book is, 'That it is a dull worthless 'thing, stole for the most part out of the Physicks 'of Magirus, by a very ignorant person, a Plagiary 'so illiterate and unskilful in his author, that not 'distinguishing between *lævis* and *levis*, in the said 'Magirus, hath told us of the Liver, that one part 'of it is gibbous, and the other light; and yet he 'had the confidence to call this scribble, *Nature's 'Cabinet unlock'd*, an arrogant and fanciful title, of 'which our author's true humility would no more 'have suffered him to have been the father, than his 'great learning could have permitted him to have 'been the author of the said book (32).' Dr Browne in an advertisement, as from the Stationer, disclaims it thus, 'I cannot omit to advertise, that a book was 'published not long since, intituled, *Nature's Cabinet 'unlock'd*, bearing the name of this author: if any 'man have been benefited thereby, this author is not 'so ambitious as to challenge the honour thereof, as 'having no hand in that work (33).'

(32) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(33) Printed at the end of his treatise, intituled, The Garden of Cyrus, &c.

[*M*] *Uncommon*

(r) See the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich.

(s) These are printed with his Antiquities of Norwich, in 8vo, 1712, under the title of The Posthumous Works of Sir Thomas Browne.

(t) Printed also in his Posthumous Works.

(u) See this annexed to the Memoirs of our author by Mr Whitefoot.

curious, and abound with noble, uncommon, and useful observations (r) [M], so that we need not wonder they have been so often cited, and so much admired. His readiness to afford any assistance in his power, to such of the learned as were engaged in great and laborious undertakings, procured him the correspondence of abundance of great men, both at home and abroad. Sir William Dugdale applied to him for his assistance, when he was composing that work of his, which has been thought to do him most honour, and many of the letters that passed between them have been made publick (s) [N]. His foreign correspondents extended as far as Iceland, where dwelt his good friend and intimate acquaintance, Theodore Jonas, from whose information, probably, he wrote that short account of this northern isle, which one may venture to pronounce, the clearest and most authentick that is any where extant (t) [O]. His reputation in his profession, was equal to his fame for learning in all other respects, and therefore the Royal College of Physicians in London, were pleased to take him into their number, as an Honourary Fellow, as appears by a very honourable diploma under the college-seal, dated the twenty-sixth of June 1665 (u). In the Month of September 1671, King Charles II. coming to Norwich in his progress, was pleased to knight Dr Browne, with very singular marks of favour and respect (w). This circumstance is mentioned by our author, in one of his pieces, with his usual modesty, and upon such an occasion, as did not only invite, but compel him to it; and yet his gratitude to

(w) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 85.

[M] *Uncommon and useful observations.*] The first Treatise concerning Urn Burial was occasioned by the digging up between 40 and 50 of these monuments of antiquity in a field of Old Walsingham, in the latter end of the year 1657, or the beginning of 1658. These urns were deposited in a dry and sandy soil not a yard deep, and at no great distance from each other; they were not exactly similar nor much unlike, some contained two pounds of bones, distinguishable in sculls, ribs, jaws, thigh bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of combustion, besides extraneous substance, like pieces of small boxes or combs handsomely wrought, handles of small brass instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kind of opal. Near the same plot of ground, for about six yards compass, were digged up coals and incinerated substances, which begat conjecture that this was the Ustina, or place of burning their bodies, or some sacrificing place unto the Manes, which was properly below the surface of the ground, as the Aræ and Altars unto the gods and heroes above it. That these were the urns of Romans from the common custom and place where they were found, is no obscure conjecture, not far from a Roman garrison, and but five miles from Brancaster, set down by ancient record under the name of Brannodunum. And where the adjoining town, containing seven parishes, in no very different sound, but Saxon termination, still retains the name of Burnham, which being an early station, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of Romans themselves, or Britons Romanised, which observed the Roman customs.

[N] *Have been made publick.*] These letters were written partly in the autumn of the year 1658, and partly in the spring of 1659, and contain abundance of curious particulars in relation to our Antiquities. They were published among the posthumous works of Mr Browne, and I mention them here only to take notice, that one of the pieces before published by Dr Tennison, under the title of *Miscellanies*, belongs properly to this collection. The title of it is, *Of Artificial Hills, Mounts, or Burrows, in many parts of England*, what they are, to what end raised, and by what nations. Before it there is a quære in answer to which it is written, said to have come from his honoured friend Mr E. D. This E. should certainly be a W. for without question the letters were intended for William Dugdale, as may be easily discerned by comparing the contents of this with those of the epistles before-mentioned; and I take it to be the only letter amongst those *Miscellanies* of which any certain account can be given. It is manifest from hence, that he was regarded as an oracle in these matters, even by such a man as Sir William Dugdale, whose knowledge in British Antiquities is unanimously confessed, and the answers given him by Sir Thomas Browne, are such as sufficiently demonstrate his having enquired narrowly, even into the abstrusest subjects.

[O] *That is any where extant.*] This letter is dated Norwich, January 15th, 1663. Some particulars seem worthy of being transcribed, inasmuch as we scarce find any thing in relation to this island, elsewhere, which is not strongly mixed with fable. 'Great store of drift, or float-wood, says he, is every year cast upon their shores, brought down by the northern winds, which serveth them for fewel, and other uses, the greatest part whereof is fir. Of bears there are none in the country, but sometimes they are brought down from the north upon ice, while they follow seals, and are carried away. Two in this manner came over and landed in the north of Iceland this last year, 1662. No conies or hares, but of foxes great plenty, whose white skins are much desired, and brought over into this country. The last winter, 1662, so cold and lasting with us in England, was the mildest they have had for many years in Iceland. Two new eruptions, with flame and smoak, were observed the last year in some mountains about Mount Hecla. Some hot mineral springs they have and very effectual, but they make but rude use thereof. The rivers are large, swift, and rapid, but have many falls, which render them less commodious; they chiefly abound with Salmons. They sow no corn, but receive it from abroad. They have a kind of large lichen, which dried becometh hard and sticky, growing very plentiful in many places, whereof they make use for food, either in decoction or powder, some whereof I have by me, different from any with us. In one part of the country and not near the sea, there is a large black rock, which polished, resembleth touchstone, as I have seen in pieces thereof of various figures.——And exceeding fine russet down is sometimes brought unto us, which their great number of fowls afford, and sometimes store of feathers, consisting of the feathers of small birds. Besides shocks, and little hairy dogs, they bring another sort over, headed like a fox, which they say are bred betwixt dogs and foxes; these are desired by the shepherds of this country. Green plovers, which are plentiful here in the winter, are found to breed there in the beginning of summer. Some sheep have been brought over, but of coarse wool, and some horses of mean stature, but strong and hardy; one whereof kept in the pastures by Yarmouth, in the summer, would often take the sea, swimming a great way, a mile or two, and return the same; when it's provision failed in the ship wherein it was brought, for many days, it fed upon hoops and casks; nor at the land would for many months be brought to feed upon oats. These accounts I received from a native of Iceland, who comes yearly into England; and by reason of my long acquaintance, and directions, I send unto some of his friends against the Elephantiasis or Leprosy, constantly visits me before his return, and is ready to perform for me what I shall desire in his country: wherein, as in any other ways, I shall be very ambitious to serve the noble Society, whose most honouring Servant, I am, T. B.'——This last paragraph shews, that this letter was written at the instance of the Royal Society, and is a proof how much he was considered by that learned body of men, who at their first institution were the glory of this island and the wonder of Europe.

to the King is manifested therein, rather than any satisfaction in this addition of honour [*P*]. He spent the remainder of his days, in the quiet practice of his profession, and the improvement of his mind, by a close and diligent pursuit of his studies, which he never intermitted, 'till having attained the age of seventy-seven, for he died on his birth day, he in 1682, left this life for a better (*x*). In his person he was of a moderate stature, of a brown complection, and his hair of the same colour. His picture in the College of Physicians, shews him to have been remarkably handsome, and to have possessed in a singular degree, the blessing of a grave and yet chearful and inviting countenance. As to his temper it was perfectly even and free from passions, he had no ambition beyond that of being wise and good, and no farther concern for money than as it was necessary, for otherwise he might certainly have raised a very large fortune in the way of his profession, but his charity, generosity, and tender affection for his children, to the expence of whose education he would set no bounds, contracted the wealth he left into a very moderate compass. His virtues were many, and remarkably conspicuous; his probity such as gained him universal respect, as his beneficence rendered him generally beloved; in respect to knowledge, he was extremely communicative in his conversation, and notwithstanding his rare abilities, and established reputation, wonderfully modest. His Religion was that of the Church of England, in which he shewed himself unaffectedly humble and sincere. As to sects in learning he followed none, but thought and wrote with the utmost freedom, illustrating every subject he touched, by such new and nervous remarks, as charmed every attentive reader, and has occasioned more care to be taken of the papers he left behind him, than has usually happened to the remains of learned men, a circumstance singular in itself, and which reflects on his memory the highest honour (*y*) [*Q*]. There may be notwithstanding this, and indeed there is reason to believe there are, several little pieces of his which have not yet seen the light, which is the more to be regretted, because certainly never any thing fell from his pen which did not deserve it. His very letters were dissertations, aud full of singular learning, tho' written upon the most common subjects. Of this we have a shining proof, in a letter of his to a young student, as to the method of reading physical authors [*R*]. His knowledge and charity made him dear to his contemporaries, as

(*x*) See his Monumental Inscription.

(*y*) Taken from a Letter written to Lady Browne, when he proposed to write Sir Thomas's Life, by Mr Whitefoot.

[*P*] *In this addition of honour.*] This passage occurs in his Antiquities of Norwich, where, speaking of the cathedral and city, he says, 'Tho' this church, 'for it's spire, may compare, in a manner, with any 'in England, yet in it's tombs and monuments it is 'exceeded by many. No Kings have honoured the 'same with their ashes, and but few with their pre'sence. And it is not without some wonder, that 'Norwich having been for a long time so considerable 'a place, so few Kings having visited it: of which 'number among so many Monarchs since the Conquest, 'we find but four, *viz.* King Henry III. Edward I. 'Queen Elizabeth, and our gracious sovereign now 'reigning, King Charles II. *of which I had a parti'cular reason to take notice* (34).'

(34) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 35.

[*Q*] *The highest honour.*] The first who took the pains to digest and fit for the press the pieces our author left behind him, in such a degree of perfection as seem to intimate his design of printing them, was Dr Thomas Tennison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who published, from his manuscripts, at London 1684. 8*vo.* A collection of *Miscellaneous Tracts*, containing, 1. *Observations upon several plants mentioned in Scripture.* 2. *Of Garlands, and Coronary or Garland Plants.* 3. *Of the Fishes catched by our Saviour with his Disciples after the Resurrection.* 4. *An answer to certain Queries relating to Fishes, Birds, and Insects.* 5. *Of Hawks and Falconry, ancient and modern.* 6. *Of Cymbals and other musical Instruments.* 7. *Of Ropalic or gradual Verses.* 8. *Of Languages, particularly the Saxon.* 9. *Of artificial Hills, Mounts, and Burrows, in many places of England.* 10. *Of Troas, what place is meant by that name. Also the Situation of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Zeboim.* 11. *Of the Answers of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Crœsus.* 12. *A Prophecy concerning the future State of several Nations.* 13. *Musæum Clausum, containing some Books, Antiquities, Pictures, and Rarities of several kinds, scarce or never seen by any man now living.* These with the other Treatises published in his life-time, were printed in one folio Volume at London, 1686. His son Dr Edward Browne published in 1690, a single tract of his father's, intituled, *A Letter to a Friend, upon Occasion of the Death of his intimate Friend.* It contains about twenty-four pages in 8*vo.* and we meet therein with many curious things, and a conclusion so pious, that whoever reads it will discern with indignation the falshood of such calumnies as have been spread in relation to his indifference in Religion. The third guardian of our author's fame was his grandson by marriage, Owen Brigstock, Esq: who communicated his remains to those who afterwards published them, under the title of, *Posthumous Works of the Learned Sir Thomas Browne, Knt. M. D. late of Norwich*, printed from his original manuscripts, *viz.* I. *Repertorium, or the Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Norwich.* II. *An Account of some Urns, &c. found at Brampton in Norfolk*, anno 1667. III. *Letters between Sir William Dugdale and Sir Thomas Browne.* IV. *Miscellanies.* Last of all, in 1716, there was published a book of his in 12*mo*, intituled, *Christian Morals, by Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, M. D. and author of Religio Medici*, published from the original and correct manuscript of the author, by John Jeffery, D. D. Archdeacon of Norwich. It was dedicated by our author's daughter, Mrs Elizabeth Littleton, to David, Earl of Buchan. And Dr Jeffery in his preface observes, that if any one after he has read *Religio Medici*, and this discourse, can doubt whether the same person was the author of them both, he may be assured by the testimony of Mrs Littleton above-mentioned, who lived with her father, when it was composed by him, and who at the time read it written by his own hand, and also by the testimony of others, of whom the Doctor is one, who read the manuscipt of the author immediately after his death, and who have since read the same; from which it was faithfully and exactly transcribed for the press. The reason why it was not printed before was, because it was unhappily lost by being mislaid among other manuscripts, for which search was lately made in the presence of Archbishop Tennison, of which his Grace by letter informed Mrs Littleton, when he sent the manuscript to her. Dr Jeffery likewise tells us, that there is nothing printed in the discourse, or in the short notes, but what is found in the original manuscript, except only where an oversight had made the addition or transposition of some words necessary.

[*R*] *As to the method of reading physical authors.*] This letter was communicated to the world by a very learned and ingenious gentleman (35), but to whom it was directed is not known. 'Ἐκ βιβλίυ κυβερνῆτα '[*i. e.* Statesman from the book] is grown into a pro'verb; and no less ridiculous are they who think out 'of books to become Physicians. I shall therefore 'mention such as tend less to ostentation than use, for 'the directing a novice to observation and experience, 'without which you cannot expect to be other than 'ἐκ βιβλίυ κυβερνήτης. Galen aud Hippocrates must 'be had as Fathers and fountains of the faculty. And 'indeed Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* should be conned for 'the

(35) By the learned and ingenious Richard Middleton Massey, M. D. F. R. S.

as his excellent works have transmitted the fruits of his learning, and thereby secured him a high reputation with posterity, and as this has not been built on the slight foundation of lively thoughts, delivered in a graceful manner of expression, but on the more solid basis of communicating useful truths, and suggesting the properest means for avoiding dispondency as well as errors; so by degrees his writings have triumphed over all those prejudices, which naturally rise in weak minds at the appearance of a genius of the first rank, as appears by that eagerness, which even learned foreigners have expressed in his defence, and that applause which has been bestowed on his works, by such as were equal as well as candid judges [S]. His body was interred in the church of St Peter's Mancroft, in Norwich, where, upon a mural monument, fixed to the south pillar of the altar, there are two inscriptions, one in Latin the other in English, containing several particulars relating to his life, which, as they have been mentioned in the course of this article, and as those inscriptions have been published more than once, render it unnecessary to transcribe them here (z). This monument was erected from the tender affection of Lady Dorothy Browne, his widow, to whose memory on the opposite pillar, there is another mural monument, which informs us that she died February 4, 1685, in the sixty-third year of her age. By this Lady Sir Thomas had ten children, of whom only one son (who is taken notice of in the next article) and three daughters survived him; all of them remarkable for inheriting their parents virtues, and enjoying an uncommon share of that sprightly wit and solid sense, so conspicuous in their father's writings, as they have also been by expressing an affectionate and becoming zeal for preserving their father's memory, and securing his literary remains from oblivion.

(z) In the Life prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich, p. xix.

'the frequent use which may be made of them. Lay 'your foundation in Anatomy, wherein αὐτοψία must 'be your *fidus achates*. The help that books can af'ford, you may expect, besides what is delivered *spar'sim* from Galen and Hippocrates, Vesalius, Spige'lius, and Bartholinus. And be sure you make yourself 'master of Dr Harvey's piece *De Circul. Sang.* which 'discovery I prefer to that of Columbus. The know'ledge of Plants, Animals, and Minerals (whence are 'fetched the *Materia Medicamentorum*) may be your 'πάρεργον; and so far as concerns Physick, is attain'able in gardens, fields, Apothecaries and Druggists 'shops. Read Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Matthiolus, 'Dodonæus, and our English Herbalists: Spigelius's '*Isagoge in rem herbariam* will be of use. Wecker's '*Antedotarium speciale*, Renodæus for composition and 'preparation of medicaments. See what Apothecaries 'do. Read *Morelli formulas medicas, Bauderoni Phar'macopœa, Pharmacopœa Augustana*. See chymical 'operations in hospitals, private houses. Read Fallopius, 'Aquapendente, Paræus, Vigo, *&c.* Be not a stranger 'to the useful part of Chymistry. See what Chy'mistators do in their officines. Begin with *Tyrocinium 'Chymicum, Crollius, Hartmannus*, and so by degrees 'march on. *Materia Medicamentorum*, Surgery, and 'Chymistry, may be your diversions and recreations; 'Physick is your business. Having therefore gained 'perfection in Anatomy, betake yourself to Sennertus's '*Institutions*, which read with care and diligence two 'or three times over, and assure yourself, that when 'you are a perfect master of these Institutes, you will 'seldom meet with any point in Physick to which you 'will not be able to speak like a man. This done, 'see how Institutes are applicable to practice, by read'ing upon diseases in Sennertus, Fernelius, Mercatus, 'Hollerius, Riverius, in particular treatises, in coun'sels and consultations, all which are of singular bene'fit. But in reading upon diseases, satisfy yourself not 'so much with the remedies set down (altho' I would 'not have these altogether neglected) as with the true 'understanding the nature of the disease, it's causes, 'and proper indications for cure. For by this know'ledge, and that of the instruments you are to work 'by, the *Materia Medicamentorum*, you will often 'conquer with ease those difficulties, through which 'books will not be able to bring you, *secretum Medico'rum est judicium*. Thus have I briefly pointed out 'the way, which, closely pursued, will lead to the 'highest pitch of the art you aim at. Although I men'tion but a few books (which, well digested, will be '*instar omnium*,) yet it is not my intent to confine you. 'If at one view you would see who hath written, and 'upon what diseases, by way of counsel and observation, 'look upon Moronus's *Directorium Medico-practicum*. 'You may look upon all, but dwell upon few. I need 'not tell you the great use of the Greek tongue in Phy'sick; without it nothing can be done to perfection. 'The words of art you may learn from Gorræus's '*Definitiones Medicæ*. This, and many good wishes, 'from your loving friend. T. B.'

[S] *Equal as well as candid judges.* The celebrated Hermannus Conringius, the glory of the German nation, professed himself always a great admirer of our author, and was wont to say, he always read his *Religio Medici* with fresh delight; and in respect to that imputation of Atheism, or indifferency in point of Religion, which had been circulated with such industry by certain supercilious Criticks, he delivered his sentiments of it in these words: Utinam nemo Medicorum, imo Theologorum, illo homine sit minus religiosus, *i. e. I wish no Physician, I will go farther and say, none of our Divines, were less religious than this man* (36). If we consider the great character, and still greater merit, of Coringius, we cannot but allow his testimony to weigh down the prejudices of a multitude of minor Criticks, who have no way of raising a reputation to themselves, but by attacking such of the learned as are in possession of it. The learned and judicious Frederick Heister (37), son of the celebrated Lawrence Heister, whose system of Surgery has made him known to all the learned world, thought himself obliged, on Buddæus's publishing a large work against Atheism and Superstition, to vindicate the Physicians in general, and our author in particular, from the injurious aspersion cast upon him in that book. His defence of Dr Browne takes up the whole sixth section, in which, from a great variety of passages in our author's works, he demonstrates the cruelty of this calumny, as well as it's notorious falshood. It is true that Michael Lilienthal (38), in his dissertation on Literary Machiavelism, has a stroke at Sir Thomas Browne, as if he had been an enemy to antiquity; and the famous Peter Bayle (39) speaks but slightly of him in some parts of his works; yet when the censures and characters of these Criticks are compared and considered, they will be found to do as much honour to our author's memory, as the praises of other men. On the whole, we may safely say, that as his pen vindicated useful science by vanquishing and driving away a multitude of errors which had been long received; so his fame has triumphed over envy, and will appear in the eyes of posterity as clear and bright as the truths which he espoused; and it was with great justice this sentence was inscribed on his monument, *Scriptis quibus tituli, Religio Medici & Pseudodoxia epidemica aliisque per orbem notissimis.* E

(36) Conringiana, p. 10.

(37) Eliæ Frederici Heisteri Laurentii filii Apologia pro medicis qua eorum depellitur cavillatio, qui Medicinam Atheismum aliosque in Theologia errores abducere perhibent, & qua simul præcipui Medici & nominatim Hippocrates, Galenus, Cardanus, Taurellus, Vannius, & *Brownius*, qui Atheismi crimine commaculati sunt, defenduntur. Amstelædami, 1736, 8vo.

(38) §. v. p. 39.

(39) See his *Illustration* upon the *Scepticks*, §. vi.

BROWNE (EDWARD) a very eminent Physician, and President of the Royal College at London, as well as Physician to his Majesty King Charles II. He was the son of Sir Thomas Browne beforementioned, and was born some time in the year 1642, notwithstanding what has been reported by some writers, who took it for granted he was in the seventieth year of his age (a) when he died. He received the first tincture of letters under the care of his father, who observing in him a great propensity to learning, resolved to spare nothing in his education (b), that might tend to the improvement of his natural genius, and gratify his strong appetite to knowledge. He spent some time at Norwich school, which was in those days very famous, and from thence, when he was about fifteen, he removed to the university of Cambridge, but in what college of that university he studied, I have not, at this distance of time, been able to discover. In all probability, the reason of his going thither was, for the sake of being near the place of his father's residence, and that he might have the opportunity of enquiring into, and facilitating his progress in learning, which exceeded even the hopes of his indulgent parent, since, while a very young man, he became a perfect master, not only of the learned languages, and more especially of Greek, but of every kind of academical knowledge, so that in 1665, he took there the degree of Bachelor of Physick (c). He removed afterwards to Oxford, and there, June 19, 1666, he was admitted to the same degree (d), and settling in Merton college the year following, *viz.* July 7, 1667, he proceeded Doctor in that Faculty (e), and then returned to Norwich; so that such writers as have asserted that he travelled before this time, are utterly mistaken. But after remaining about a year there, he, with the consent, and probably with the advice, of his father, resolved to make a tour through Germany, and accordingly, August 14, 1668, he embarked at Yarmouth for Holland, and having passed through the United Provinces, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Lower Germany as far as Cologne, he went from thence through Bavaria to the imperial city of Vienna, where he remained for some time, and then, passing through Moravia, and Bohemia, where he made some stay at Prague, and having examined the silver mines at Guttenberg, pursued his journey through Saxony, visiting the Electoral Residence at Dresden, the mines at Friedberg, the celebrated university of Leipsic, and the famous city of Magdeburg, from whence he travelled to Hamburgh, and after a short stay there, embarked on board a vessel bound for London, and landed in Kent upon Christmas-day that year (f). In these five months he made so many curious observations, contracted acquaintance with so many persons considerable in the world by their rank or learning, and obtained such a knowledge of the advantages bestowed by travelling on persons of his profession, that he resolved to go abroad again, and to make a more extensive tour, which he accordingly did in the year following, passing through most of the dominions of the House of Austria, visiting several provinces, and taking a considerable view of the mines in Hungary; afterwards he went to Larissa in Thessaly, where the Grand Seignior then resided, and having travelled through that country and Macedonia, returned again to Vienna, from whence he went to Venice by land through the country of Friuli, which gave him an opportunity of seeing and examining the quicksilver mines. He returned from Venice to Vienna, which is three hundred and fifteen miles, alone, and upon one horse. He had, before this, made either a journey or a voyage to that city, and from thence, in company with Sir William Trumbull, who was afterwards Secretary of State, Mr Soames, Dr Palman, Dr James, and Mr Dashwood, to Genoa, from whence he returned home through France, but at what time we cannot exactly distinguish (g). In the course of his travels, besides his great improvements in all kinds of knowledge, more especially Antiquities, Natural History, and Physick, he had an opportunity of seeing the courts and persons of four of the greatest Monarchs, *viz.* the Emperor Leopold, at Vienna; the Grand Seignior, Mohammed IV, at Larissa; Pope Clement IX, at Rome; and Lewis XIV, at Versailles (h). Upon his return to London, he became a Member of the Royal Society, as well as of the College of Physicians (i), and being equally distinguished by his extensive learning and polite conversation, grew into high favour and esteem with the famous Earl of Dorset, and other persons of great quality and distinction (k), at whose request he published a relation of some part of his travels [A]. This book had a great character given it in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and

(a) Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 409.

(b) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Posthumous Works.

(c) From the information of the Rev. Mr B. of St John's.

(d) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 166.

(e) Id. ibid. col. 170.

(f) Taken from his Travels, Lond. 1685, folio.

(g) This Journey is inserted at the close of the folio edition.

(h) Sir Thomas Browne's Life by the Rev. Mr John Whitefoot. p. xxxiii.

(i) These titles are given in the Philosophical Transactions, No. XCIV. p. 6049.

(k) Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

[A] *A relation of some part of his travels.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: 'A brief account 'of some travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Ma'cedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Car'niola, Friuli, &c. By Edward Browne, M. D. of 'the College of London, Fellow of the Royal Society, 'and Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty. Lon'don in 4to.' It is to be observed, that our author, after his return from Hamburgh, had communicated his design of making a tour through these countries, to some of the Members of the Royal Society; and as it was the custom of that learned body, at this time, to frame instructions for the use of travellers, that they might receive such lights as might conduce to the improvement of those sciences which fell more immediately under their inspection; so we are informed, that their Secretary delivered such to our author, which we find printed at large in the Transactions under the following title (1): 'Directions and Inquiries, as they 'were some time since recommended by the publisher, 'to the care of the ingenious and learned Dr Edward 'Browne (son to that deservedly famous Physician, Dr 'Thomas Browne, and Fellow of the Royal Society) 'travelling in Germany, Hungary, Turkey, &c.' To these queries, Dr Browne gave very copious answers, which were also printed at large in the Transactions; and were so full of curious, entertaining, and instructive circumstances, that he was pressed and prevailed upon to digest and put into order the whole series of his travels, in order to their being made publick. As soon as they appeared, they were taken notice of in, and recommended by, the Transactions of the

(1) See the Transactions of the Royal Society, No. LVIII. p. 1159.

and was received with universal applause, which, without doubt, it very well deserved, as it contained a copious and circumstantial account of several countries, with which we were very little acquainted (*l*); and indeed, from that time to this, there has been nothing published of the same kind that comes near it in any degree. Yet the Doctor, considering that there was some part of Germany, and more especially the baths of Aix la Chapelle, the mineral waters at Spa, and other curiosities in that neighbourhood, which he had not seen, took the advantage of the Congress held at Cologne in 1673 (*m*), and having accompanied thither our Plenipotentiaries, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, he went from thence, in the beginning of July, to Aix la Chapelle, and having curiously examined, not only the baths for which that city is famous, but the mines in it's neighbourhood, and particularly that of *lapis calaminaris* in the country of Limburgh, he proceeded to Spa, and enquired narrowly into the nature and virtue of the waters. He went next to Liege, and from thence, by Tongres, Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Newport, and Dunkirk, to Graveline, and from thence to Calais, where he embarked for Dover, and arrived the latter end of the same year at London. He had promised, in the volume of Travels which he published, that if they were well received, he would present the world with another collection of the like nature; and it was very probably with a view of compleating this second collection, that he made this last tour through Germany and the Low-Countries. Yet he did not publish his second volume 'till some years afterwards, when it met with the same reception from the learned world as the former volume had done, and with equal justice (*n*) [*B*]. About this time he settled in London, married, and began to grow into great practice; for his furtherance in which, upon the decease of Sir John Micklethwaite, a very eminent Physician, he was, upon the King's recommendation, chosen to supply his place in St Bartholomew's Hospital, some years before which, the King had made him his own Physician. He was elected at the Hospital, September 7, 1682 (*o*). The year following he published the Life of Themistocles, in the English translation of Plutarch undertaken by Mr Dryden, and therein gave a proof of his perfect acquaintance with the Greek language, and his great skill and accuracy in writing his own (*p*). On Michaelmas-day in the same year, he was, according to their charter, elected one of the Censors of the Royal College of Physicians (*q*). In 1684, the Life of Sertorius, as translated by him, was made publick (*r*); and in 1685, he augmented, as well as corrected and improved, the Collection of his Travels, which he then published all together [*C*]. These, as far as I have been able

(*l*) See the note [*A*].

(*m*) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 180.

(*n*) See the Philosophical Transactions, No. CXXX. p. 767.

(*o*) Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(*p*) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. I. p. 354.

(*q*) As appears from the Catalogue of the Members of the College, printed that year.

(*r*) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. III. p. 598.

the Royal Society, in very strong terms; the publisher introducing his account of them in the following manner (3): 'This learned and inquisitive traveller gives 'so good an account of the voyages he made through 'those parts named in the title, that thereby he excellently instructs others what great benefit may be made, 'by travelling, if performed with curiosity and judgment.' After which follows a kind of extract from his travels, of several passages relating to Physical Discoveries and Natural History.

(3) Ibid. No. XCIV. p. 6049.

[*B*] *The same reception from the learned world as the former volume had done, and with equal justice.*] The title page of this second volume of our author's travels, runs thus, 'An account of several travels through a 'great part of Germany, in four journeys. 1. From 'Norwich to Cologn. 2. From Cologn to Vienna, 'with a description of that imperial city. 3. From 'Vienna to Hamburgh. 4. From Cologn to London, 'wherein the mines, baths, *&c.* London 1677, 4to (4).' It is necessary to acquaint the reader, that the three first parts contain an account of our author's voyages to and from Germany, and his travels through a great part of that country, in 1668; so that these are prior in point of time to the travels published in the former volume. As for the fourth part, it relates to his last journey to Cologn, when the Congress was held there, of which we have given an account in the text. One may easily perceive that it was his great skill in minerals, and the curious accounts he had given upon his first return home; that, on the one hand, induced the Royal Society to lay so great a weight upon his communications, and, on the other, prompted him after two such long and fatiguing journeys, to make a third, that he might have an opportunity of viewing and examining all the remarkable mines in the Lower Germany, as he had before taken a view of those in Bohemia, Saxony, Hungary, and Friuli. It is indisputable, that the relations he has given us upon these subjects, are, beyond all comparison, clearer and more correct than any that are to be met with either in our own or perhaps in any other language. He was a man that not only understood these matters in the highest degree of perfection, but was also very far from being credulous, and took little or nothing upon trust, as appears from the accounts he gives us, in which he mentions a great variety of experiments made by himself upon the spot, in order to ascertain the facts which he delivered. It may not be amiss also to observe, that he travelled at a time when the knowledge of metals was in particular esteem, so that several Princes in Germany employed both their heads and their hands in this study, and therefore his inclination for it was sufficient to procure him in every place throughout that country a favourable reception, and even particular indulgencies. We have a very strong instance of this in the compliment made him by the learned Lambeccius, who was at that time Library-keeper to the Emperor Leopold, of not only carrying to his lodgings any Chymical manuscripts he desired, but offering to cause them to be transcribed for his use, or even to allow him to carry them with him into England (5). This second volume was also mentioned in the *Philosophical Transactions* with the highest marks of approbation of the book (6), and respect for it's author; and this raised his reputation to such a height, that he was considered even by the most knowing men in those times, as a perfect master of Chymistry in all it's branches, as well as of every part of Natural History, and of Antiquities, more especially medals, of which in this and in his former volume of travels, he delivers a great deal, and discourses of them with much sagacity and judgment, as well as on several points of Roman and Greek Literature relating to them, as he likewise does of ancient inscriptions, in the collecting which he was very diligent, and equally happy in explaining them.

(4) In several Catalogues, this book is said to be printed A. D. 1679, but that is a mistake.

(5) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 146.

(6) Philosophical Transactions, No. CXXX. p. 707.

[*C*] *Corrected and improved the collection of his travels, which he then published all together.*] It is not necessary to give the reader the title page of this book, which comprehends only what is mentioned in those of the other two, but it is very requisite to observe, that it differs from them very much in it's contents, the author having enlarged every part of it with fresh observations, so that it is in some measure a new work. Besides this, he has annexed his journey from Venice to Genoa, which is not in either of the two former volumes, and is full of great variety of curious and learned observations, in respect, more especially, to the Roman antiquities,

able to trace them, are all the works of his that are extant. Yet it is both possible and probable, that he might communicate several things to the Royal Society (s), more especially Chemical experiments, of which he made many, and of one of these we find very honourable mention, in the works of that great Philosopher, and true friend to useful knowledge, the famous Mr Boyle, of which some account will be given in the notes [D]. He attended his royal master, King Charles II, in his last illness, and to the time of his decease (t). Upon the coming of the Duke of York to the crown, he was left out of the number of his Physicians, but his practice still continued as great as ever, or rather increased. After the Revolution, he remained likewise at a distance from the Court, but his great success, in his profession, made him known and considered both at home and abroad, and that too by men of all parties and persuasions, as appears by a letter of his to the celebrated M. le Clerc, in favour of one Mr Beverland, a man of great learning, and particularly remarkable for writing a most excellent Latin stile, in which, however, he had exercised his pen on subjects that occasioned his being banished his country, on the repeal of which sentence, this letter of recommendation was written, at the request of Mr John Locke and the Earl of Carberry (u). It is, without doubt, as elegant a piece of Latin as can well be seen, and may be therefore considered as a proof of our author's excellence in that respect. In 1701, about the month of May, when King William was preparing for his last voyage to Holland, Dr Browne, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Dr Lawrence, was called to a consultation on the state of his health, but it does not appear that he attended him in his last illness (w). In the spring of the year 1705, upon the death of Sir Thomas Millington, Dr Browne, who had risen gradually through all the honours of the Faculty, and was at that time one of the Elects, and Treasurer, succeeded him as President of the Royal College of Physicians (x), which office he filled with great abilities, and discharged it with universal approbation to the time

(s) Some pieces of his are said to be in the Philosophical Collections by Dr Hook, but these I have not seen.

(t) History of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(u) See the General Dictionary, Vol. III. p. 302.

(w) Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(x) Catalogue of the Members of the College for that year.

antiquities, with which he shows himself extremely well acquainted. There is one thing, however, that ought not to be passed in silence, which is his turn for Poetry, of which we will give the reader an instance, that would be no discredit even to a more modern writer. It is the following translation from Virgil, where Venus is introduced expostulating with Jupiter in the behalf of Æneas, which our author produces to prove, that Antenor was the founder of Padua, which by the way he always writes Padoa (7).

(7) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 195.

——Quem das finem, Rex magne, malorum?
Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi:
Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva sonanti.
Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit
Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit.

What time, great King, shall terminate our woes?
Safe could Antenor break thro' all his foes,
Pierce to the bottom of the Illyrian bay,
View kingdoms where Liburnian princes sway;
Pass the nine mouths of fierce Timavus' waves,
Which roars upon the hills, and o'er the vallies raves,
And there could fix; and on that foreign ground,
Great Padoa's towers for after-ages found:
New name the race, and free from all alarms,
Hang up in peace his consecrated arms.

It may not be amiss to add here, the character given of our author's performance in the large Introductory Discourse prefixed to the first volume of Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, which was either written by, or at least under the direction of, the famous Mr Locke (8). 'The author, says he, a Doctor of Physick, has 'shewed himself excellently qualified for a traveller by 'this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the observation of so curious a person, 'having spent much time in the discovery of European 'rarities, and that in those parts which are not the 'common track of travellers, who content themselves 'with seeing France and Italy, and the Low-Countries, whereas his relation is of Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli; adding to these Germany, 'the Low-Countries, and a great part of Italy, of all 'which he has composed a work of great use and benefit.' To this we may subjoin, that these travels have been translated into French, and as much esteemed by the learned (9) in France, as their originals here.

(8) Churchill's Voyages, Vol. I. introduction, p. xcviii.

(9) Lenglet du Fresnoy, Methode pour etudier l'Histoire, Tom. IV. p. 328.

[D] *Of which some account will be given in the note.*] This passage in relation to Dr Browne, occurs in Mr. Boyle's *second* Essay upon *unsucceeding experiments*, in which he proposes two things. First, To render people cautious of establishing any doctrine of consequence upon single experiments, or even on several experiments, all the circumstances of which they have not particularly observed. The other is, that practical writers should not be too hastily censured on the score of experiments by them related, failing upon repetition. After mentioning various instances in support of these positions, he proceeds thus with regard to our author (10). 'And so having been informed 'that the learned Dr Brown somewhere delivers, 'that aquafortis will quickly coagulate common oil, 'we poured some of those liquors together, and let 'them stand for a considerable space of time in an open 'vessel, without finding in the oil the change by him 'promised (though we have, more than once, with 'another liquor, presently thickened common oil). 'Whereupon, being unwilling that so faithful and 'candid a Naturalist should appear fit to be distrusted, 'we did again make the trial, with fresh oil and aquafortis, in a long-necked phial left open at the top, 'which we kept both in a cool place, and after in a 'digesting furnace; but after some weeks, we found 'no other alteration in the oil, than that it had acquired a high and lovely tincture; notwithstanding 'which, being still concerned for the reputation of a 'person that so well deserves a good one, the like contingencies we have formerly met with in other experiments, made us willing to try whether or no the 'unsuccessfulness we have related, might not proceed 'from some peculiar, though latent quality, either in 'the aquafortis, or the oil, by us formerly employed. 'Whereupon, changing those liquors, and repeating 'the experiment, we found, after some hours, the oil 'coagulated almost into the form of a whitish butter.' It appears clearly from hence, how great an opinion so good a judge, as Mr Boyle was, had of our author's abilities, and more especially how just a sense he had of his integrity in reporting, as well as capacity in making experiments. But at this distance of time, it has not been possible for us to recover the original experiment, as made and delivered by Dr Browne; and, therefore, this, as well as other circumstances, seems to justify what we have hinted in the text, that there may be several communications of our author's preserved in the archives of the Royal Society, exclusive of those that are to be met with in the printed Transactions, which I have very carefully examined, and find no papers bearing his name later than 1673.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 224.

'[E] And

time of his death, which happened on the twenty-seventh of August, 1708, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after a very short illness, at his seat at Northfleet near Greenhithe in the county of Kent (y). He was extreamly regretted by such as were best acquainted with his merit, as appears by a very large character of him, which I have been favoured with, and which was drawn up for the use of Dr Harris, in case he had lived to publish the second part of his History of Kent, in which there are several things that deserve notice; and therefore it is remitted into the notes [E]. At the time of his decease, our author had been for several years a widower, and though he had many children, yet only two survived him, a son and a daughter. Of these, the former was Dr Thomas Browne, who, at the time of his father's death, was Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College of Physicians. He was likewise a gentleman of great parts and knowledge, and made a good figure in his profession, but did not long survive his father, dying in the month of July 1710 (z), without issue. His sister married Owen Brigstock of Lechdenny in the county of Caermarthen, Esq; to whom the publick is indebted for the Posthumous Works (a) of Sir Thomas Browne; and in his family I suppose the estate of Northfleet, which was of the value of about two hundred and forty pounds a year, continues. But in case issue by his son and daughter failed, it was demised, by Dr Edward Browne, to be equally divided between the Royal College of Physicians, and St Bartholomew's Hospital (b), in regard to his having been for some time President of the former, and continuing for many years Physician to the latter.

(y) Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 411.

(z) Le Neve's Monum. Anglic. Vol. IV. p. 164.

(a) The Preface to the Posthumous Works asserts this.

(b) Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 411.

[E] *And therefore it is remitted into the notes.*] This, and various other characters of persons with whom he had been acquainted, was drawn up by an old Clergyman in Kent, out of pure zeal for the honour of that county; after whose death, they fell into the hands of the Reverend Mr Knipe, from whom I had it several years ago. 'Though this gentleman was no native of 'Kent, yet having settled, and lived therein many 'years, and seeming to have fixed his family there, in 'case GOD had been pleased to continue it in the 'male line, he may well deserve a place amongst the 'Kentish Worthies. He received from his father an 'earnest desire after useful and extensive science, which 'was the best inheritance he left to his son. It is 'wonderful, that knowing so many things as he did, 'he should know them all so thoroughly well. He 'was acquainted with Hebrew; he was a critick in 'Greek; and no man of his age wrote better Latin; 'High-Dutch, Italian, French, &c. he spoke and 'wrote with as much ease as his mother-tongue. Physick was his business, and to the promotion there'of, all his other acquisitions were referred. Botany, Pharmachy, and Chemistry, he knew and practised. 'As to the latter, he inherited from his father the 'MSS of Dr A. Dee, among which too were some of 'John's (11); but his own lights went farther, and 'taught him, as some have thought, the whole Ar'cana of that mysterious science. In the company of 'the learned, his discourses were so academical, that 'he might be thought to have passed his days in a 'college. Amongst politer company, his behaviour 'was so easy and disengaged, you would have judged 'that he lived all his life in a court. With all this 'fund of knowledge, he was inquisitive, patient, and 'modest; heard with great attention, and spoke with 'much circumspection. In Religion, zealous without 'bigotry; in Politicks, inflexible but without asperity 'or rudeness; in private life, affable, beneficent, and 'chearful. In a word, he justified what King Charles 'said of him on a particular occasion, *he was as learned 'as any of the College, and as well bred as any at 'Court.* The nobility were fond of his company; his 'house was the resort of strangers; and, as he acquired 'the prudence of age without it's grey hairs, so when 'they came he kept up all the chearfulness of youth.'

(11) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 146.

E

BROWNRIG, or BROUNRIG (RALPH) Bishop of Exeter in the XVIIth century, was born at Ipswich in Suffolk, in the year 1592. His father, who was a Merchant of that place, dying when he was but a few weeks old (a), his mother took due care to have him well educated, and brought up to learning, in which he made a very considerable progress [A]. At the age of fourteen, he was sent to Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge; of which he successively became Scholar and Fellow (b) [B]; and there he distinguished himself, by his facetious and inoffensive wit, his eloquence, and his great skill and knowledge in Philosophy, History, Poetry, and all sorts of ingenuous Arts and Sciences (c). He was appointed *Prævaricator* when King James I. visited the University, and dicharged that employment to the universal admiration of the whole audience (d). His first preferments were, the Rectory of Barley in Hertfordshire (e), and a Prebend of Ely in 1621 (f), to both which he was collated by Dr Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Ely (g). July 15, 1628, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (h). On the twenty-first of September 1629, he was collated to the Prebend of Tachbrook, in the cathedral church of Lichfield (i), which he quitted September 19, 1631 (k), when he was admitted to the Archdeaconry of Coventry (l). He was likewise Master of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge (m), and proved a great benefit and ornament, both to that College and the whole University [C]. In the years 1637, 1638, 1643, and 1644, he underwent the office of Vice-

(a) Memorials of Bishop Brounrig, by D. Gauden: at the end of his Funeral Sermon, Lond. 1660. 8vo. p. 142, 143.

(b) Ibid. p. 146.

(c) Ibid. p. 147.

(d) Ibid. p. 154, 155.

(e) See Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 618.

(f) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1730, 4to. p. 385.

(g) Gauden, ubi supra, p. 157, 158.

(h) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 245.

(i) Br. Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 465.

(k) J. Le Neve says it was the 29th, Fasti Eccl. Angl. edit. 1716. fol. p. 132.

(l) Willis, ut supra, p. 416.

(m) J. Le Neve, ibid. p. 430.

[A] *In which he made a very considerable progress.*] 'For he was, *to a wonder*, in all ages of his life, not 'only *capable* of learning, but so *comprehensive*, that 'he drank in learning not as narrow-mouthed bottles '(to which young learners are compared) by drops, 'but as a sponge by great draughts, even in his mi'nority. —— Nay, he scarce had any minority, com'paratively to others, except in growth and stature; 'for he was above his equals or coetaneans; superior 'or *major* in abilities, when inferior or *minor* in 'years (1).'

(1) Gauden, ubi supra, p. 143, 144.

[B] *Of which he successively became Scholar and Fellow.*] 'He was made a Fellow, a little sooner than 'either his years or standing, according to the statutes 'of the college, permitted. But the college was 'impatient not to make sure of him, by grafting him 'firmly into their Society; which had been famous 'for many excellent men, but for none more than for 'him (2).'

(2) Ibid. p. 146.

[C] *And proved a great benefit and ornament both to that College and the whole University.*] So that, it was wonderful to see, how the buildings, the revenues, the students, and the studiousness of that place increased, by the care, counsel, prudence, diligence, and

Vice-Chancellor; which he discharged to the universal satisfaction of all people, and to his own great credit (*n*). In 1641, he was presented to the eleventh Stall or Prebend in the church of Durham (*o*), by Dr Thomas Morton, Bishop of that diocese, to whom he was chaplain (*p*). Upon the translation of Dr Joseph Hall to the Bishoprick of Norwich, Dr Brownrig was nominated to succeed him in the See of Exeter, in 1641. Accordingly he was elected March 31, 1642; confirmed May 14; consecrated the day following; and installed the first of June (*q*). But the troubles that soon after followed, did not permit him long to enjoy that dignity. Before the beginning of them, he was much esteemed, and highly commended, by his relation Mr John Pym, and others of the Presbyterian stamp (*r*); but they forsook him, only because he was a Bishop, and suffered him to be deprived of his revenues, so that he was almost reduced to want (*s*). Nay, once he was assaulted, and like to have been stoned by the rabble, his episcopal character being his only crime (*t*). About the year 1645, he was deprived of his mastership of Catherine-Hall, on account of a sermon preached by him before the University, on the King's inauguration; at some passages of which offence was taken by the Parliament-party; and neither his piety, gravity, or learning, were sufficient to preserve him in his station (*u*). Being thus robbed of all, he retired to the house of Thomas Rich, of Sunning, Esq; in Berkshire, by whom he was generously entertained [*D*]: and there, and sometimes at London, at Highgate, and St Edmundsbury, spent several years (*w*) [*E*]. During which time, he had the courage to advise Oliver Cromwell to restore King Charles II. to his just rights (*x*). But, notwithstanding, he suffered in his reputation, of not being zealous enough for the Church (*y*). About a year before his decease, he was invited to be a preacher at the Temple, in London, with a handsome allowance; and accordingly he went and settled there, in good lodgings furnished for him (*z*). But his old distemper, the stone, coming upon him with greater violence than usual, and being attended with the dropsy, and the infirmities of age, they all together put an end to his life, on the seventh of December 1659 (*a*): he was buried the seventeenth following in the Temple-church, where there is an epitaph over him [*F*]. He was once married, but never had a child (*b*). Though he was very elaborate and exact in his compositions, and compleatly wrote his sermons (*c*); yet he could not be persuaded to put any thing in print (*d*). But several of his sermons were published after his decease [*G*]. Bishop Brownrig, as to his person, was taller and bigger than ordinary, yet very comely. The majesty of his presence was so allayed with meekness, candor, and humility, that no man was further from any thing morose or supercilious (*e*). He had a great deal of wit, as well as wisdom (*f*); and was an excellent scholar, an admirable orator, an acute disputant, a pathetick preacher, and a prudent governor, full of judgment, courage, constancy, and impartiality (*g*). He was likewise a person of that soundness of judgment, of that conspicuity for an unspotted life, and of that unsuspected integrity, that he was a compleat pattern to all (*h*). In a word, Dr Gauden, who had known him above thirty years, declares (*i*), that he never heard of any thing said or

(*n*) Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, Lond. 1714, fol. P. ii. p. 23.

(*o*) Willis, ubi supra, p. 274.

(*p*) Life of Bishop Morton, 4to. p. 162.

(*q*) J. Walker, ubi supra, and Br. Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 385.
'To the liking of 'all good men,' says Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 245.

(*r*) Gauden, ubi supra, p. 191, 192.

(*s*) Gauden, ibid. p. 201—206. He found, as Dr Gauden observes, the predominant genius of the times was such, that instead of letting Bishops live in a capacity to be given to *hospitality*, they reduced them to the necessity of getting into some *hospital* for their relief. p. 203.

(*t*) J. Walker, ubi supra.

(*u*) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, edit. 1655, fol. p. 169.

(*w*) Gauden, as above, p. 197, 219.

(*x*) J. Walker, ubi supra.

(*y*) See Life of Dr John Barwick in English, 8vo. Append. No. XXIV. p. 488.

(*z*) Gauden, as above, p. 220, 221.
His last Sermon was on Nov. 5. 1659. Ibid. p. 181.

(*a*) Gauden, ibid. p. 229.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 204, 205, &c.
His wife lived but a little while, ib.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 209.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 213.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 232, 233.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 146—154.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 195.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 137.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 138, 139.

and fame of Dr Brownrig, who had such an eye to all, that he over-saw none; frequenting the studies, and examining even younger scholars, that they might be encouraged, both in learning and piety (3).

(3) Ibid. p. 160.

[*D*] *By whom he was generously entertained.*] Not, that he wholly depended upon his bounty, and must have starved without it. For 'his wife brought 'him a very handsome estate in money, and being con'sumptive, and so likely to die without child, she de'sired him to give her leave to give away by will, as 'she pleased, to her friends some part of that estate 'she brought him. He most chearfully granted her 'desire (if he would to the half, or all her estate). 'She having made this essay of his noble mind, told 'him, with thanks and tears, that she gave all she had 'to him as her best friend, and one that deserved 'much more than she could give him. Soon after 'she left him.——After-times shewed him, what a 'providence it was, by so ingenuous a way to have 'something of estate cast in, to defend himself against 'the after-injuries and pressures of life, besides learn'ing and merit. For that estate was his best reserve; 'though the distress of times had shrewdly wire-drawn 'that also before he died (4).'

(4) Gauden, ubi supra, p. 206, 207.

[*E*] *And sometimes at London, at Highgate, and St Edmundsbury, spent several years.*] 'Willing, (as Dr 'Gauden observes) (5) to appear, as he thought himself, 'and was treated in this world, *a pilgrim and stranger*, 'never at home, nor owning any home, 'till he came 'to Heaven, which was his father's house, where he 'should find better natured, and more loving brethren 'than those, that, as Joseph's, had without cause, 'stripp'd him, and cast him into a pit of narrowness 'and obscurity to die there.'

(5) Ubi supra, p. 219.

[*F*] *Where there is an epitaph over him.*] Which was composed by Dr Gauden, his successor in the See of Exeter, and is as follows:

Sumptibus & Auspiciis Honorab. Societat.
Templi, subtus positæ sunt Reliquiæ
RADOLPHI BROWNRIG, S. T. D. *Cantabr.*
Reverendiss. Episcopi Exon. quem honorem
Optime meruit, & per annos xix *tenuit.*
Malo tamen seculi fato Bellis, Schismatibus,
Sacrilegiis, & Regicidibus ferociente, nunquam
Exercuit. Tandem anno ætatis LXVII. *Provinciam*
Terrestrem nondum visam deserens, ad coelestem
Migravit. Æra Christi MDCLX. *illucescente*
Caroli II. *foelicissimo reditu, L. M. P. I. G.*
Epis. Exon. Electus.

The meaning of which is, 'That the remains of Ralph 'Brownrig, the right reverend Bishop of Exeter, had 'been deposited there, at the charge of the honour'able Society of the Temple. That he well deserved, 'and possessed for 19 years, the episcopal dignity, but 'never enjoyed it, by reason of the bad times he lived 'in; full of schisms, sacrilege, king-killing, and wars. 'At length leaving his earthly province which he never 'saw, he passed into Heaven, in the 67th year of his 'age. And, that this monumental stone was put down 'by J. Gauden, Bishop Elect of Exeter, in the year '1660, at the dawn of King Charles IId's Restoration.'

[*G*] *But several of his sermons were published after his decease.*] Some of his sermons were published at London in 1662, fol. under this title; 'Forty sermons 'preached by the Right Reverend Father in God 'Ralph Brownrig, late Lord Bishop of Exeter. Pub'lished by William Martyn, M. A. Preacher at the 'Rolls: being such sermons as have been perused and 'approved of by the Right Reverend Father in God, 'John Gauden, now Lord Bishop of Exeter, his re'verend and worthy successor.' They were reprinted (with

or done by him, which a wise and good man would have wished unsaid or undone. We shall give the rest of his character in the note [*H*].

(with the addition of twenty-five more, which make a second Volume) under this general title; 'Sixty-five Sermons by the Right Reverend Father in God, Ralph Brownrig, late Lord Bishop of Exeter. Published by William Martyn, M. A. sometimes Preacher at the Rolls. Lond. 1674. fol. in two Volumes.' The first Volume is dedicated to King Charles II. and the second to Gilbert (Sheldon) Archbishop of Canterbury. At the beginning of the first Volume, there is a letter from Bishop Gauden to the publisher, dated June 12, 1661, in which he gives, both the author, and the sermons, a very great character. —— Bishop Brownrig's style is tolerably good, and his sentences generally short. But he is too full of divisions and subdivisions, and of scraps of Latin and Greek: which was the great fault of the age he lived in. He hath something particular in his manner of writing, which will be best understood by the following instances. 'The chapter, 'tis a pathetical expostulation of God with his chosen people, &c (6). — The text, 'tis a prophecy, &c. (7).'

> (6) Beginning of Sermon on *Micah* vi. 5. Vol. I. p. 63.
> (7) In the same Volume, p. 76.

[*H*] *We shall give the rest of his character in the note.*] Dr Gauden informs us (besides what hath been already cited from him) that he was 'a person of those ample and cubical dimensions, for *height* of learning and understanding, for *depth* of humility and devotion, for *length* of all morality and vertue, and for *breadth* of all humanity and charity, that it is hard to *contract* or *epitomize* him (8).' —— And, 'that he had the learning of Nazianzen, Basil, or Jerom; the courage and constancy of Athanasius and St Ambrose; the eloquence of St Chrysostom and Chrysologus; the mildness and gentleness of St Cyprian or St Austin; the charity and benignity of Paulinus and Martinus. And bore his troubles with great contentedness and patience (9).' Another author (10), gives him this character, that he was 'a great man for the Anti-arminian cause (for he was a rigid Calvinist) yet a mighty champion for the Liturgy and Ordination by Bishops. And his death was highly lamented by men of all parties.' C

> (8) Gauden, ubi supra, p. 135.
> (9) Ibid. p. 201.
> (10) Echard's Hist. of England, edit. 1720, fol. p. 752.

BUC (George), a learned Antiquarian, was born in Lincolnshire (*a*) in the XVIth century, and flourished in the beginning of the XVIIth. He was descended from the ancient family [*A*] of the Bucs, [or Buckes] of West-Stanton and Herthill in Yorkshire, and Melford-hall in Suffolk (*b*). His great-grand-father, Sir John Buc, Knt. (*c*) was one of King Richard IIId's favourites, and attended that unfortunate Prince to the battle of Bosworth, where he lost his crown and life (*d*). In the first Parliament of King Henry VII, this Sir John Buc was attainted, for being one of the chief aiders and assistants, to the King just now mentioned, in the battle of Bosworth, and soon after was beheaded at Leicester (*e*). By this attainder, his posterity were reduced to very great streights (*f*); but, through the favour and interest of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the great patron of the family, they had probably some of their estates restored to them, and, among others, that in Lincolnshire (*g*), where our author was born. In the reign of King James I, he was made one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy-Chamber, and knighted (*h*). He was also constituted Master of the Revels, whose office was then kept upon St Peter's-Hill, in London (*i*). What he mostly distinguished himself by, was, writing *The Life and Reign of Richard* III, *in five books* [*B*]; wherein, in opposition to the whole body of English historians, he endeavours to represent that Prince's person and actions, in a quite different light from what they have been by others; and takes great pains to wipe off the bloody stains that have been fixed upon his character [*C*]. He hath also written, *The third Universitie of England*; or, *A Treatise of the Foundations of all the Colledges, ancient Schooles of Priviledge, and of Houses of Learning, and liberall Arts, within and about the most famous Citie of London. With a briefe report of the Sciences, Arts, and Faculties therein professed, studied, and practised* [*D*]. And a treatise of *The Art of Revels* (*k*). Mr Camden (*l*) gives

> (*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon Vol. I. col. 38. edit. 1721.
> (*b*) Life and Reign of Richard III. by G. Buc, in Compleat Hist. Lond. 1706, Vol. II. p. 545.
> (*c*) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. Vol. II. col. 1092.
> (*d*) G. Buc, ibid.
> (*e*) Hollingshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 762. edit. 1587, and G. Buc, ubi supra.
> (*f*) G. Buc, ubi supra.
> (*g*) See G. Buc, ubi supra.
> (*h*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 38.
> (*i*) See Dedicat. of his Third Universitie of England. Wood, ubi supra, and Camden, Brit. ubi supra.
> (*k*) See his Third Universitie of England, cap. 47.
> (*l*) Britannia, Vol. II. col. 1092.

[*A*] *He was descended from the ancient family of the Bucs.*] This family derive their descent from Sir Walter de Buc, a younger son of the house of Flanders; who came over to England, in King John's reign (1), as one of the Commanders of those Rutarii, or adventurers, sent for by that King, to assist him against his Barons (2). Walter behaving with great prudence and bravery, was rewarded by that Monarch with lands in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire, where his posterity flourished for many generations (3).

[*B*] *The life and reign of Richard* III.] It is printed in that collection of the English Historians, made by Doctor (afterward Bishop) Kennet, which was published at London, in 1706. 3 Vols fol. and again there in 1719, with notes and animadversions by the industrious Mr Strype. This book, as the ingenious Mr Hughes observes (4), 'is much too loosely writ for a History; it is pedantick and full of harangue, and may more properly be called, A Defence of King Richard than any thing else.' Besides, it is full of needless digressions, and too frequent quotations out of the Greek and Latin writers; and abounds with faults, which, in a man of his learning, is something unaccountable.

[*C*] *He endeavours to represent that Prince's person and actions in a different light from what they have been by others.*] He will neither allow him to have had any deformity in mind or body: and is angry to find him described by others crook-back'd, and of an ill countenance; so that he seems to be for reversing his character throughout. Thus he says (5), 'That he was of bodily shape comely enough, only of low stature.' And he concludes (6), that he was 'without disproportion and unevenness either in lineament or parts.' And that he had, 'even from those bitterest times in which he lived, the esteem of a valiant, wise, noble, charitable, and religious prince.' He also labours hard, to clear him of the imputation, of having been the murderer of King Henry VI. King Edward V, and his brother Prince Richard, &c (7). It is indeed very probable, that his ancestors obligations to the house of York, and the cruel attainder under Henry VII, might biass him very much. But it is likewise certain, that great abatements ought to be in all the ill that hath been said of King Richard III. Sir Thomas More, who composed his life, writ, as Mr Rapin observes (8), when the throne was filled with the Princes of the house of Lancaster, and at a time when it was almost a crime to praise or speak well of the Princes of the house of York: and, after-writers have copied him without examination. For, bating Richard's too great eagerness, and unlawful measures taken, to obtain the Crown; he behaved well in other respects, and expressed a due regard for learning and religion, a concern for checking vice and wickedness, and a greater care for the good and welfare of his people, than many of his successors have done.

[*D*] *The third Universitie in England*, &c.] This is printed at the end of the folio edition of J. Stow's Chronicle by E. Howes, Lond. 1631, and dedicated to Sir Edward Coke, Knight, the dedication bearing date, August 24. 1612. His design in that treatise, is, to 'present

> (1) G. Buc's Life of King Richard, ubi supra.
> (2) See M. Paris, ad ann. 1215.
> (3) G. Buc, ubi supra. Camden's Britan. Vol. II. col. 1092.
> (4) Preface to Compleat Hist. at the beginning of Vol. I.
> (5) In Compleat Hist. Vol. II. p. 548. col. 2.
> (6) Ibid. p. 577.
> (7) Ibid. p. 549, 550, 551.
> (8) Hist. of Engl. fol. Lond. 1733, Vol. I. p. 627.

gives him the character of 'a person of excellent learning,' and thankfully acknowledges, that he 'remarked many things in his histories, and courteously communicated his observations to him.' But what character is given of him by others, the reader may see in the note [*B*].

'present a view of the Academicall State, and of the 'Universality of the Studies, and of the liberall Arts, 'and Learnings taught and professed in the cittie of 'London (9): and to set down, *first*, the beginnings 'and foundations of all the Colledges and Schooles of 'Learning within and about the citty of London, 'with a briefe mention of the Arts, Sciences, and 'Faculties, professed and taught in them: *next* the 'names of the founders, with the times of their erec-'tion and foundation: and, *lastly*, close every one 'of them with the blazon of the Armes belonging to 'every School and Colledge (10).' These Schools and Colleges he divides into three parts; namely, 1. Schools of Divinity, 2. Colleges of the Common Law, 3. and those of the Civil Lawes, &c. The first are St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster-Abbey, St Peter's Cornhill, and other churches, where there are regular Lectures, and settled Sermons. The second are, The Temple, and several Inns of Court. The third, Doctors Commons: With the College of Physicians, Gresham College, Whittington College, St Catherine's, Christ-Church, St Anthony's College, and the College of Heralds. He shows, at the same time, that all sorts of liberal Arts and Sciences are taught in London. C

(9) Epistle Dedicat.

(10) End of chap. ii, and chap. iii.

BULL (JOHN), a celebrated Musician, and Doctor in that faculty, was descended from a family of that name in Somersetshire, and born about the year 1563 (*a*). Having discovered an excellent natural genius for Musick, he was educated in that science, when very young, under Mr William Blitheman, an eminent Master, and Organist of the chapel to Queen Elizabeth. On the ninth of July 1586, he was admitted Bachelor of Musick at Oxford, having exercised that art fourteen years (*b*); and, we are told (*c*), he would have proceeded in that University, 'had he not met with clowns and rigid Puritans there, that 'could not endure Church-Musick.' Some time after, he was created Doctor of Musick at Cambridge; but in what year, is uncertain, there being a deficiency in the register (*d*). In 1591, he was appointed Organist to the Queen's chapel, in the room of Mr Blitheman deceased; and on the seventh of July, the year following, he was incorporated Doctor of Musick at Oxford (*e*). He was greatly admired for his fine hand on the organ [*A*], as well as for his compositions; several of which have been long since published in musical collections [*B*]; besides a large number in manuscript, that make a part of the curious and valuable collection of Musick, now reposited in the library of Dr Pepusch. Upon the establishment of Gresham-College, Dr Bull was chosen the first Professor of Musick there, about the beginning of March 1596, through the recommendation of Queen Elizabeth; and not being able to speak in Latin, he was permitted to deliver his lectures altogether in English: which practice, so far as appears, has been ever since continued, though the professors of that science have been all men of learning. In 1601, his health being impaired, so that he was unable to perform the duty of his place, he went to travel, having abtained leave to substitute, as his deputy, Mr Thomas Birde, son of Mr William Birde, one of the gentlemen of her Majesty's chapel. He continued abroad above a year; during which interval, probably, happened the remarkable story related of him by Anthony Wood (*f*) [*C*]. After

(*a*) Communicated by Dr Pepusch. See Mr John Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 199.

(*b*) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 131.

(*c*) Id. ib. col. 144.

(*d*) Communicated by the late Rev. Mr Th. Baker of Cambridge. See Mr Ward, ubi supra.

(*e*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*f*) Ward, ubi supra, p. 200—202.

[*A*] *He was greatly admired for his fine hand on the organ.*] Here we shall set down the following little story, taken out of one of our Historians (1) of those times. On the 16th of July 1607, the King and Prince Henry, with many of the nobility, and other honourable persons, dined at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, it being the election-day of their Master and Wardens; when the Company's Roll being offered to his Majesty, he said, he was already free of another company, but that the Prince should grace them with the acceptance of his freedom, and that he would himself see, when the garland was put on his head; which was done accordingly. During their stay, they were entertained with a great variety of Music, both voices and instruments, and with several speeches. And while the King sat at dinner, Dr Bull, 'who was free of the company, 'being in a cittizens gowne, cappe, and hood, *played* '*most excellent melodie* uppon a small payre of organs, 'placed there for that purpose only.' To which may be added what Mr Wood affirms (2), that *he was so much admired for his dextrous hand on the organ, that many thought there was more than man in him.*

[*B*] *Some of his compositions have been long since published in musical collections.*] As, I. *Parthenia*, or, *The Maiden-head of the first Musick, that ever was printed for the Virginals: Composed by three famous Masters*; William Byrd, Dr John Bull, *and* Orlando Gibbons, *Gentlemen of her Majesties Chappell.* This book was printed at London in *folio*, but without any date, and was the prime book, for many years, that was used by learners and others that exercised their hands on that instrument. It contains twenty-one lessons, taken off from copper-plates (3); of which those from *nine* to *fifteen* inclusive were made by Dr Bull (4). Mr Ward tells us (5), he has seen another edition of this book, dated 1659, with the words *cum privilegio* underneath, tho' the two last figures seem to have been altered; nor was that time at all suited to publish works of this kind, while the affairs of the nation were in such disorder. II. *The first book of selected Church-Musick, consisting of Services and Anthems, such as are now used in the Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches of this kingdom; never before printed: Collected out of divers approved authors by* John Barnard, *one of the Minor Canons of the Cathedrall Church of St Paul, London.* London, 1641, *in folio*. In this collection the Anthem. *Deliver me, O God*, fol. 123, is ascribed to Dr Bull. III. *The divine Services and Anthems usually sung in the cathedrals, and collegiate choirs, in the Church of England; collected by* James Clifford, *Petty Canon of St Paul's, and sometimes Chorister of Magdalen-College in Oxford.* Lond. 1663. in *octavo* (6). Some of Dr Bull's pieces are inserted in this collection at *p.* 36, 137, 187, &c.

[*C*] *A remarkable story related of him by* Anthony Wood.] The story, as that Biographer tells it (7), is this. 'Dr Bull took occasion to go *incognito* into 'France and Germany. At length, hearing of a fa-'mous Musician belonging to a certain cathedral (at 'St Omers, as I have heard) he applied himself as a 'novice to him, to learn something of his faculty, 'and to see and admire his works. This Musician, 'after some discourse had passed between them, con-'ducted Bull to a vestry, or musick-school, joining to 'the cathedral, and shewed to him a lesson or song of '*forty* parts, and then made a vaunting challenge to 'any person in the world to add one more part to 'them; supposing it to be so complete and full, that 'it

(1) Stow's Chron. ed. 1615, p. 891.

(2) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 144.

(3) Wood, ibid.

(4) Mr John Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 203.

(5) Ibid.

(6) So says Mr Wood, ubi supra, col. 73. But Mr Ward (ubi supra) tho' he confesses he has not seen the book, says, in folio.

(7) Ubi supra.

After the death of Queen Elizabeth our Professor became chief Organist to King James I (*g*); and, December the twentieth the same year, he resigned his Professorship of Gresham-College, but for what reason is not known (*h*). In 1613, he again left England, induced, probably, by the declining reputation of Church-Musick [*D*], which at this time had not that regard paid to it, that had been formerly. He went directly into the Netherlands, where, about Michaelmas the same year, he was received into the service of the Archduke (*i*); and Mr Wood says (*k*), he died at Hamburgh, or (as others, who remember him, have said) at Lubeck. His picture is yet preserved in the Musick-School at Oxford, among other famous Professors of that science, which hang round the room.

(*g*) Wood, ibid.

(*h*) Ward, ibid. p. 201.

(*i*) Communicated by Dr Pepusch.

(*k*) Ibid.

'it was impossible for any mortal man to correct, or add to it. Bull thereupon desiring the use of ink and ruled paper (such as we call musical paper) prayed the Musician to lock him up in the school for two or three hours, which being done, not without great disdain, by the Musician; Bull, in that time, or less, added *forty more* parts to the said lesson or song. The Musician thereupon being called in, he viewed, tried it, and re-tried it. At length he burst out into a great extasy, and swore by the great God, that *he that added those forty parts must either be the Devil or Dr Bull.* Whereupon Bull making himself known, the Musician fell down, and adored him. Afterwards continuing there, and in those parts, for a time, he became so much admired, that he was courted to accept of any place or preferment, suitable to his profession, either within the dominions of the Emperor, King of France, or Spain. But the tidings of these transactions coming to the English court, Queen Elizabeth commanded him home.' That part of the story relating to the *forty parts* said to have been added by Dr Bull in *two or three hours*, has been rejected by our best artists in Musick, as a thing wholly improbable. And the account they give, as handed down to them by tradition, is this; that the lesson or song, when delivered to the Doctor, consisted of *sixteen parts*, to which he added *four* others. This, considering the fulness of the piece before, and the shortness of the time, in which he made those additions, is esteemed by them an extraordinary performance, and what might justly occasion the greatest surprize in the Musician, upon the first sight of it (8).

(8) Ward, ubi supra, p. 200, 201.

[*D*] *The declining state of Church-Musick.*] It is well known, that Church-Musick, for which the Doctor was so especially celebrated, had received a very great change by the Reformation, the *Motettis* of Saints, *Aves*, *Salves*, and the like, being all rejected, where that prevailed. In the Church of England, the matter of it was adapted to the Liturgy. And the Lutherans seem to have gone much the same length in retaining the solemn service, tho' with more instruments and variety of harmony. But the Calvinists, at the same time, wholly excluded this service, and substituted a metrical psalmody instead of alternate and antiphonical chanting, which by degrees obtained in our English churches; so that the former was kept up only in the colleges, cathedrals, and royal chapels, from which also attempts were made by some courtiers in the time of Queen Elizabeth to get it removed, had she not prevented it by her Injunction (9). However, that our most celebrated composers of Church-Musick 'till that time flourished in her reign, is acknowledged by a noted author upon this subject. 'Since the time, *says he* (10), that the old Primate of England Theodore, with his assistant Adrian the Monk, first established the skilful use of Musick throughout all the Saxon-English Churches; and the good old Bishop Putta of Rochester, being driven from his diocese by the Mercians, thought it no disparagement to go about the churches, and teach them choral harmony; many, doubtless, have excelled from time to time in this faculty among us: yet none, that we know of, have committed ought to score, which would be much useful, or pleasing to the ears of our age, 'till Queen Elizabeth. Her reign brought forth a noble birth, as of all learned men, so of famous composers in Church Musick.' This was very probably owing to the encouragement given by that Princess to this art in common with others, as well by her example as favour; for she was not only a lover of Musick, but likewise skilled in it herself. And therefore Richard Mulcaster, then Master of Merchant-Taylor's school, paid her an handsome compliment on that account in the following verses:

(9) MS. Dr Pepusch. ap. Ward, ib. p. 201.

(10) In the Dedication of The first Book of selected Church Musick, &c. See the title at length in the remark [*C*].

Regia majestas, ætatis gloria nostræ,
Hanc in deliciis semper habere solet;
Nec contenta graves aliorum audire labores,
Ipsa etiam egregiè voce manuque canit (11).

That is,

The Queen, the glory of our age and isle,
With royal favour bids this science smile;
Nor hears she only others labour'd lays,
But, artist-like, herself both sings and plays.

(11) In a Poem prefixed to a book intituled *Discantus cantiones, quæ ab argumento sacræ vocantur, quinque et sex partium: Autoribus Thoma Tallifo et Gulielmo Birdo, Anglis*, &c. 1575, quarto oblongo.

But notwithstanding there were many artists of that profession, who were then very eminent both for their skill and compositions, the esteem of that science began to sink very much in the following reign; so that several masters, in publishing their compositions, complain of the great want of court-patrons at that time, and therefore dedicate their works to one another (12).

(12) Ward, ib. p. 202.

T.

BULL (GEORGE), Bishop of St David's, was born in the parish of St Cuthbert, at Wells in Somersetshire, the twenty-fifth of March 1634 (*a*). He was descended from an antient and genteel family, seated at Shapwick in that county. Our Prelate's father, Mr George Bull [*A*], dedicated his son to the Church from his infancy, having declared at the font, that he designed him for Holy Orders. He died when young George was but four years old, and left him under the care of guardians, with an estate of two hundred pounds *per annum*. When he was fit to receive the first rudiments of learning he was placed

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 954. and The Life of Dr George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelson, Esq; Lond. 1713, 8*vo*, p. 6.

[*A*] *His father, Mr* George Bull.] He was second son of William Bull, Esq; who had ten sons and eight daughters; so that, by reason the family was so numerous, he was bred to a trade in Wells, and became a principal member in that corporation. The settling him in the world after this manner was contrary to his own inclinations, which led him to a learned education: but the choice of his parents determined him another way, in which he succeeded much better than persons usually do who engage against the bent of their dispositions. 'I venture, says Mr Nelson (1), to call him a good man, because the memory that is still preserved of him representeth him, as a peson that was very conscientious in his dealing, and very pious towards God; and when he left off his trade, which he was never well pleased with, because it diverted him from Holy Orders; which he chiefly coveted, he gave considerable charities to the poor; and after having been twice Mayor of the city of Wells, became a benefactor to the corporation.' The direct male line of this antient family being extinct, the estate devolved upon Mrs Eleanor Doddington, sole heiress of Henry Bull, Esq; of Shapwick, and wife of George Doddington, Esq; member of Parliament, in Queen Anne's reign, for the borough of Bridgwater, and one of the Lord's Commissioners of the Admiralty.

(1) Life of Dr George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelson, Esq; Lond. 1713, 8*vo*, p. 8.

[*B*] He

placed in a grammar-school at Wells, from whence he was soon removed to the free-school of Tiverton in Devonshire; where he made a very quick progress in classical learning [*B*], and became qualified for the University at fourteen years of age (*b*). He was entered a Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford, the tenth of July 1648 (*c*), under the tuition of Mr Baldwin Ackland. And tho' he lost much of the time he spent at the University, in the pursuit of pleasures and diversions; yet, by the help of Logick, which he mastered with little labour, and a close way of reasoning, which was natural to him, he soon gained the reputation of a smart disputant, and as such was taken notice of and encouraged by his superiors, particularly Dr Conant, Rector of the College, and Dr Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, who at that time resided in Oxford. At the University Mr Bull began his acquaintance with Mr Clifford, afterwards Lord High-Treasurer (*d*) [*C*]. He continued in Exeter-College 'till January 1649 (*e*); at which time, having refused to take the oath to the Commonwealth of England [*D*], he retired, with his tutor Mr Ackland, who had set him the example, to North-Cadbury in Somersetshire; where he continued under the care of that good and able man, 'till he was about nineteen years of age. This retreat gave him an opportunity of frequent converse with one of his sisters, whose good sense, and pious admonitions, weaned him entirely from all youthful vanities, and influenced him to a serious prosecution of his studies (*f*). And now, by the advice of his friends and guardians, he put himself under the care of Mr William Thomas (*g*) Rector of Ubley in Somersetshire [*E*], in whose house he boarded, with some of his sisters, for the space of two years. It is true, he received little or no assistance, or real improvement, in the study of Divinity from that gentleman; but the acquaintance he had an opportunity of contracting with Mr Thomas's son [*F*], made him some amends for the loss of time under such a director. For 'till now Mr Bull had applied himself entirely to the reading little systems of Divinity, such as *Wollebius*'s; but, his judgment being ripened, he grew more and more out of conceit with that sort of Theology, and began to study Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, Episcopius, &c. with which his friend, Mr Samuel Thomas, supplied him [*G*]. Two years after he had left Mr Thomas, he entertained thoughts of entering into Holy Orders, and for that purpose applied himself to Dr Skinner, the ejected Bishop of Oxford, by whom he was ordained Deacon and Priest the same day [*H*], being at that time but twenty-one years

(*b*) Nelson's Life of Dr G. Bull, ubi supra, p. 7—11.

(*c*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*d*) Life, &c. p. 11—15.

(*e*) Wood, ibid.

(*f*) Ib. p. 17, 18.

(*g*) Anthony Wood tells us, he was put under the care of Mr Henry Jeanes, Rector of Chedzey in Somersetshire; but Mr Nelson says nothing of that gentleman.

[*B*] *He made a very quick progress in classical learning.*] Mr Samuel Butler, the Master of Tiverton school, was very eminent in his profession, being an excellent Grammarian both in Latin and Greek, and very diligent in the care and observation of his scholars. It was his usual method, when he gave his boys themes for verses, to press them to exert themselves and do their best, because he judged how far each boy's capacity would carry him; but he always told George Bull, that he expected from him verses like those of Ovid, because, said he, I know you can do it; sufficiently intimating thereby, that his scholar had a capacity and genius that enabled him to excel in such exercises (2).

(2) Ibid. p. 10, 11.

[*C*] *He became acquainted with Mr Clifford, afterwards Lord High-Treasurer.*] The greatness of Mr Bull's friend was attended with no advancement to his fellow collegiate; though Mr Nelson tells us (3), he was informed, that his Lordship did make some attempts to procure Mr Bull preferment, and particularly sollicited the Lord-Keeper Bridgman for a prebend of Gloucester: but, probably, no vacancy happened in the Church during my Lord's short reign of favour; besides, Mr Bull living at a distance from Court, and not understanding the art of intriguing for preferment, might easily be forgot by a great man, who could not want for such as were perpetually solliciting his favour.

(3) Ibid. p. 15.

[*D*] *He refused to take the oath to the Commonwealth of England.*] Mr Bull had not been admitted two years in Exeter-college, before the *Engagement* was imposed upon the nation by a pretended Act of Parliament, which passed in January 1649. The kingly office being abolished upon the murther of King Charles I. it was declared, that for the time to come, England should be governed as a commonwealth by Parliament; and this oath was prepared, and ordered to be taken by the subjects, *That they would be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it was then established, without a King or House of Lords.* Whoever refused to take this engagement, was disqualified thereby from holding any place or office in the Church or in State; and they who had no employments to lose, were to be deprived of the benefit of the Law, and to be disabled from suing in any Court. There was great zeal shewn in several places to procure this acknowledgment and submission from the people to this new government; and among others, all the members of the Universities were summoned to appear, and take the appointed oath. Our young student appeared upon this occasion, and signalized himself by refusing to take it. The several Hypotheses that were then started to make men easy under a change of government, which was directly contrary to the national constitution, could not prevail upon him to comply. Neither the argument of Providence, nor present possession, nor the advantages of protection, which were all pleaded in those times, were strong enough to influence a mind that was early determined to be constant in his duty to the Church and the King (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

[*E*] *Mr William Thomas, Rector of Ubley in Somersetshire.*] This gentleman then was in great reputation for his piety, and esteemed one of the chief Ministers of his time in the neighbourhood where he lived. He was always reckoned a Puritan, and closed with the Presbyterian measures in 1642, and was appointed an assistant to the Commissioners for ejecting such whom they called scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient Ministers and School-masters. He lived to be ejected himself for Non-conformity, and died in 1667 (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 22, 23.

[*F*] *Mr Thomas's son.*] Mr Samuel Thomas was a person of a very valuable character for his piety and learning: He was afterwards Chaplain at Christ Church in Oxford, Vicar of Chard in Somersetshire, and Prebendary of Wells. The friendship contracted between this gentleman and Mr Bull was afterwards cultivated by many mutual kind offices; and when they were at a distance, it was supported by a frequent correspondence (6).

(6) Ibid.

[*G*] ——— *With which Mr Samuel Thomas supplied him.*] This he did at the hazard of his father's displeasure: for the old gentleman had a watchful eye over Mr Bull, and never found any of these books in his study without discovering visible marks of his anger and resentment. For being well acquainted with his son's principles, and with the intimate correspondence there was between them, he easily guessed from what quarter Mr Bull was provided with so much Heterodoxy, and would often say, *My son will corrupt Mr Bull* (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 24.

[*H.*] *He was ordained Deacon and Priest the same day.*] The Bishop, tho' he was willing to ordain Mr Bull, yet refused to give him, or any others, Letters of Orders under his own hand and seal, for this prudential reason, because he was apprehensive some ill use might be made of them, if they fell into the hands of those unjust powers which then prevailed, who had made

years of age [*I*]. Soon after, he accepted the small benefice of St George's near Bristol [*K*]; where, by his constant preaching twice every Sunday [*L*], the method he took in governing his parish [*M*], his manner of performing Divine Service [*N*], his exemplary life,

made it criminal for a Bishop to confer Holy Orders; but at the same time he assured him, that when the antient Apostolical Government of the Church should be restored, which he did not question but a little time would bring about, his Letters of Orders should be sent to him, in what part soever of the nation he then lived; which was accordingly punctually complied with upon the happy restoration of King Charles II (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 26.

[*I*] — *Being at that time but twenty-one years of age.*] It is true, this was much short of that age, which is required by the Canons of the Church in candidates for the Priesthood. But Mr Bull, upon his examination, acquitted himself so perfectly well, that tho' the Bishop was rightly informed as to that circumstance, yet he was pleased to say, that the Church wanted persons qualified as he was, and that he could not make too much haste, when his pains and labour might be of such importance; that as to the Canons, they could not be observed strictly in such times of difficulty and distress, and that he did dispense with his want of canonical age as much as in him lay (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 27.

[*K*] *He accepted the small benefice of St George's, near Bristol.*] He the rather accepted it, because, the income being very inconsiderable, it was very likely he would be suffered to reside without any disturbance from the men of those times, who would not think it worth their while to persecute and dispossess him for 30*l.* a year. Before he settled at this place, he met by accident with one of his godfathers, Mr Hall a clergyman, who acquainted him with the declaration his father had made when he was baptized; which gave him no small pleasure and satisfaction, in that he had fulfilled the intention of his father from the bent of his own inclination and free choice, without having ever 'till that time received the least intimation concerning it (10).

(10) Ib. p. 29.

[*L*] *His constant preaching twice every Sunday.*] A little accident, soon after his coming to this living, contributed very much to the establishing his reputation as a preacher. One Sunday, when he had begun his sermon, as he was turning over his Bible to explain some texts of Scripture, which he had quoted, it happened that his notes, contained in several small pieces of paper, flew out of his Bible into the middle of the church; upon which many of the congregation fell into laughter, and concluded that their young preacher would be non-plussed for want of materials: but some of the more sober and better natured sort gathered up the scattered notes, and carried them to him in the pulpit. Mr Bull took them, and perceiving that most of the audience, consisting chiefly of sea-faring persons, were rather inclined to triumph over him under that surprize, he clapped them into his book again, and shut it, and then, without referring any more to them, went on with his subject he had begun (11). It happened once, while he was preaching, that a Quaker came into the church, and in the middle of the sermon cried out, *George, come down, thou art a false prophet and an hireling*; whereupon the parishioners, who loved their minister exceedingly, fell upon the poor Quaker with such fury, as obliged Mr Bull to come down out of the pulpit to quiet them, and to save him from the effects of their resentment. After they were somewhat pacified, Mr Bull began to expostulate with the Quaker concerning his misbehaviour; but the people perceiving the silly enthusiast to be perfectly confounded, and not able to speak a word of sense in his own defence, fell upon him a second time with such violence, that had not Mr Bull by great entreaties prevailed upon them to spare him, and to be satisfied with turning him out of the church, he would hardly have escaped with his life: after which Mr Bull went up again into his pulpit, and finished his sermon (12).

(11) Ib. p. 30, 31.

(12) Ib. p. 31—34.

[*M*] *The method he took in governing his parish.*] He did not content himself only with preaching to his flock on Sundays, and visiting the sick; but he went from house to house, visiting the rich and poor without distinction, not to gratify their civil invitations, or his own diversion, but to be serviceable to them in a matter of the greatest importance, the salvation of their souls. And therefore upon these occasions the time was not trifled away in empty talk; but his discourse was suited to the several exigencies of those he conversed with. By this means he became acquainted with the state of their souls, and was thereby the better enabled to adapt his publick discourses to the wants of his flock; besides, that this practice gave him an opportunity of thoroughly understanding the necessities of those that were really poor, whom he constantly relieved, either from his own charity, or the bounty of those who supplied him upon all such occasions. There was hardly a family in his parish, which was not furnished with great store of Antinomian books, such doctrines prevailing very much in those times; and therefore in these visits he took frequent occasion to warn his parishioners against the poison they were so familiar with, convincing them of the false reasoning contained in those books, and the inconsistency of their tenets with the scheme of salvation laid down in the Gospel. When Mr Bull found any persons, that either never came to the parish-church, or, after having frequented it, withdrew to some other communion, his constant practice was to enquire who had seduced them, and to know their names, in order to summon them to a conferrence in the presence of the person, who had been prevailed upon to absent from the parish-church. These challenges were frequently accepted; for Mr Bull being young, it was not imagined that he was able to maintain a cause against persons of riper age, and who had been long versed in the controversy; but by the quickness of his parts, and his close way of reasoning, he generally got the better in these conferences, and was thereby very successful in recovering his wandering sheep. As to the younger sort, his method was to address them in publick as well as private; and therefore he usually preached to them on some week-day before he administered the Eucharist, in order to instruct them in the nature of that Sacrament, and the preparation necessary to the worthy receiving it (13).

(13) Ib. p. 34—38.

[*N*] *His manner of performing Divine Service.*] As the iniquity of the times would not admit of the constant and regular use of the Liturgy, to supply this misfortune, Mr Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in publick, while he continued Minister of this place, out of the book of Common-Prayer; in which practice he was justified by the example of the judicious Dr Sanderson, one of the brightest lights of that age. And he performed the publick service with so much seriousness and devotion, with such fervour and ardency of affection, and with so powerful an emphasis in every part, that they, who were most prejudiced against the Liturgy, did not scruple to commend Mr Bull as a person who prayed by the spirit, at the same time that they railed at the Common-Prayer as a beggarly element, and a carnal performance. A particular instance of this happened to him, upon his being sent for to baptize the child of a Dissenter in his parish. Upon this occasion he made use of the office of Baptism, as prescribed by the Church of England, which he had got entirely by heart, and which he went through with so much readiness, gravity, and devotion, that the whole company were extremely affected; and notwithstanding that he used the sign of the Cross, they were so ignorant of the offices of the Church, that they did not discover thereby that it was out of the Common-Prayer. After the ceremony, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating at the same time, with how much greater edification they prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for his assistance in their *extempore* effusions, than those did who tied themselves up to premeditated forms; and that, if he had not made the sign of the cross, that badge of Popery, as he called it, no body could have formed the least objection to his excellent prayers. Upon which Mr Bull shewed him the office of Baptism in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occasion; which, with other arguments offered by Mr Bull in favour of the Common-Prayer, so effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that from that time they became constant attendants on the publick service of the Church (14).

(14) Ib. p. 39, 40.

life, and great charities, he entirely gained the affections of his flock, and was very instrumental in reforming his parish, which he found over-run with Quakers and other wild Sectarists (*h*). Whilst he remained Minister of this parish, the providence of God wonderfully interposed for the preservation of his life: for his lodgings being near a powder-mill, Mr Morgan, a gentleman of the parish, represented to him the danger of his situation, and at the same time invited him to his own house. Mr Bull, at first, modestly declined the offer, but after some importunity accepted it, and, not many days after his removal to Mr Morgan's, the mill was blown up, and his apartment with it. In this part of his life he took a journey once a year to Oxford, where he stayed about two months to enjoy the benefit of the publick libraries. In his way to and from Oxford, he always paid a visit to Sir William Masters of Cirencester; by which means he contracted an intimacy with Mr Alexander Gregory, the Minister of the place, and after some time married one of his daughters [*O*], on the twentieth of May 1658 (*i*). The same year he was presented, by the Lady Pool, to the rectory of Suddington St Mary [*P*], near Cirencester in Gloucestershire. The next year, 1659, he was made privy to the design of a general insurrection in favour of King Charles II, and several gentlemen of that neighbourhood, who were in the secret, made choice of his house at Suddington for one of the places of their meeting. Upon the Restoration, Mr Bull frequently preached for his father-in-law, Mr Gregory, at Cirencester, where there was a large and populous congregation; and his sermons gave such general satisfaction [*Q*], that, upon a vacancy, the people were very sollicitous to have procured for him the presentation; but the largeness of the parish, and the great duty attending it, deterred him from consenting to the endeavours they were making for that purpose. In 1662, he was presented by the Lord High-Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, to the vicarage of Suddington St Peter, which lay contiguous to Suddington St Mary [*R*], at the request of his Diocesan, Dr Nicholson Bishop of Gloucester (*k*). When Mr Bull came first to the rectory of Suddington, he began to be more open in the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England, though it was not yet restored by the return of the King; for being desired to marry a couple, he performed the ceremony, on a Sunday morning, in the face of the whole congregation, according

(*h*) Ib. p. 28.—30.

(*i*) Ib. p. 41—43.

(*k*) Mr Wood, then, is mistaken in saying, he was presented by the Bishop himself to both the Suddingtons.

[*O*] *He married one of Mr Gregory's daughters.*] Her name was Mrs Bridget Gregory. The ceremony of their marriage was performed by Mr William Masters, Vicar of Preston, according to the form prescribed by the book of Common-Prayer, the use of which was at that time forbidden under a heavy penalty. Mrs Bull proved in all respects a fit concert for a clergyman, being in her own nature sufficiently provident, and yet well disposed in all manner of good works, out of a true principle of love to God and goodness. Her attire was very plain and grave: her chief diversion was the care of her family, and her main ambition to please her husband. Her piety extended itself to the whole parish wherever she lived: for, by the help of her closet, and skill in Surgery, she made herself extremely useful upon many occasions, and very much beloved, especially by those of the meaner sort She was very instrumental in persuading the people, especially those of her own sex, to lay aside their prejudices against the Common-Prayer, to bring their children to church to receive publick Baptism, which they had not been used to do for many years before, and to return thanks to God after child-birth, which had been a long time discontinued. Mr Bull and she were man and wife above fifty years, in which time she brought him five sons and six daughters, and so proved a fruitful, as well as a provident and obedient wife, agreeably to the prayer of her wedding-ring, which was, *Bene parere, parere, parare det mihi Deus* (15).

(15) Ib. p. 45—47.

[*P*] *He was presented by the Lady Poole to the Rectory of Suddington St Mary.*] This living, being under value, was in the gift of the Keeper of the Seal, and consequently at the disposal of those, who at that time were no friends to the Church of England; notwithstanding which, Mr Bull obtained the presentation in the manner following. The Lady Pool, who at that time lived at Cirencester, claimed as a Lady of the Manour of Suddington, a right of presenting to the living, and having a respect for Mr Gregory, whose daughter Mr Bull had married, and a much greater for Mr Bull himself afterwards (as appeared by making him her executor) she offered him the presentation, which he accepted purely upon her right: but he had certainly lost it, if Mr Stone of Cirencester, a particular friend of Mr Gregory's, had not taken out the Broad Seal, without Mr Bull's knowledge or privity; which he did on this occasion: a clergyman, who knew that Mr Bull had not a good title, endeavoured to get the Broad Seal for the living; which he had certainly succeeded in, if Mr Stone had not been concerned in the presentations: for when he applied to Mr Stone for that purpose, he told him that there was a minister lately settled at Suddington, whose name was Bull; to which the clergymen replied, that, though he was in possession, he had not a legal title. Upon this Mr Stone acquainted him, that, though he did not personally know Mr Bull, yet he was not a stranger to his character; and having heard that he had married a daughter of a very good friend of his, if he had not a good title he would help him to one. Hereupon, Mr Stone took out the Broad Seal for Mr Bull, and sent it to Mr Gregory, and at the same time gave him an account of the danger his son-in-law had been in of losing his living (16).

(16) Ib. p. 47.—49.

[*Q*] *His sermons gave general satisfaction.*] The choice of the subjects, which he discoursed upon at that place, and in that conjuncture of publick affairs, was so very seasonable, that they had a visible good effect upon the congregation. His design was to convince his hearers of the necessity of a religious observation of the Lord's day, and decent behaviour in the house of God; which he explained and pressed in several sermons from *Levit.* xix. 30. *Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary; I am the Lord.* How proper such applications then were to the people, we may collect from the character of those times, in which, the numerous swarms of sectaries, which overran the nation during the great rebellion, having carried religious hypocrisy to it's highest pitch, many persons, upon the Restoration, thought they could not recede too far from the behaviour and practices of those men, and, being inclined to think every appearance of devotion puritanical, were unhappily led to the other extreme (17).

(17) Ib. p. 51.

[*R*] *He was presented to the vicarage of Suddington St Peter, which lay contiguous to Suddington St Mary.*] This vicarage, tho' the yearly value of it did not amount to above 25*l.* yet was of some advantage to Mr Bull by it's lying so near the rectory of the same name, of which he was then in possession. The income of both together did not rise to above an 100*l.* a year, clear of taxes. But Mr Bull had a farther view in holding them both; for he proposed to get them united for the future; and the application he made upon this account proved successful: for the matter being fairly represented to my Lord Chancellor by Mr Bull's diocesan, the two livings were accordingly united, and were to pass under the same grant for the future (18).

(18) Ib. p. 52, 53.

[*S*] He

according to the form prescribed by the Book of Common-Prayer [S]. He took the same method in governing these parishes, as in that of St George's, and with the same success; applying himself with great diligence to the discharge of his pastoral functions [T]; and setting the people an admirable example in the government and œconomy of his own family (l) [U]. During his residence here, the providence of God gave him an opportunity of confirming two Ladies of quality in the Protestant Communion [W]; who were reduced to a wavering state of mind by the arts and subtilties of the Romish Missionaries. The only dissenters he had in his parish were Quakers; whose impertinences and extravagances often gave him no small uneasiness [X]. In this part of his life, Mr Bull prosecuted his studies with great application [Y], and composed most of his works during the twenty-seven years that he was Rector of Suddington. Several tracts, indeed, which cost him much pains, are entirely lost, through his own neglect in preserving them; particularly a treatise on the *posture* used by the antient Christians *in receiving the Eucharist* [Z], a Letter to Dr Pearson concerning the genuineness of *St Ignatius's Epistles* [AA], a long one to Mr Glanvil, formerly Minister of Bath, concerning the *Eternity*

(l) Life, &c. ubi supra, p. 47—78.

[S] *He married a couple —— according to the form prescribed by the book of Common-Prayer.*] When he came out of the church, he asked the people how they liked that manner of solemnizing matrimony, not concealing from them how much it was in their power to expose him to a malicious prosecution; whereupon they all expressed their unanimous approbation of his performance, with solemn assurances, that they would not only make no complaints of him themselves, but also endeavour to prevent them from others (19).

(19) Ib. p. 55.

[T] *He applied himself diligently to the discharge of his pastoral functions.*] He had a most excellent talent at reading the publick prayers. His whole deportment was grave and serious, and carried withal an air of authority: his pronunciation was distinct and audible, and yet natural and unaffected; and he went through every part of the service with that particular devotion that belongs to it. He read the holy Scriptures with such deliberation, and such exactness in observing the stops and points, that they were rendered thereby the more intelligible to the people (20). Nor did he shine less in the pulpit. All subjects, which he handled there, were confirmed and strengthened by passages of holy writ, which were explained and made easy to the meanest capacity. He had a clear head, and a strong judgment, and perfectly understood the learned languages, in which the Bible was originally written. But, above all, he was thoroughly acquainted with primitive antiquity, and had read with care the works of the Fathers and ancient Doctors of the Church (21). He seldom committed his sermons to writing, which is the reason he left so few finished discourses behind him. His usual method was, after the choice of his text, to mark some words that were to be explained; after which he wrote down some observations, which flowed naturally from the subject, and under each observation hints for illustrating it, and texts of Scripture to confirm it: and then drew inferences from the whole by way of application. What Mr Bull delivered of this kind never wanted a becoming fervour; and he enlivened his discourses with proper and decent gestures, and always exerted his voice with some vehemency, to awaken the attention of his hearers (22). He was particularly careful in catechizing the youth; in which God so far blessed his endeavours, that he carried fifty persons well instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion, at one time, to the visitation at Cirencester, who were all confirmed by the Bishop, when his whole parish did not consist of above thirty families. He administered the Sacraments with great reverence and solemnity, and was always very unwilling to baptize children at home, excepting in cases of necessity. He celebrated the Eucharist seven times a year (23), and strictly observed all the feasts and fasts of the Church (24).

(20) Ib. p. 54.

(21) Ib. p. 57—59.

(22) Ib. p. 59, 60.

(23) That is, I suppose, on the three great Festivals, and once a quarter besides.

(24) Life, &c. ib. p. 60—65.

[U] *The government and œconomy of his own family.*] Every morning and evening the family were called to prayers, which were either those composed by Bishop Taylor, or taken out of *The Common-Prayer book the best Companion*. A portion of Scripture was read at the same time, with the addition, on Sunday evenings, of a chapter out of that excellent book the *Whole Duty of Man*. If any of his servants could not read, he would assign one of the family to be their teacher; and no neglect of duty in them offended him so much as their absence from the family devotions (*). The constant frame and temper of his mind was so truly devout, that he would frequently in the day-time, as occasion offered, use short prayers and ejaculations; and when he was sitting in silence in his family, and they, as he thought, intent upon other matters, he would often, with an inexpressible air of great seriousness, lift up his hands and eyes to heaven, and sometimes drop tears. He was very frequent and earnest in his private devotions, of which singing psalms always made a part (25).

(*) Ib. p. 65—68.

(25) Ib. p. 69—73.

[W] *He confirmed two Ladies of quality in the Protestant Communion.*] As they lived in the neighbourhood, he had frequent conferences with them both, and answered those objections, which appeared to them to have the greatest strength, and which had very near seduced them from the Church of England. At the request of one of them he wrote a small treatise, of which no copy was to be found among the papers he left behind him. Both the Ladies always owned, with the greatest sense of gratitude, this signal service they received from the learning and capacity of Mr Bull (26).

(26) Ib. p. 79.

[X] *The impertinences and extravagances of the Quakers often gave him no small uneasiness.*] There goes a ridiculous story of one of them, who was a preacher among them, and would frequently accost Mr Bull; and once in particular he said to him, *George, as for human learning, I set no value upon it; but if thou wilt talk Scripture, have at thee.* Upon which Mr Bull, to correct his confidence, answered, *Come on then, friend.* So opening a Bible, he fell upon the book of *Proverbs*. *Seest thou, friend,* said he; Solomon *saith in one place*, answer a fool according to his folly, *and in another*, answer not a fool according to his folly: *how doest thou reconcile these two texts of Scripture? Why,* said the preacher, Solomon *don't say so*; to which Mr Bull replied, *Ay, but he doth*: and turning to the places, he soon convinced him; upon which the Quaker, being much out of countenance, said, *Why then Solomon's a fool*; which put an end to the controversy (27).

(27) Ib. p. 80, 81.

[Y] *He then prosecuted his studies with great application.*] His study was the scene of his most exquisite pleasure, and he would often declare, that he tasted the most refined satisfaction in the pursuit of knowledge, and that, when his thoughts were lively and lucky in his compositions, he found no reason to envy the enjoyment of the most voluptuous Epicure. His course of study, indeed, proved prejudicial to his health, because, for many years together, he dedicated the greatest part of the night to that purpose, and contented himself with little sleep (28).

(28) Ib. p. 86.

[Z] *A treatise on the posture used by the ancient Christians in receiving the Eucharist.*] It was composed by Mr Bull in answer to this question: *What was the posture of communicating in the blessed Sacrament, before the doctrine of Transubstantiation was received in the Church?* In his reply, he proved from antiquity, that the practice in the most ancient times was for the communicants to draw near the Bema or Chancel, and there to receive the consecrated elements at the hands of the Priest in a bowing or adoring posture. This piece was written at the request of his diocesan Bishop Frampton (29).

(29) Ib. p. 87.

[AA] *A Letter to Dr Pearson, concerning the genuineness of St Ignatius's Epistles.*] It was written in Latin, and contained many excellent observations, and solid arguments to prove that those Epistles were genuine. Dr

nity of Future Punishments; and another, on the subject of *Popery*, to a person of very great quality (*m*). In 1669, he published that excellent book, his *Apostolical Harmony* [*BB*], with a view to settle the peace of the Church, upon a point of the utmost importance to all it's members; and he dedicated it to Dr William Nicholson Bishop of Gloucester (*n*). This performance was greatly disliked, at first, by many of the Clergy, and others, on account of the author's departing therein from the private opinions of some Doctors of the Church, and his manner of reconciling the two Apostles, St Paul and St James, as to the doctrine of *Justification* (*o*). It was particularly opposed by Dr Morley, Bishop of Winchester [*CC*]; Dr Barlow, Margaret-Professor of Divinity at Oxford [*DD*]; Mr Charles Gataker, a Presbyterian Divine [*EE*]; Mr Joseph Truman, a Non-Conformist Minister [*FF*]; Dr Tully, Principal of

(*m*) Ibid. p. 78—89.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 89.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 97, 98.

Dr Pearson, who was about vindicating the Epistles of that apostolical Bishop and Martyr, returned Mr Bull a large answer in the same learned language; wherein he gave him ample thanks for the pains he had taken upon that subject, and acknowledged the great usefulness of his observations, and the strength of his arguments (30).

(30) Ib. p. 88, 89.

[*BB*] *His Apostolical Harmony.*] It is intituled; *Harmonia Apostolica; seu Binæ Dissertationes, quarum in priore Doctrina D. Jacobi de justificatione ex operibus explanatur et defenditur, in posteriore consensus D. Pauli cum Jacobo liquido demonstratur*, &c. i. e. 'The 'Apostolical Harmony, or Two Dissertations, in the first 'of which St James's doctrine of Justification by works 'is explained and defended; in the second, the agree- 'ment of St Paul with St James is clearly demonstrated.' Though this piece was not printed 'till the year abovementioned, it appears to have been written eight or nine years before (31), during the unhappy times of the great rebellion, when a vast number of books were written and published by the hot men of the several parties, on the subject of Justification, and abundance of learned Sophistry had been used to perplex the natural and plain sense of the sacred writers (32). He wrote this work in Latin, the rather because he thought too much had been written in English upon this subject, and that most of what had been written served only to divide and distract peoples minds: he therefore chose a learned language, that it might be thoroughly considered by the men of learning and capacity, reasonably supposing, that if they were set right in this great article, it would be more easily propagated among the vulgar and unlearned. The peculiar aim and design of the *first dissertation* is to shew, 'That *good works*, which proceed from *faith*, and 'are conjoined with *faith*, are a necessary condition 'required from us by God, to the end that by the 'new and evangelical covenant, obtained by and sealed 'in the blood of Christ the Mediator of it, we may 'be *justified* according to his *free* and *unmerited grace*.' In which doctrine, and throughout the whole book, Mr Bull absolutely excludes all pretensions to *merit* on the part of men (33). Mr Nelson has given us a distinct plan of the *Harmonia*, to which the reader is referred.

(31) See his Apologia pro Harmonio, &c. Sect. 8. n. 5.

(32) Life, &c. p. 90—93.

(33) Ib. p. 94—97.

[*CC*] *It was opposed by Dr Morley, Bishop of Winchester.*] That great and good prelate, whatever his own private opinion might be of the matter, seems to have been utterly against reviving a controversy of this kind at all, and not to have been so well satisfied, as some of his brethren were, with the performance of an author, who had done nothing before this to signalize himself, and whose youth was too great a prejudice for many to get over. But whatever were his motives for so doing, this learned Bishop, in a Pastoral Charge to the Clergy of his diocese, at his next visitation, thought fit to warn them against intruding too rashly into things above them, and to prohibit them the reading of this book, or preaching agreeably to it. Some heads of houses in the two Universities were also of the Bishop's mind; and there were some tutors, who thought it incumbent on them to guard their pupils against what appeared to them an innovation in the Church (34).

(34) Ib. p. 102.

[*DD*] — *Dr Barlow, Margaret-Professor of Divinity at Oxford.*] This learned Divine, who was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, read publick lectures against the *Harmonia Apostolica* from the Divinity-Chair, in which he treated Mr Bull very roughly, even so far as to give him opprobrious names; an account of which was sent him by his learned and pious friend Mr Thomas, at that time Chaplain of Christ-Church, who was present, and took notes of all that related to his friend in those lectures. This treatment brought Mr Bull to Oxford, who, with Mr Thomas, waited upon the Professor, and, complaining of the inhumanity with which he had been treated, offered to clear himself by a publick disputation. The Professor thought fit to decline the challenge, and endeavoured to get off as well as he could by avoiding to own the fact; 'till Mr Thomas positively affirmed it to his face, offering to produce the notes he had taken; to which the Professor had no more to say, and they parted (35).

(35) Ib. p. 201, —212.

[*EE*] — *Mr Charles Gataker, a Presbyterian Divine.*] He was son of that learned Critick Mr Thomas Gataker of London, author of the *Dissertatio de stylo Novi Testamenti*, &c. who was a member of the Assembly of Divines that met at Westminster in 1643, and was preparing to publish an *Harmony* of the Apostles James and Paul, a little before he died; with whose papers the son being assisted, thought himself more than able to deal with our author, and even to overthrow his whole foundation (36). About a year after the publication of the *Harmonia*, a copy of it, with marginal annotations and animadversions, was sent to the author by his diocesan and patron Bishop Nicholson, who had received them from an unknown hand, after they had been communicated in the same manner to others of the Bishops, together with a letter, stirring them up to make use of their apostolical authority in thundering out their anathema's against the doctrines contained in Mr Bulls book, as pernicious and heretical, and contrary to the decrees of the Church of England, and all the other Reformed Churches. About a year after, it was discovered that these animadversions were written by Mr Charles Gataker (37); who, according to my author, 'appeareth to have been a 'person of great violence in his temper, but one well 'intentioned, and a zealous Protestant; and had he 'had but more coolness of thought, and had he withal 'read more of the Ancients, and fewer of the 'Moderns, would have made no inconsiderable wri- 'ter (38).' The substance of Mr Gataker's animadversions, being twenty-three in number, may be seen in Mr Nelson (39).

(36) Ib. p. 139.

(37) Ib. & p. 101.

(38) Ib. p. 145, 146.

(39) Page 140—145.

[*FF*] — *Mr Joseph Truman, a Non-Conformist Minister.*] This writer, we are told, was one of a cooler head than the younger Gataker, and one also not unacquainted with the antient Fathers. He had before written and published a short discourse concerning St Paul's meaning of *Justification by Faith without Works*; and finding some of the opinions therein advanced in danger of being quite overthrown by the *Harmonia Apostolica*, he set himself to write an answer in English to that part of it which concerned himself, and published it under the title of, *An endeavour to rectify some prevailing opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.* By the author of the *Great Propitiation.* In the preface to which, the reader is informed, 'that 'about half a year after that he had published some 'sermons entituled *The Great Propitiation*, whereunto 'was added that short discourse aforesaid concerning '*Justification by Faith* in the sense of St Paul, there 'came forth a learned book called *Harmonia Apostolica*, written by Mr George Bull, which quite 'crossing the interpretation he had given of St Paul, 'he was occasioned, by some occurrences, which it 'concerned not the reader to know, to write the sub- 'stance of those reflexions upon it for some private use.' For he tells us, they were written, without any design of printing them, within three months after the publication of Mr Bull's book, but were not published 'till about two years after, when he observed how fast *some opinions*

of St Edmund's-Hall [*GG*]; Mr John Tombes, a famous Anabaptist Preacher [*HH*]; Dr Lewis Du Moulin, a violent Independent [*II*]; and by M. De Marets, a French writer, who tells us (*p*), 'that the author, tho' a professed Priest of the Church of England, was more addicted to the Papists, Remonstrants, and Socinians, than to the orthodox party (*q*).' Towards the end of the year 1675, Mr Bull published his *Examen Censuræ*, &c. in answer to Mr Gataker, and his *Apologia pro Harmonia*, &c. in reply to Dr Tully [*KK*]. About three years after, he was promoted

(*p*) In his Systema Theologiæ, printed at Groningen, in 4to.

(*q*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 955.

opinions got ground in the Church of England, contrary to his exposition thereof, which he attributed, in a great measure to Mr Bull, and especially to the *latter* part of his performance (40). I refer the reader, for a full account of Mr Truman's answer, to Mr Nelson (41), who describes him to have been 'a person of a deep and searching genius, but perhaps too metaphysical; candid in fully representing the argument of his adversary without disguise, and commending whatever he thought worthy of commendation, but severe also in his animadversions, where he believed he wanted not sufficient grounds for so doing; generous very often in his manner of treating those he dissented from, but sometimes unreasonably suspicious and scrupulous; cool and moderate in the management of his cause, with very little appearance of passion or prejudice, but vigorous and zealous for the *rectifying* of some certain opinions, which he took to be contrary to the doctrine of the church of England, for which he still continue to profess an esteem (42).' Mr Bull wrote an answer to Mr Truman, which was never published (43), and took some notice of his objections in his *Examen Censuræ* (44).

(40) Ib. p. 162, 163.

(41) Page 171—194.

(42) Ib. p. 204.

(43) Ib. p. 194.

(44) Ib. p. 196.

[*GG*] — *Dr Tully, Principal of St Edmund's-Hall.*] This eloquent and learned writer had some time before printed a short *System of Divinity* (45), for the use of young students, which had met with a favourable reception, and passed thro' several editions. But his notions being partly different from those of Mr Bull in his *Harmonia*, the Doctor was prevailed upon to write an answer to that book in Latin; and the rather, because as yet it had received no direct reply from the side of the Church of England. While Dr Tully's treatise was yet, according to his own expression, *sticking in the birth*, a conference was proposed, and agreed to, between him and Mr Bull; at which meeting, Mr Bull earnestly besought the Doctor, 'above all things to consider the peace of God's Church, and to take diligent heed, lest, by a publick dissension between two Divines of the same communion, the enemies of our Church might take occasion of upbraiding and reproaching her.' He therefore entreated him, 'that he would, for preventing this evil, be pleased, as a friend to communicate to him his papers, upon condition, that if by these he could make it appear, that he had written any thing against sound doctrine, he would not refuse *publickly to retract his error*.' This proposal seemed so reasonable, that Dr Tully replied, 'he might, perhaps in a very little while, send him a copy of his papers.' But after this Mr Bull never once heard from him, nor had any reason given him for the alteration of his mind. At length, about the beginning of the year 1674, after much expectation, there was published at Oxford (*cum Permissu Superiorum*, as the title-page expresses it) a Treatise in Latin intituled; *Justificatio Paulina sine operibus, ex mente Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, omniumque reliquarum quæ Reformatæ audiunt, asserta et illustrata contra nuperos novatores: Authore* Tho. Tullio, S. T. P. &c. i. e. 'St Paul's doctrine of *Justification without Works* asserted and explained, according to the sense of the Church of England, and all the rest of the Reformed Churches, against some late innovators; by Thomas Tully, S. T. P. &c.' In *quarto*. There was added at the end of this book a small tract, in answer more particularly to the ninth chapter of the second dissertation of the *Harmonia*, under the title of *Dissertatiuncula de sententia Paulina*, Rom. 7. *à com.* 14. *in qua ostenditur Paulum de se loqui* regenito, *non autem in persona hominis nondum regeniti*. i. e. 'A short dissertation concerning St Paul's meaning in *Rom.* vii. from *ver.* 14. in which is shewn, that St Paul speaks of himself as *regenerate*, and not in the person of an unregenerate man (46).' For a distinct account of Dr Tully's performance, consult Mr Nelson (47), who tells us, the Doctor 'had merited the reputation of a very pious and learned man; but as some that personally knew him have observed, it was a great misfortune that he betook himself to write controversy, and especially that he engaged with so brisk a writer as Mr Bull was, even then when he was well nigh worn out (48).'

(45) The title of it was, Præcipuorum Theologiæ Capitum Enchiridion didacticum, Lond. 1665, 1668, &c.

(46) Ib. p. 212, —220.

(47) Page 220, —227.

(48) Ib. p. 228.

[*HH*] — *Mr John Tombes, a famous Anabaptist Preacher.*] This author had been engaged in the same controversy twenty years before, and had written against Mr Baxter's *Aphorisms* concerning *Justification*. And now he resolved to draw out all his artillery against Mr Bull, as an enemy of the greatest weight, and as one who had brought together the whole strength of the cause in which he had engaged. He was threescore and twelve years of age, when he published his book, which was entitled, *Animadversiones in librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit* Harmonia Apostolica: i. e. 'Animadversions upon a book of George Bull's, which he hath intitled, *The Apostolical Harmony* (49).'

(49) Ib. p. 245—248.

[*II*] — *Lewis du Moulin, an Independent.*] He was son of the famous Peter du Moulin; and in a virulent pamphlet (50), which he published in 1680 against the Church of England, he fell foul upon the principles of our most eminent Divines, among whom he did not forget Mr Bull, bestowing at the same time great commendations on the industry and zeal of Dr Tully and Dr Barlow, as the two principal persons, who kept the University of Oxford from being *poisoned with Pelagianism, Socinianism, and Popery*. This was despised, as it deserved, by Mr Bull (51).

(50) Intituled. A short and true Account of the several Advances the Church of England hath made towards Popery, &c. 4to.

(51) Life, &c. p. 253.

[*KK*] *His* Examen Censuræ, &c. *in answer to Mr Gataker; and his* Apologia pro Harmonia, &c. *in reply to Dr Tully.*] These two peices were both published together. The title of the first is; *Examen Censuræ, sive Responsio ad quasdam Animadversiones, antehac ineditas, in librum cui titulus Harmonia Apostolica, &c. per Georgium Bullum, Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterum*, i. e. 'An Examination of the Censure, or, An Answer to certain Animadversions, never before published, upon a book intitled, The Apostolical Harmony, &c. by George Bull, a Presbyter of the Church of England.' The other has for it's title; *Apologia pro Harmonia ejusque authore contra Declamationem Thomæ Tullii S. T. P. in libro nuper typis evulgato, quem Justificatio Paulina, &c. inscripsit.* i. e. 'An Apology for the Apostolical Harmony, and the author thereof, against the Declamation of Thomas Tully, D.D. in a book lately published by him, intitled *Justificatio Paulina*.' Dr Tully being dead, when these pieces were published, Mr Bull took care to have several passages expunged out of the sheets remaining to be printed, because they contained some sharp reflections upon the Doctor, tho' they were true in fact, and by some of Mr Bull's friends thought too material to be omitted (52). There is an *Appendix* to our author's Examination of Mr Gataker's *Seventeenth Animadversion*, in answer to Mr Truman's objections (53). The *Examen* is not barely to be considered as a reply to Mr Bull's adversaries, but as a fuller explication of his own sentiments. For he very solemnly assures us (54), that, when he was about forty years of age, he read over again his *Harmonia* several times, with as much seriousness and impartiality as he possibly could, and that he earnestly prayed to God, in the first place, that he would enlighten his mind, and discover to him whatever errors he might have been guilty of; that he did his utmost to divest himself of all self-love, and partiality for his own work; and that he had bound himself by a solemn vow, upon the discovery of any errors, openly to renounce them before the Church. Upon which review of his work, so accurately and so religiously performed, he declares, that there were some things in it, which might have been explained more clearly and fully, for the sake at least of younger readers, and that therefore he had endeavoured to supply this defect as well as he could in his *Examen* (55). In his *Apologia*, he very ingenuously confesses, 'that Dr Tully had not a few Divines of the Church of England,

(52) Ibid. p. 229, 230.

(53) Ib. p. 196.

(54) Apolog. Sect. viii. n. 5.

(55) Life, &c. p. 231, 232.

moted by the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Chancellor, to a Prebend in the church of Gloucester [*LL*], in which he was installed the ninth of October 1678 (*r*). In 1680, he finished his *Defence of the Nicene Faith* [*MM*], of which he had given an hint five years before in his *Apology* (*s*). This performance was received, as it deserved, with universal applause, and it's fame spread into foreign countries, where it was highly esteemed by the best judges of antiquity, tho' of different persuasions [*NN*]. It is true, it has been animadverted upon, and censured, by some Unitarian writers [*OO*]. Five years after the publication

(*r*) Life, &c. p. 279.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 280.

'land, and those of some eminence also in it, who had 'led him into the error; but that these learned men 'lived in those times, when by the arts of certain per- 'sons, who were extremely wedded to the *Geneva-Di- 'vinity*, matters were come to that pass, that it was 'hardly safe for any one to interpret either the arti- 'cles of our Church, or even the Scriptures them- 'selves, otherwise than according to the standard of '*Calvin's Institutions* (56).' This *Apology* of Mr Bull's is written with such masterly strength and judgment, that a very learned foreigner * called it the *Triumph of the Church of England* in this cause (57).

(56) Apolog. Sect. xi. No. 7.

(*) Dr Grabe.

[*LL*] *He was made a Prebendary of Gloucester.*] Anthony Wood tells us (58), Mr Bull obtained this Prebend thro' the interest of Dr John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. But Mr Nelson (59) ascribes this promotion only to the great reputation the author had acquired by his *Harmonia*; and adds, that, as a testimony of his gratitude, he designed a publick acknowledgment of the Chancellor's favour, by dedicating to him his *Fidei Nicenæ Defensio*, which was the next book he published; but before it appeared, that great man died, in whom the Church lost a faithful and zealous friend, and learning a generous and constant patron (60).

(57) Life, &c. p. 235.

(58) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 955.

(59) Life, &c. p. 278.

(60) Ib. p. 276 —280.

[*MM*] *His* Defence of the Nicene Faith.] It is intitled; *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ ex Scriptis, quæ extant, Catholicorum Doctorum, qui intra tria prima Ecclesiæ Christianæ Sæcula floruerunt*, i. e. 'A Defence of the 'Nicene Faith, from the writings, which are extant, 'of the Catholick Doctors, who flourished within the 'three first centuries of the Christian Church.' After Mr Bull had finished this work, he offered the copy to three or four booksellers successively, who all refused it, being unwilling to venture the expences of the impression; so that he brought it home, and entirely laid aside all thoughts of printing it: for being in low circumstances, and having a large family to support, he could not possibly be at the charge of printing it himself, as he was inclinable enough to have done, if he had been able. And so this excellent book might have been buried for ever, had not a certain worthy friend of the author's, some few years after, advised him to put his neglected copy into the hands of Dr Jane, then *Regius Professor* of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and submit the same to his censure and disposal. Accordingly Mr Bull committed his papers to the Professor, who, highly approving them, recommended this work to the pious and learned Bishop Fell. That prelate was presently for encouraging so useful and excellent a performance, and wanted no sollicitation to undertake the whole expence of printing it; which was accordingly done at the Theatre in Oxford in the year 1685 (61). This book is written against the Arians and Socinians on the one hand, and the Tritheists and Sabellians on the other. The author of Bishop Bull's *Life* has given us an history of the controversy, which occasioned the writing this book, together with a plan of the work, and an account of the uses made of it by some later writers, particularly Dr Samuel Clarke in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and Dr Edwards of Cambridge in his *Animadversions* on Dr Clarke's book (62).

(61) Ib. p. 280 —284.

(62) Ib. p. 284 —341.

[*NN*] *It was received with universal applause, and highly esteemed by the best judges of antiquity, tho' of different persuasions.*] An Unitarian author, who calls himself a *disinterested person*, tho' he has given his judgment against the *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, with all the strength and learning that he was master of, yet was obliged by the irresistible force of truth, to give the following character both of the book and author. 'After Dr Cudworth, came Dr *Bull*, author of the '*Defence of the Nicene Faith*, a book that has ren- 'dered the writer of it very famous not in England 'only or chiefly, but beyond the water. 'Tis com- 'posed in a style most truly Latin, with much vivacity 'of expression, with great vigour and subtilty of 'thought: in short 'tis worthy of the noble argument, 'of which he treats. This author having studied the 'Fathers with an application, diligence and observa- 'tion, almost peculiar to *him*, perceived that the schools 'have departed from that notion of the Trinity, be- 'lieved and professed by some of the principal Fa- 'thers (63).' The answerer of this Socinian pamphlet, who is supposed to be Dr Sherlock himself, in a discourse intitled, *The difference between real and nominal Trinitarians examined* (64), assures us, this was not said out of any good will to our author, or disinterestedness between the two contending parties, but that *All that this Socinian intended by bringing* Dr Bull *into the fray, was to follow the blow the animadverter* (Dr South) *and the Oxford decree had given to a* Trinity of distinct, proper, subsisting, living, intelligent persons (*which is all that* Dr Bull, *or the* Dean *assert*) *by their charge of* Tritheism; *which*, he hoped, *would be a sufficient answer to that otherwise unanswerable book, and, together with* Dr Bull, *would confute all the Fathers at once, on whose authority he so much relies, and to whom he perpetually appeals.* Among the foreign authors, who have made honourable mention of Dr Bull, I shall cite here the testimony of M. Bossuet Bishop of *Meaux*; whose *History of the Variations*, &c. having been attacked by M. Jurieu, in defence of the Protestants, with too little deference to the primitive Fathers of the Church, the Bishop published a reply, in which he frequently sends his adversary and his readers, for satisfaction, to the collection of testimonies made by our author out of the Fathers. In one place he says; 'That I may have no 'occasion, my brethren, to defend, against you, the 'doctrine of the first ages concerning the eternal gene- 'neration of the Son, if your Minister hath any doubt 'hereof, and is not willing to read the learned trea- 'tises of Father Thomassin *, who so profoundly ex- 'plains the ancient traditions, or the learned preface 'of Father Petau †, which is the elucidation and key 'of his whole doctrine concerning this matter, I send 'him to BULL, that learned *English* Protestant, in 'the treatise, where he hath so well defended the Fa- 'thers, who lived before the Council of Nice. You 'must either renounce the faith of the Holy Trinity, 'which God forbid, or pre-suppose with me, that this 'author hath reason (65).' And here it is very remarkable, that our author's book was in such esteem abroad, both with Romanists and Protestants, that even M. Jurieu himself contended, no less than the Bishop his adversary, to have him on his side, saying, *that* Bull's *observations and his were as like as an egg to an egg*, concerning the generation of the Son of God. But the Bishop of Meaux replied to M. Jurieu, that, without entering into all the particulars, it was enough to let him know, that he, the Bishop, had *taken from him in one word all the Antients, by sending him to* Bull, as from whom he might *learn the true explication of all their passages* (66).

(63) See The Judgment of a disinterested Person, concerning the Controversy about the blessed Trinity, depending between Dr South and Dr Sherlock, 4to, Lond. 1696.

(64) Page 4.

(*) Dogmata Theolog. T. III.

(†) Pref. Theolog. Dogm. T. II.

(65) Premier Auvertisement aux Protestants sur les Lettres du Ministre Jurieu contre L'Histoire des Variations. §. xxv.

(66) Life, &c. p. 346.

[*OO*] *It has been animadverted upon, and censured by some* Unitarian *writers.*] The author of a pamphlet intitled, *The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, opposed to* Dr G. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith (67), undertakes to *discover* Dr Bull's *frauds and mistakes, detect his his sophistries and elusions, and confront his misrepresentation of the Fathers with the confessions and judgment of the criticks, who have either published or commented on the writings of the Fathers* (68). This author complains of the severe terms, in which Dr Bull treats the Unitarians, both in this work and in his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*. 'In short (*says he*) Dr Bull hath expressed 'such a malevolence, and hath so notoriously and in- 'famously violated the cartel of honour and civility, 'that was thought to be agreed and established be- 'tween persons of excellent learning and great abili- 'ties, when they happen to be engaged in contrary 'sides, that no respect or tenderness can be shewn to 'him

(67) Printed at London in 1695, in 4to.

(68) Page 76.

publication of this book, the author was presented, by Philip Sheppard, Esq; to the Rectory of Avening in Gloucestershire [*PP*], a very large parish (*t*), and worth two hundred pounds *per annum*. The people of this parish, being many of them very dissolute and immoral, and many more disaffected to the Church of England, gave him for some time great trouble and uneasiness; but, by his prudent conduct and diligent discharge of his duty [*QQ*], he at last got the better of their prejudices, and converted their dislike into the most cordial love and affection towards him (*u*). He had not been long at Avening, before he was promoted, by Archbishop Sancroft, to the Archdeaconry of Landaff, in which he was installed the twentieth of June 1686 (*w*). He was invited soon after to Oxford, where the Degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon him by that University [*RR*], in consideration of the great and eminent services he had done the Church (*x*). During the reign of King James II. the Doctor preached very warmly against Popery [*SS*], with which the nation was then threatened. Some time after the Revolution, he was put into the commission of the peace [*TT*], and continued in it, with some little interruption, 'till

(*t*) It is eight miles in compass.

(*u*) Ib. p. 348—354.

(*w*) Ibid.

(*x*) Ib. p. 360. & Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 229.

'him by an Unitarian (69).' Mr Whiston, in his letter to the Archbishops of York and Canterbury (70), tells them, he had occasion to take notice of *several great mistakes in the right reverend and very learned Bishop* Bull, *concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*; 'which I could not, *says he*, avoid without betraying 'the truths of God Almighty, since I think he has too 'often *perverted* them, and the testimonies in antiquity belonging to them. Nor can I forbear to wish 'that his Lordship's plain failure in so celebrated a 'work may be a warning to all the *learned* hereafter, 'how they write in the usual way of modern controversy, which has too long by much been the bane of 'the Church of Christ; and to the *unlearned*, how 'they trust to such writings in the determination 'of their faith and practice.' I shall only add the judgment of Father Simon, who, in his *Nouvelle Bibliotheque Choisie* (71), after endeavouring to shew, that the Anti-Nicene Fathers are favourable to Arianism, and that our author has not proved the contrary, concludes with remarking, that it is not his design to run over the whole book of Dr Bull, 'which, 'notwithstanding, *says he*, what I have just now observed, is a good book, and may be of use to Divines.' Then he adds; 'Perhaps it would have 'been better, if the author had proved the mystery of 'the Trinity, against the Socinians, by clear and formal passages of the New Testament, rather than 'have opposed against them a tradition, which does 'not appear altogether consistent.' And again; 'if 'the learned Bishop Bull had been well skilled in the '*critique* of the Greek copies of the New Testament, 'and of the antient Latin copies, he would not have 'affirmed so positively, that Tertullian and Cyprian 'have quoted the 7th verse of the vth chapter of 'the 1st epistle of St John, nor would he have alledged that passage against those, who believe that 'it is not genuine.'

(69) Page 77.

(70) See the Historical Preface to his Primitive Christianity restored, Lond. 1711, 8vo, p. 57.

(71) Ch. xiv. edit. Amsterd. 1714, 2 Vols, 12mo.

[*PP*] *He was presented by Philip Sheppard, Esq; to the Rectory of Avening in Gloucestershire.*] Mr Bull owed this preferment to the following accident. At the time when that Rectory became vacant, Mr Sheppard and Mr Bull, with some other friends, were at Astrop-wells in Oxfordshire, drinking those mineral waters for the advantage of their health; and they were even in company together with some other gentlemen, when Mr Sheppard received the news of it. Upon which he acquainted the company, that he had a very good living to dispose of, and reckoned up the qualifications he expected in the person, upon whom he should bestow it; which so exactly agreed with Mr Bull's character, that every one present plainly perceived, that Mr Sheppard designed that perferment in favour of Mr Bull. Some time after, Mr Bull withdrew with some of the company, to walk in the garden; which opportunity Mr Sheppard took to declare, that he had purposely thrown out those hints, that Mr Bull might be encouraged to apply to him for it; but finding his modesty was too great to make that step, he was resolved to offer it to him; which he accordingly did, as soon as Mr Bull returned into the room, who received it with all the acknowledgments due for so good a living to so generous a patron (72).

(72) Life, &c. p. 349, 350.

[*QQ*] *His prudent conduct, and diligent discharge of his duty.*] As a particular account has already been given of Dr Bull's method of governing those parishes, of which he had the care, it is not necessary to add any thing farther upon that subject, than what appears to have been peculiar to his conduct at Avening. He had a sermon at his church every Thursday, at which time the children were catechized by his Curate; and, to encourage the poor to attend the church at such seasons, he constantly upon that day distributed five shillings among them (73). One great contest he had with the disorderly people of Avening related to the observation of a feast or wake, which was attended the day following with extravagant revels. Dr Bull preached against the disorders committed upon that occasion. But when neither his instructions nor exhortations could prevail with his parishioners to observe that decency, which becomes Christians in the celebration of those anniversaries, he procured an order of sessions to suppress it, which effectually put an end to it many years before he left that place (74).

(73) Ib. p. 360, 361.

(74) Ib. p. 362, 363.

[*RR*] *The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford.*] A motion was made, in full convocation, by Dr Jane, *Regius* Professor of Divinity, that, as an acknowledgment of the singular honour done that University, and of the lasting service done to the whole Church, by Mr George Bull, in his excellent *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, lately printed and published among them, and as a perpetual testimony of their esteem and regard for a person of his merit, he should be admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, notwithstanding that he had never taken any academical degree. Which motion being unanimously agreed to, Bishop Fell wrote a Letter to Mr Bull, to thank him for the noble present he had made him in that immortal work, and to acquaint him at the same time with the honour which the University designed him. The Professor wrote also a Letter to him, acquainting him with what passed in convocation, and pressing him to come to Oxford, there to be admitted to the highest degree of honour that was in their power to confer on any person. Mr Bull received these letters at Landaff, where he had just taken possession of the Archdeaconry, and came to Oxford the beginning of July, where he was created Doctor in Divinity the tenth of the said month 1686, without the payment of the usual fees (75).

(75) Ib. p. 359, 360.

[*SS*] *He preached very warmly against Popery.*] This he did, not only in his own parish, but in other publick places, where he was called to preach, as at Bath and Gloucester, and in a visitation sermon at Hampton. It is true, indeed, that Dr Bull was a frank assertor of some primitive truths, upon which are built several errors of the Church of Rome; upon which account he had been censured by many, who could not distinguish the foundation from the hay and stubble built thereupon, as too much inclining to favour that Church. But how little he deserved that reflection, appeared now by his courage and resolution in attacking those pernicious errors, which he apprehended might gain ground by the favour and authority of the Prince upon the throne, who was unhappily engaged in that communion (76).

(76) Ib. p. 364, 365.

[*TT*] *He was put into the Commission of the Peace.*] The main inducement, which prevailed upon Dr Bull to act in a secular post, was, that he might have an opportunity of putting in execution the laws against immorality and prophaneness; in which he was very successful, by the help of some clergymen in his neighbourhood, who procured him informations against common swearers, drunkards, and sabbath-breakers (77).

(77) Ib. p. 366.

(y) Life, &c. p. 363—366. 'till he was made a Bishop (y). In 1694, whilst he continued Rector of Avening, he published his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. [*UU*], in defence of the *Anathema*, as his
(z) Ib. p. 369. former Book had been of the *Faith*, decreed by the first Council of Nice (z). The last treatise, which Dr Bull wrote, was his *Primitive Apostolical Tradition*, &c. [*WW*], against
(a) Ib. p. 390. Daniel Zwicker, a Prussian (a). All Dr Bull's Latin works, which he had published by himself at different times, were collected together, and printed in 1703, in one volume in folio, under the care and inspection of Dr John Ernest Grabe, the author's age and infirmities disabling him from undertaking this edition. The ingenious editor adorned the work with many learned annotations, and ushered it into the world with an excellent pre-
(b) Ib. p. 401, 402. face (b). Dr Bull was in the seventy-first year of his age, when he was acquainted with Her Majesty's gracious intention of conferring on him the Bishoprick of St David's; which promotion he at first declined, on account of his ill state of health and advanced years; but, by the importunity of his friends, and strong sollicitations from the governors of the Church, he was at last prevailed upon to accept it, and was accordingly consecrated in
(c) Ib. p. 407—409. Lambeth-Chapel, the twenty-ninth of April 1705 (c). Two years after, he lost his eldest son, Mr George Bull [*XX*], who died of the small-pox the eleventh of May 1707, in the thirty-

[*UU*] *His Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c.] The whole title runs thus: *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ trium priorum Seculorum de necessitate credendi, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus sit verus Deus, assertum contra M. Simonem Episcopium aliosque*, i. e. 'The 'judgment of the Catholick Church of the three first 'centuries concerning the necessity of believing, that 'our Lord Jesus Christ is very God, asserted against 'Simon Episcopius and others.' The occasion of Dr Bull's writing this treatise was, that, in reading the thirty-fourth chapter of the fourth book of Episcopius's *Institutions*, in which he treats concerning the necessity of believing the manner of the *divine filiation* of Jesus Christ, and puts this question, *Whether the fifth (and highest) manner of Christ's being the Son of God, be necessary to be known and believed, and whether they, who deny the same, are to be excommunicated and anathematized*; he had made some remarks thereupon for his own private use, by way of answer to the arguments of that learned writer, who held, that the primitive Catholicks did not refuse communion with those that received not the article of the divine generation or filiation of Jesus Christ, provided they acknowledged him to be the Son of God, in virtue of his miraculous Conception, his mediatorial Office, his Resurrection from the dead, and exaltation to the
(78) Ib. p. 369. right-hand of God the Father (78). The *anathema*, pronounced by the Council of Nice, which Episcopius thought too harsh and uncharitable, and which our author undertook to vindicate, is this: 'Those who 'say, *there was a time when he was not*, or, *before* '*he was born he was not*, or, *he was made of things* '*that are not*, or, *he is of another substance or essence*; 'and those who maintain that the Son of God is *creat-* '*ed*, or *convertible*, or *changeable*; all these doth 'the Catholick and Apostolical Church anathematize.' But this answer of Dr Bull to Episcopius, in defence of the said *anathema*, was not written so much against Episcopius himself, as against some at home, to whom Dr Bull gives the name of *Mediators*, for joining to-
(79) Ib. p. 372. gether two extremes (79). Mr Nelson has given us a short abstract of the contents and method of this
(80) Ib. p. 376—383. book (80), which was designed as a supplement to the *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*. The same gentleman, soon after it's publication, sent it as a present to M. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, who, upon several occasions, had expressed a great value and esteem for Dr Bull's learn-
(81) See the remark [*OO*]. ing and judgment (81). That Prelate not only read the Doctor's work with great care and exactness himself, but communicated it likewise to several other French Bishops, who perused it with equal pleasure and satisfaction; the result of which, was, to compliment the author in their name; and Mr Nelson was desired, in a letter from the Bishop of Meaux, not only to return Dr Bull his humble thanks, but the unfeigned congratulations also of the whole clergy of France, then assembled at St Germains, for the great service he had done to the Catholick Church, in so well defending her determination, concerning the ne-
(82) Life, &c. p. 383—385. cessity of believing the Divinity of the Son of God (82). In that letter, the Bishop of Meaux expresses himself in the following terms: *There is one thing I wonder at, which is, that so great a man, who speaks so advantageously of the Church, of Salvation which is obtained only in Unity with her, and of the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of Nice, which infers* *the same assistance for all others assembled in the same Church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or, let him tell me, Sir, what he means by the term* Catholick Church? *Is it the Church of* Rome, *and those that adhere to her? Is it the Church of* England? *Is it a confused heap of societies, separated the one from the other? And how can they be that Kingdom of Christ, not divided against itself, and which shall never perish? It would be a great satisfaction to me to receive some answer upon this subject, that might explain the opinion of so weighty and solid an author.* Dr Bull answered the queries proposed in this letter; but just as his answer came to Mr Nelson's hands, he received the news of the Bishop's death, which prevented the progress of this controversy (83). How- (83) Ib. p. 388—390.
ever Dr Bull's answer was published, and a second edition printed at London, 1707, in 12mo, under the following title; *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in relation to Ecclesiastical Government, the Rule of Faith, and Form of Divine Worship: In answer to the Bishop of* Meaux's *Queries*.

[*WW*] *His* Primitive, Apostolical, Tradition, &c.] The whole title is; *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio Dogmatis in Ecclesia Catholica recepti de Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri Divinitate; Asserta atque evidenter demonstrata contra Danielem Zuikerum Borussum, ejusque nuperos in Anglia Sectatores* (84). i. e. 'The Pri- (84) Lond. 1703.
'mitive and Apostolical Tradition of the Doctrine 'received in the Catholick Church, concerning the 'Divinity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, asserted and 'evidently demonstrated against Daniel Zwicker the 'Prussian, and his late followers in England.' In this work, Dr Bull untertakes to prove, that Justin Martyr was not, as is pretended, an innovator of the Christian Faith in the article concerning the person of Christ; that he was not deceived herein by the frauds and artifices of the Disciples of Simon Magus; that he never learnt from the schools of Plato, what he taught concerning the *Logos*; and that he was the farthest in the world from any design of intermixing Polytheism with Christianity, or of accommodating the Gospel of Christ to the Gentile theology; but that, on the contrary, it was an apostolical tradition, introduced into the first Christian Churches, that our Saviour did exist before the world was made; that the doctrine of his Godhead could not proceed from the school of the *sorcerer*, whose sentiments differed very widely from the Catholick tradition of that doctrine; and that it could not possibly be derived, either from the Platonick Philosophers, or any other, whom the Christians had a mind to gain over to their party. Here is also a particular and most accurate account given of Hegesippus, and his sentiment concerning Christ's person; as likewise of the primitive Nazarenes, and of the first Bishops of Jerusalem, challenged as theirs by Dr Zwicker's English disciples. The reader will here be entertained with a good deal of curious and useful learning, about the Sibylline Oracles, and the verses of Orpheus, which are cited by several of the primitive writers against the Heathens (85). (85) Life, &c. p. 400, 401.

[*XX*] *He lost his eldest son* Mr George Bull.] This young gentleman had spent seventeen years at Christ-Church in Oxford, and was esteemed one of the ornaments of that society. He was tutor to several young gentlemen; one of whom, Sir Bourchier Wrey, became his patron, and preferred him to the rectory of

thirty-seventh year of his age (*d*). Our Prelate took his seat in the House of Lords in that memorable session, when the bill passed for the *Union* of the two kingdoms, and spoke in a debate which happened upon that occasion [*YY*]. About July after his consecration, he went into his diocese, and was received with all imaginable demonstrations of respect by the gentry and clergy. The episcopal palace at Aberguilly being much out of repair, he chose the town of Brecknock for the place of his residence (*e*), but was obliged, about half a year before his death, to remove from thence to Abermarless, for the benefit of a freer air (*f*). He resided constantly in his diocese, and carefully discharged all the episcopal functions [*ZZ*]. Tho' Bishop Bull was a great admirer of our ecclesiastical constitution, yet he would often lament the distressed state of the Church of England, chiefly owing to the decay of antient discipline, and the great number of lay-impropriations [*AAA*]. Some time before his last sickness, he entertained thoughts of addressing a circular letter to all his clergy; and, after his death, there was found among his papers one drawn up to that purpose [*BBB*]. He had greatly impaired his health, by too intense and unseasonable an application to his studies, and, on the twenty-seventh of September 1709, was taken with a violent fit of coughing, which brought on a spitting of blood. About the beginning of February following, he was seized with a distemper, supposed to be an ulcer, or what they call the inward piles; of which he died the seventeenth of the same month, and was buried, about a week after his death, at Brecknock [*CCC*], leaving

(*d*) Ib. p. 412.

(*e*) Ib. p. 415—417.

(*f*) Ib. p. 437.

Tawstock in Devonshire. Upon the promotion of his father to the See of St David's, he was made Archdeacon of Landaff in his room. His death was the greater loss to the Bishop, as the assistance he expected from him in the discharge of the episcopal function, was what had a great influence upon him in determining him to accept it (86).

(86) Ib. p. 411, 414.

[*YY*] *He spoke in a debate, which happened upon that occasion.*] A certain noble Lord, it seems, moved in a speech, that, since the Parliament of Scotland had given a character of their Church, by extolling *the purity of it's worship*, their Lordships should not be behind hand in giving a character of *the best constituted Church in the world*. 'For (said he, turning himself, 'towards the bench of Bishops) I have always been 'taught by my Lords the Bishops from my youth, that 'the Church of England was the best constituted 'Church in the world, and most agreeable to apostolical institution.' Whereupon Bishop Bull, who sat very near his Lordship, stood up, and said; *My Lords, I second what that noble Lord hath moved, and do think it highly reasonable, that, in this bill, a character should be given of our most excellent Church. For, my Lords, whoever is skilled in primitive antiquity, must allow it for a certain and evident truth, that the Church of England is, in her doctrine, discipline, and worship, most agreeable to primitive and apostolical institution.* Upon coming out of the house, Bishop Beveridge said to the Bishop of St David's; 'My Lord, if you and 'I had the penning of this bill, it should be in the 'manner your Lordship hath moved.' To which Bishop Bull made such a reply, as represented the necessity he lay under of thus discharging his duty, when so solemnly called upon in the greatest court of the nation (87).

(87) Ib. p. 415, 416.

[*ZZ*] *He carefully discharged all the episcopal functions.*]. His first care was to acquaint himself with the state and condition of his diocese; in order to which, he proposed to visit it in person that summer, and actually began at Brecknock, where he delivered his charge to the clergy; but a severe illness putting a stop to his progress at that time, he appointed Commissioners, the chief of whom was Mr William Powel, Rector of Langastock, to visit in his name. Three years afterwards, his Lordship appointed a triennial visitation; but not being able, thro' weakness and continued indispositions, to bear the fatigue of travelling, he constituted his son-in-law Mr Stevens, Archdeacon of Brecknock, with Mr William Powel before-mentioned, to be his Commissioners, and to visit in his stead. Mr Stephens, in this visitation, delivered a charge prepared by the Bishop himself for that purpose (88). He frequently *confirmed* in the neighbourhood of such places where he resided, particularly at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Landeilo, and Abermarless (89). He was very strict in examining into the qualifications of candidates for Holy Orders, and never dismissed those whom he ordained, without the most earnest and affectionate exhortations, with respect to their future conduct (90). Among other irregularities, which he found to have prevailed in his diocese, he endeavoured to reform that of administring Baptism in private houses, excepting in cases of necessity (91). His conversation with his clergy, was, upon all occasions, grave and serious, and related chiefly to the condition of their parishes, and the discharge of their own duties (92).

(88) Ib. p. 417—421.

(89) Ib. p. 422.

(90) Ib. p. 423—428.

(91) Ib. p. 429.

(92) Ib. p. 430.

[*AAA*] *He lamented the distressed state of the Church of England, owing to —— the great number of lay-impropriations.*] Several good men (he used to say) looked upon the alienation of tythes, as the scandal of the *Reformation*, and esteemed it the great blemish of the *Restoration*, that no care was taken, at that time, of the interest of the Church of England, with respect to it's revenues. When the Bishop talked upon this subject, he would often mention, with pleasure, the wisdom and goodness of Queen Anne, in her augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. This design, he thought, would be more easily carried on, if some rich impropriators could be prevailed upon, to restore to the Church some part of her revenues, which they had too long enjoyed, to the great prejudice of the Church, and very often to the ruin of their families, by that secret curse, which is the usual attendant on sacrilegious possessions. He was able, he said, to give instances of this kind, in some families of his acquaintance; and in this point, he seemed to concur with the opinion of Sir Henry Spelman. Tho' he was always in his judgment against lay-impropriations, yet he was never so sensible of the great inconveniencies which attend them, as upon his coming into the diocese of St David's, where they are very numerous, and the salaries allowed the curates by the impropriators too mean and inconsiderable to furnish a tolerable maintenance. The Bishop applied himself to several of these impropriators, in hopes of prevailing with them to advance the stipends to a competent subsistence. But the little success he met with in these applications, put him upon inquiring, how far it was in his own power to remedy this grievance; and if he had lived to have seen London once more, he designed to have taken the advice and direction of his brethren, the Bishops, upon this momentous affair (93).

(93) Ibid. p. 431, 432.

[*BBB*] *There was found among his papers, a circular letter, drawn up to that purpose.*] It had not received his last hand, and wants that perfection which usually attended whatever he composed. It is addressed *to the Reverend the Archdeacons, and the rest of the clergy of the diocese of St David's.* The first thing the good Bishop recommends, for the advancement of piety and virtue, is, *The establishing Family Devotion;* the next is, *The erecting of Charity-Schools;* the third is, *That they endeavour to dispose parents, to supply each of their children before they marry, or are otherwise settled in the world, with a small library* (*), *containing books of practical Divinity, to the value of three, four, or five pounds, fixed in a little press with shelves proper for that purpose.* Fourthly, the Bishop recommends the use of the *Welch Common-Prayer-Book*, lately printed in a small volume; and, in the last place, he earnestly exhorts them to use their interest with the Justices of the Peace, *to put in execution the laws against vice and immorality.* The reader may see the letter at length in Mr Nelson (94).

(*) There has been since printed a sheet of paper called, *The Young Christian's Library*; or a Collection of good and useful books proper to be given to young persons by their parents, &c. Printed by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close.

(94) Ib. p. 442—452.

[*CCC*] *He was buried —— at Brecknock.*] He lies (if Mr Nelson's information be true) between two of his predecessors, Bishop Manwaring and Bishop Lucy. His funeral

leaving behind him but two children [*DDD*] of the eleven with which God had blessed him (*g*). What remains to be drawn of Bishop Bull's character, and an account of his Sermons and Discourses not hitherto taken notice of, shall be given in the remarks [*EEE*] and [*FFF*]. All his works have been published together since his death, in folio, by Mr Nelson.

(*g*) Ib. p. 458—475.

funeral was attended by great numbers of the gentry and clergy, both of the county of Caermarthen and of Brecknock. He had given strict charge, that the burthen of his debts should not be increased, by bestowing more expence on his interment, than what necessity and decency required. And upon this account, it is thought, when he was asked where he would be buried, he replied, *Where the tree falleth, there let it lie.* But he was prevailed upon, by the desire of his wife, to consent to be buried at Brecknock, it being the place where she designed to pass her widowhood; and, as Mrs Bull was desirous to be deposited with her husband after her death, his grave, by her direction, was walled on all sides, and made large enough to receive two bodies (95). His grave was covered with a plain stone, and the short inscription upon it, which follows, was framed and ordered by his pious widow, who was so satisfied with it herself, that she would not suffer it to be cast into any other form.

(95) Mrs Bull died soon after Mr Nelson undertook to write the Life of her husband, and was accordingly buried in the same grave with the Bishop.

HERE LIETH THE RIGHT REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD, DR GEORGE BULL,
LATE BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESS;
WHO WAS EXCELLENTLY LEARNED,
PIOUS AND CHARITABLE;
AND WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
FEBRUARY THE 17th, 1709. AGED 75 (95).

(95) Ib. p. 473—475.

[*DDD*] *He left behind him two children.*] *Viz.* his son *Robert*, who became Rector of Tortworth in Gloucestershire, and Prebendary of Gloucester, and who married Rachel, the daughter of Edward Stephens, of Cherington, in the county of Gloucester, Esq; and of Mary, the daughter of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench: and his daughter *Bridget*, married, after his death, to Mr Edward Adderley, son of the aforesaid Mary by a former husband (96).

(96) Ib. p. 475.

[*EEE*] *His character.*] He was tall of stature, and in his younger years thin and pale, but fuller and more sanguine in the middle and latter part of his age; his sight quick and strong, and his constitution firm and vigorous, 'till indefatigable reading, and nocturnal studies, to which he was very much addicted, had first impaired, and at length quite extinguished the one, and subjected the other to many infirmities; for his sight failed him entirely, and his strength to a great degree, some years before he died. But whatever other bodily indispositions he contracted, by intense thinking, and a sedentary life, his head was always free, and remained unaffected to the last. As to the temperature and complexion of his body, that of melancholy seemed to prevail, but never so far as to indispose his mind for study and conversation. The vivacity of his natural temper exposed him to sharp and sudden fits of anger, which were of but short continuance, and sufficiently atoned for by the goodness and tenderness of his nature towards all his domesticks. He had a firmness and constancy of mind, which made him not easily moved, when he had once fixed his purposes and resolutions. He had early a true sense of religion; and tho' he made a short excursion into the paths of vanity, yet he was entirely recovered a considerable time before he entered into Holy Orders. His great learning was tempered with that modest and humble opinion of it, that it thereby shone with greater lustre. His actions were no less instructive than his conversation; for his exact knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the primitive fathers of the Church, had so effectual an influence upon his practice, that it was indeed a fair, entire, and beautiful image of the prudence and probity, simplicity and benignity, humility and charity, purity and piety, of the primitive Christians. During his sickness, his admirable patience under exquisite pains, and his continual prayers, made it evident, that his mind was much fuller of God than of his illness; and he entertained those that attended him with such beautiful and lively descriptions of religion and another world, as if had a much clearer view than ordinary of what he believed (97).

(97) Ib. p. 476—479.

[*FFF*] *Some account of his* sermons *and* discourses.] His son, *Mr Robert Bull*, had not only the Bishop's leave, but his order, to print his *sermons* after his death; so that we may from thence conclude, they had received his last hand, and consequently that perfection, which belonged to his compositions. The subjects are reduced to no dependance upon one another, in the method of ranging them; neither was it necessary, since it does not appear, that they were framed with any such prospect (98). These sermons are of great use in two respects. In the first place, several of them are written upon the most curious points of antiquity, and may serve as a touch-stone, to distinguish primitive doctrines from modern errors which have been built upon them. Secondly, they are a very proper model, both as to style and method, for the teaching any subject of Divinity. Dr Lupton, in a letter to Mr Nelson (99), has given us the following character of Bishop Bull's sermons. 'He abhorred 'affectation of wit, trains of fulsom metaphors, and 'nice words wrought up into tuneful, pointed, sen'tences, without any substantial meaning at the bottom 'of them. He looked upon sermons, consisting of 'these ingredients, which should be our aversion, and 'not our aim, as empty and frothy, and trifling, as 'inconsistent with the dignity of serious and sacred 'subjects, and as an indication of a weak judgment.' After censuring the abuse of *wit* in sermons, the Bishop goes on: 'The proper use even of true wit, doth re'quire the very best judgment. And in both did this 'learned Prelate excel, tho' he used the first very 'sparingly in his sermons; but the second was abun'dantly demonstrated in every one of them. For every 'one comprized the principal truths which belonged 'to the subject, and those were ranged into the most 'natural and easy order, illustrated with the utmost 'clearness, confirmed with the utmost strength of rea'soning, and expressed in the most plain and signifi'cant words. And such a rich vein of piety did run ''thro' the whole, as would have rendered it acceptable 'and delightful to any man, who is sincerely religious, 'tho' it were not attended with those shadows of 'beauty and ornament, which are too often thought 'to be the best parts of a sermon.' Dr Lupton concludes thus: *Those therefore who are censorious enough to reflect with severity upon the pious strains, which are to be found in* St Chrysostom, *Bishop* Beveridge, *or Bishop* Bull, *may possibly be good judges of an* ode *or an* essay, *but do not seem to criticize justly upon* sermons, *or to express a just value for* spiritual *things*. As to those *discourses*, which accompany the Bishop's *sermons*, the *first* relating to *The Doctrine of the Catholick Church for the first three Ages of Christianity, concerning the Blessed Trinity, in opposition to Sabellianism and Tritheism*, was drawn up at the request of a person of quality (*), who, having seriously considered the controversy, then carried on between Dr Sherlock and Dr South, found himself not clear, as to the sense of the first and purest ages of the Church, in reference to that great mystery. The method his Lordship pitched upon to satisfy his doubts, was, to apply to Dr Bull, that great master of Primitive Antiquity; but having no acquaintace with the Doctor, he communicated his thoughts to his worthy friend Mr Archdeacon Parsons, Rector of Odington in Gloucestershire, who being a neighbour, and intimately known to Dr Bull, engaged him to comply with his Lordship's request, and to draw up the discourse in question, which he inclosed in a letter to the Archdeacon, in order to be communicated to his Lordship. This discourse was received with much satisfaction by the noble Lord, as appears by a letter addressed by him to Mr Parsons (100). The next *Discourse*, concerning which the reader may be apt to require some information, is the *fourth*, containing *Some Animadversions on a Treatise of Mr* Gilbert Clerke, *intituled*, Ante-Nicenismus, *so far as the said author pretends to answer Dr* George Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*. The manuscript of these Animadversions was found among Dr Grabe's papers, but appears unquestionably to have been written by Dr Bull. The book, which gave occasion to these *Animadversions*, was printed in 1695, under the title of *Ante-Nicenismus*; or, *The Testimonies of the Fathers, who wrote before the* Council

(98) Ib. p. 480.

(99) See Life, &c. p. 490.

(*) Lord Arundel.

(100) Ib. p. 493—496.

Council of Nice, *whence may be collected the Sense of the Catholick Church touching the Trinity*. At the same time came out an Answer in Latin to Dr Bull's *Defensio Fidei*, &c. both written by Mr Gilbert Clerke, who published his name with them. These two treatises were accompanied by a third, without the author's name, intituled, *The true and ancient Faith, concerning the Divinity of Christ, asserted, against Dr George Bull's Judgment* of the Catholick Church, &c (101). The *fifth* and last *Discourse*, intituled, *Concerning the first Covenant, and the State of Man before the Fall, according to Scripture, and the Sense of the Primitive Doctors of the Catholick Church*, seems to have been drawn up by the learned author about the time that he was engaged in the controversy relating to *Justification*. It plainly appears, that it cost him a great deal of labour and study, and he seemed, upon some occasions, to express himself favourably concerning it. For having lent it to a certain person, whose name he had forgot, it was lost for many years, and recovered by the following accident. A neighbouring clergyman dying, Mr Stephens, the Bishop's son in-law, bought part of his books, and among his pamphlets found this treatise, which he immediately brought to the author, who could not forbear declaring his satisfaction for the recovery of that, upon which he had bestowed no small pains. It was afterwards read by some considerable clergymen in the neighbourhood, and at last communicated to his particular friend Dr Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, in whose hands it had lain so long, that his Lordship, when Mr Nelson (publisher of the Bishop's works) applied to him upon that account, had lost all remembrance of it. However, at this editor's request, Bishop Fowler searched among his papers, and in a few days sent him the manuscript (102). T

(101) Ib. p. 497 —511.

(102) Ib. p. 511, ad finem.

BULLEYN (William), a learned Physician and Botanist in the reigns of King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He was born in the former part of King Henry the VIIIth's reign, and, as himself informs us, in the Isle of Ely (*a*). He was nearly related, as he also says, to the principal family, or chief house, at Blaxhall in Suffolk (*b*). Whether any ways a-kin to Sir William Bulleyn who was Sheriff of that county and Norfolk, the fifteenth of Henry VII, and grandfather to Queen Anne Bullen, we might better resolve, if we could find that his arms agreed with theirs; which were, *Argent, a Chevron Gules, inter Three Bulls Heads couped Sable, armed Gules* (*c*). He was bred up, it seems, at the University of Cambridge, however, he might lay some foundation of learning in arts at Oxford, as Anthony Wood says; though he knew not, through the imperfection of their records in those times, whether he took any degree in that university; but adds, that applying his mind to the study of Physick, he took his degrees in this science elsewhere, became famous therein, and was a member of the College of Physicians at London. Thus much, with the titles of his books, is all the personal history which that author has recorded of him, except, what is erroneous, that he flourished, or was alive, above ten years after his death (*d*). But this short and unsatisfactory account, might have been much enlarged and improved by the inspection only of our author's works. For therein it appears, that he had been a traveller over several parts of Germany, Scotland, and especially England; throughout which he was well acquainted with the natures of the people, and the products of the soil, especially vegetables; which qualified him to describe their virtues so well, and to employ them so successfully as he did, in the restoration of health. In or before Queen Mary's reign, he seems to have been much conversant about the city of Norwich, where he made some remarks upon several natural productions of that place. He appears likewise to have resided a longer time at Blaxhall in Suffolk, where he also made several of the like observations. But he removed afterwards into the North: and where he is speaking of the salt that is made in England, he mentions, among other places, the Shiles by Tinmouth-castle; where he had a property in the salt pans which were upon that Water; as, at Blith in Northumberland, also had Sir John Delaval; a patron, whom he describes to have been of great worship and hospitality there, for many years; a patron, who was far from making any ill use of his salt; who never powdered his neighbours, tenants, or others dependent upon him, with extortion, or oppression; but, on the contrary, so extensively sprinkled his generous virtues among them, that the kindly seasoning would preserve his good name fresh and sweet in remembrance, as our author promises, when his book, by which even it is preserved, or transmitted to posterity, would, as he fancied, though too humbly of it, be rotten (*e*). But afterwards, he appears to have been more permanently settled at Durham; and here he made also other observations, as he had done in the counties beforementioned, upon some of the products he treats of, which were either remarkable for their plenty, excellency, or other qualities; a few whereof may not be unacceptable in a note apart [*A*], as what may contribute to illustrate, in some particulars, the

(*a*) Dr Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 21. b.

(*b*) His Government of Health, 8vo, p. 126.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, in Norfolk, &c.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col 235.

(*e*) See his book of Simples, fol. 75. b.

[*A*] *A few whereof may not be unacceptable in a note apart.*] Among those natural products, whereon Dr Bulleyn made such observations in the counties aforesaid, it may not be unuseful to repeat what he has noted in his chapter of Milk; where after having distinguished, in what cases and distempers, that soft and nutritious liquor, so natural to the constitutions of man and beast, may be improperly and with evil effects used; he adds, that nevertheless we see what a goodly support milk is in a commonwealth, and the feeders thereon, to be people of a good temperament and complexion; as in Wales, Suffolk, Essex, and especially about Alsten Moor, among the mountains in the Bishoprick, where there is little tillage, and so much bringing up of cattle, that in this country, some time belonging to Sir Thomas, the Baron of Hilton, the people are all chiefly nourished with milk, and use little of any other drink (1). In the same work, our author makes an observation out of other counties, upon the preservation of their flocks, by the virtues of the herb Tormentile, where he asserts, that the sheep which feed thereon, shall never die of the rot; that he has seen it proved in sundry places in Norfolk; and at Blaxhall in Suffolk, upon a sheep walk in the said town, where they lived many years without rotting, through the virtues of this herb; and says, that the shepherds also had observed the same (2). There are likewise dispersed up and down his works, some little remarks on the plenty and perfection, of some native fruits, and other vegetable products of our country in his time, which being before planting and gardening, lent their more artful hands to the improvement of them,

(1) Dr Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 84.

(2) Ibid. fol. 36. b.

the Natural Histories of those places. There, in that city, he practised with great reputation,

them, might contribute to illustrate the natural fertility of our soil and climate, and be very materially instanced, not only to remove some disparaging reflexions which have been made upon them, but excite our solemn gratitude for the same, and also our industry to multiply and meliorate this national blessing. 'Tis not unlikely indeed, that commerce may have increased the variety of those vegetables, which are of great convenience to us; as it has also introduced a variety of superfluities, and even things we might be contented with of our own growth. But for a late ingenious author to say, that, *Without the benefit of commerce, What a barren, uncomfortable spot of earth falls to our share!* looks more like the sophistry of some French merchant, or other mercenary stranger; at least as if it proceeded more from the dictates of a private domestick interest in foreign importations, than the publick spirit of an ingenuous countryman, who was any thing of an hortulan antiquary, and well read in our Natural Historians, Herbalists, and Writers of husbandry and gardening, or in common experience itself. The circulation of money, the profits of exchange, the consumption of our own manufactures, and indeed, the gratification of our luxury and extravagance, with our thirst after variety and novelty, and to adopt or naturalize things in fashion or request in other countries, might yield juster motives for the support of commerce, than the defects of *our sun and soil* (3). But this author found it also necessary to imply, that by the assistance of art and the planter, our fruits (all truly of foreign extraction) may be kept from degenerating into *the trash of our country*. And yet, when very little art in that planting was used among us, at least that is descended to our knowledge, we had surely better fruits of our own growth, than *hips* and *haws*, *acorns* and *pignutts*, at all times; or Julius Cæsar would never have said of our island, apparently with regard to our vegetable varieties, and the perfection they were in, that except the beech and the firr tree; in other things, that is, in it's natural furniture or productions it was like France (4). And this is again well supported by the frequent mention in William of Malmsbury, and others of our most antient Historians, of the many vineyards we had in greater number and excellence, so many hundred years since, than we have now over many parts of the kingdom; in some whereof the tythe of wine was a very considerable article, as Camden has collected out of those writers; and it is affirmed, we have still upon record some treaty of peace between France and England, in which it is stipulated, that we should root up our vineyards, and be their customers for all our wine. If such extirpation of the English vineyards was not owing to this, it might be to the falling of Gascony into the hands of the English, whence wine was imported cheaper and better than we could make it. So might the improvement of our vintages be discouraged, for the employment of our navigation; and the name of vineyards remain in many places, which produce none of their fruit; yet were there very good grapes kept growing in many parts, as Dr Bulleyn has particularly noted in Suffolk (5), though indeed our great neglect of planting and gardening, at several times and places in general; and of early publishing our experiments, observations, and improvements therein, are to be censured more than any inclemencies of our climate, which is so willing to maintain what our soil produces, that it has, in some places, worn the same youthful face of fertility for ages together, without any other art than that of nature herself; and the camomile, that has flourished for two hundred years upon Brentford-Green (†), without any planter's care, may sufficiently evidence how little the vigor of vegetation degenerates, or that of our sun and soil decays. But after all, the confessed want of industry aforesaid, will appear to have, among other causes, as foreign wars, civil wars, &c. been greatly promoted, even by commerce itself; which, for it's own interest, has taken the advantage to supply us, with what we needed not, for the sake of our money; and to discourage us, by such arguments, from supplying ourselves with what we wanted, only at the expence of our labour. Hence came our own vegetables to be so much neglected; hence so many ship-loads of fruits from abroad; and Billingsgate our best orchard for even those fruits, which then grew in our gardens, fields, and hedges; as the case is, in some measure, to this day: and hence, that we had no *English Herbal* published, 'till near the middle of King Henry VIIIth's reign, and that but a translation, full of faults and mistakes (‡). Nay, the first publisher of an original Herbal, in our tongue, Dr William Turner, informs us, that Botany, or the knowledge of simpling, was fallen into such neglect, that about the same time in that King's reign, or but few years after, he found not a Physician in the University of Cambridge, who could inform him of the Greek, Latin, or English names of any plants he produced (*), as he gathered them to compile his first Latin skeleton of the said English Herbal; and yet this was not owing to the scarcity of our plants and fruits, but rather to the variety of them, and the little regard that was paid to them. Foreigners might well take advantage of such neglect, and consequently such ignorance; tho' this indolence of ours, and their seductions to it, were never so universally prevalent, but that we have had spirits, which in many parts of the kingdom for ages past, have, by their skill and expence in the enrichment of their country, demonstrated the generous fertility of their lands, in the returns they made them for their labour. It might be excusable enough in a Frenchman to dissuade our countrymen from planting of Hops, with an air of friendly concern, that our country would not produce them; but those who have read in our author, Dr Bulleyn, and others, in what perfection they flourished here before that Frenchman was born, will look upon his concern as a kind of farcical friendship; and it might have justified the title of his book (6), if he could thereby have abridged our planters and our revenue of the great benefit they receive from them. It was above fifty years since affirmed by a Staffordshire Physician, that they have advanced land to the profit of sometimes an hundred pounds an acre (7). It has also been of late publickly set forth, that but four years last past, the produce of the duty on hops, was no less than sixty-five thousand, two hundred eighteen pounds, twelve shillings and five pence: and that the last year, in which the Duke of Cumberland shone like another sun in Great Britain, our hop-countries produced no less than 120000 bags; yet we must have foreign commerce for their hops too, though the importation of the great quantities that have been damaged, rotten, dry'd to, and mingled with, dust, sand, and other soil, which made two parts in three of foreign hops formerly imported, has been long since complained of (8): and seeing also, we so often want not sufficient of our own growth; which, as Dr Bulleyn observes, was in his time as good as any in the world (9). It might be for that reason of such damaged importations, perhaps, that there was a petition presented in Parliament against them, as a wicked weed, so long ago as in the reign of King Henry VI (10); or if it was for any pernicious property conceived in them, or the injudicious use of them, they have since been so successfully propagated and used, as we have had so much better improvement of their culture from the ingenious author, who first wrote thereof among us (11), and from the Botanists, who have distinguished their virtues, that they have out-grown all their accusations, and been adjudged wholesome. That petition will shew, that the use of them came in long before the Reformation, let that comical author, Dr William King, say what he will about hops not being to be put into an Englishman's drink before heresy came in (12). Wherein he might be misled by an erroneous, or misquoted rhyme in the addition made to Stow's Chronicle by his editor, Edward Howes, where he says,

> Turkies, carps, hops, pick'rel, and beer,
> Came into England all in a year (13).

Every one of which particulars, even not excepting perhaps, that of hops and beer, might be confuted, if it were here expedient to enlarge upon those topicks. The like conceit seems to have been too strictly entertained of our Cherries; that we had none tolerable among us, 'till Richard Harris, fruiterer to King Henry VIII. brought over from Flanders about that part

(3) See the *Spectator*, edit. 8vo, 1747, No. 69.

(4) Comment. lib. v.

(5) His Government of Health, p. 162.

(†) As may be computed from Dr Turner's New Herbal, fol. 1551, where he says, this herb then also grew on Richmond Green, and in greatest plenty on Hounslow Heath.

(‡) The Great Herbal, &c. fol. 1525.

(*) See Dr Turner's Herbal, the last edit. printed fol. at Collen, 1568, in Pref.

(6) Le Tresore Politique, &c.

(7) W. Westmacott's Scripture Herbal, 12mo, 1694.

(8) See Statute primo Jacobi, cap. xviii.

(9) Government of Health, p. 210.

(10) Fuller's Worthies in Essex.

(11) Reginalde Scot's Perfect Platform of a Hoppe-Garden, and necessarie Instructions for the making and Mayntenaunce thereof, &c. Lond. 4to, 1578.

(12) The Art of Cookery, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry, &c. 8vo, no date, p. 17.

(13) Stow's Chron. edit. fol. 1615, p. 948.

putation, and among others of the most eminent inhabitants, was in great favour with Sir

part of his Majesty's reign before-mentioned, the shoots or grafts of a better kind, and planted them here also at Tenham in Kent; from which plantation they are called Kentish cherries (14): but we may compute from our author, Dr Bulleyn, again, that there grew great plenty of good cherries at Ketreinham, near Norwich, about the same time these Flemish cherries came to such perfection in Kent. The same fruiterer brought over some different species of other fruits, as also did Mr Mascall of Plumsted, in Sussex, as we are informed by a name-sake of his (15). Whence came our first Kentish pippins, and other plantations of those pippins elsewhere, as also some pears belike; but we ought not to infer from thence, that we had no good apples and pears 'till that time, * since we have it again from Dr Bulleyn, that we had a pear of our own growth, in and about the city of Norwich, called the Black-Friars pear, that was very delicious, pleasant, and profitable to hot stomachs; and he produces the judgment of a right worshipful Physician of the same city, Dr Mansfield, that those pears without all comparison, were the best that grew in any place of England (16). But as a proof of the great propensity there is in the most barren, stoney, and unpromising parts of our soil, to the vegetation of plants, and their bringing forth fruit in great plenty and perfection, even without care or culture, there is an extraordinary instance in the Orford pease; and Dr Bulleyn seems to have been the first author who observed and recorded it, at least who described this remarkable example of fertility, from his own sight and knowledge of it. He says, that in the year 1555, at that town in Suffolk, between the haven and the main sea, where never plough came, nor natural earth was, but stones only, infinite thousands of ship-loads; there did pease grow, whose roots were more than two fathom long; and the pescods grew in clusters, like the chats or keys of ash trees; bigger than fitches, and less than field peason; very sweet to eat of, and satisfied many of the poor dwelling thereabouts, who would otherwise have perished for hunger; the scarcity of bread being that year so great, that many were driven to make much of acorns; and they laboured under the sickness of a stranger fever besides, than was ever heard of there. Now, says the Doctor, whether these pease and providence of God, came thro' shipwreck, with much misery, or else by much miracle, I am not able to determine; but sown they were not by man's hands, nor like other pease (17). This strange event is repeated in several authors; and among the writers of our chronicles, John Stow confirms the same. He says, it happened in August that year, and that the place by the sea side, all of hard stones and pebbles, was called a shelf, lying between Orford and Aldborough, where never grass grew, nor any earth was seen. He computes the crop that was gathered, to have been above an hundred quarters, and yet there remained, some ripe, and some blossoming, as many more. Further, that the Bishop of Norwich, the Lord Willoughby, and great numbers beside, went to behold this fruitful harvest of the hard rocky stones, which lay for the space of three yards under their roots; which were also sweet (18), as we read before their fruit was. Dr Bulleyn in another part of the treatise aforesaid, speaks again of pease at Orford, that *grow* on the stones without sowing (19), as if they grew oftener than once, or every year in such manner; and indeed so it has been explained to me, by some inhabitants of that neighbourhood, that some remains of that great crop, are still produced there annually in their season; however true the tradition may be, of some rigorous Lord, who endeavoured to destroy, and thereby deprive the poor of them. In this case they might sow themselves, as many fruits do; and so the pease on the Shelf at Orford, may almost contend for antiquity, with the camomile on the Green at Brentford. But as for their first appearance there, in the year aforesaid, if we are to look no higher than reason for the cause, that which it might most probably spring from, as Dr Bulleyn has hinted, may be a shipwreck. Their being unlike other pease, strengthens this suggestion; as that they might be of some foreign kind, unseen in these parts before: but then this might have been remembered by the neighbours, and the Doctor might have told us more expresly, there lately had been such a wreck upon that shore. As for the length of the stalks, that might be owing to the distance of the owzy bottom, or other lodging and rooting places, down between the pebbles and cliffs of the ragged shelves, thro' which some sand and soil, that had been thrown up by the tides, were washed and sunk; which stones, besides other benefits, supplying the chief use of earth, supported the stems for that length, up thro' the spaces and cavities between them, into the air; to which they must aspire, as well by their own disposition to germinate and fructify, as by the attractive power of the sun, whose kindly and natural warmth, those loose stones were more aptly disposed to receive and communicate, than stove-walls may be to forward and fertilize by their artificial heat, the more chilly and tender plants that are raised against them: as in several parts of France, and other foreign countries, the vines will grow so fruitfully out of such sloaping banks of stones as shall appear more conducive to their fertility, than the shallow and hungry soil they are rooted in. Not only the more hardy and common vegetables of our own growth, have thus sometimes flourished in the most rude and uncultivated places, without any human labour of sowing or planting; but, it is certain, that in our soil, however our weather may sometimes be inconstant and unfavourable, many more profitable exoticks might, with ordinary care, be naturalized, than have been, and to better purpose; to the enrichment as well as ornament of our country, and as well in greater plenty as variety, if the spirit of importing and propagating them had been continued with the same vigour at it was begun. For when, after it's long sleep in the bed of ignorance, Botany began to revive, shoot forth it's flourishing leaves, and display it's fruitful products in the Works of the Learned; when it came to instruct us in the vegetable treasures of foreign nations as well as our own; when navigation invited our adventurous *Argonauts* to make discoveries in the New World, and establish a communication between it and the Old, to the enlargement of the British glory as well as it's dominions; and when our great men at home began to delight in more elegant buildings, and to adorn them around with the newest improvements of planting and gardening, which is recorded to have been in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign; then were the said Discoveries of remote regions, as also our Embassadors in foreign courts, besides Physicians, Botanists, and other ingenious men skilled in this branch of Natural Philosophy, induced, for the emolument of their country, as well as merchants and others, for their own, to import such seeds, roots, fruits, and plants, as would furnish those curious persons who encouraged them thereto, with various opportunities and occasions of enlarging their experience in the fertility of this land: among whom, none of those who sollicited the said importations, were more laudably assiduous, or more happily gratified, than the great Lord Burghley; tho' many others, our worthy navigators, travellers, and learned men, should also be remembered, for their own honour, and that of this kingdom, who first embellished the same with such vegetable improvements, as well as those patriots who excited them to the same, if it were proper in this place to carry this argument to it's deserved extent. By this means, and the arts of Husbandry and Gardening, our vegetable productions were multiplied, many rare plants became natives of our soil which are of sovereign virtue in Physick, many roots, greens, and pulse, increased the variety of our food, and many trees no less diversified our groves and gardens. Some, beneficial for the celerity of their growth; some, for the value of their timber; some, for the beauty of their flowers; some, for the magnificence of their shade; and others, for the excellence of their fruit; insomuch, that we had then, in that Queen's time, of our indigenous stores and importations together, besides apricots, peaches, and others of the more elegant flavour, as we have elsewhere observed, no less than fourteen or fifteen different kinds of cherries; no less than thre-score different kinds of plums, as many sorts of pears, exceeding good; and apples of such various kinds, as it was then thought impossible to describe them all. So favourable was our

(14) The Kentish Cherry Garden or Natural History of the Cherry Tree, &c. 4to, MS. p. 11.

(15) See a Book of Fishing with Hook and Line, &c. by L. M. i.e. Leonard Mascall, printed in 4to by J. Wolfe, about 1590, p. 7.

(16) His Government of Health, p. 156.

(17) His Book of Simples, fol. 30.

(18) Stowe's Chron. fol. 627.

(19) Book of Simples, fol. 8. b.

Sir Thomas Hilton, Knight, Baron of Hilton, who was Captain of Tinmouth-castle under King Philip and Queen Mary. We gather further from his printed works, that he performed some notable cures in that family, particularly on the Baron's lady, whom he recovered of a dangerous tympany, with a bread which he directed to be made of anniseeds and some other herbs (*f*). He also proved the virtues of dittany in curing the same disease at Tinmouth-castle, where plenty thereof grew on the rocks (*g*): probably upon the same Lady, at least some other person in her family. And many other medicines he mentions, which, by his own knowledge and experience, proved successful in the relief of human maladies [*B*]. To that Knight aforesaid, he, in the Epistle prefixed, dedicates his book above made use of, intituled, *The Government of Health*, in the last year of Queen Mary's reign. In which Epistle, he ingenuously sets forth the honour of Physicians, and the praise of health; and in the book he refers to another of his writing, upon *Healthfull Medicines* (*h*), which he finished the year after the former; but

(*f*) His Book of Simples, fol. 2. b.

(*g*) Idem. fol. 62. b.

(*h*) The Government of Health, 12*mo*, edit. 1595, p. 23.

our sun and soil in those days, how indifferently soever they have been thought of in ours, when all those, and many other fruits, with their different species, flourish in much greater variety. Mr John Gerard, the famous Botanist, whose indefatigable labour is no less to be commended, for increasing the vegetable riches of this island, by rearing and naturalizing whatever plants were wanting in it, and he could procure from abroad, that would be beneficial to his countrymen, than for describing them and their virtues so excellently as he has done in his Herbal (20), under the patronage and encouragement of the Lord Burghley aforesaid: this man, most famous in his time for the knowledge and love of plants, had a large Physick-Garden near his house in Holbourn, wherein he raised near eleven hundred different herbs, shrubs, and trees, of foreign as well as domestick growth; as may be seen in the catalogue he published of them two years after the Herbal aforesaid, which he dedicated in Latin to another of his patrons, Sir Walter Ralegh (21). Therein it may appear, that our ground would produce other fruits besides *hips and haws, acorns and pignuts*. Yet commerce was still so very obliging, that it condescended, at that time, to carry on a traffick even of potherbs, for the supply of our ancestors tables, and would bring them home to their markets and doors, rather than give them the trouble of raising them in their gardens. For we are told, by a person of good knowledge in Husbandry, that in Queen Elizabeth's reign, we had not only our garden wares from Holland (such as cabbages, cauliflowers, &c.) but also cherries from Flanders, Apples from France, saffron and licorish from Spain, and hops from the Low-Countries; whereas now, says he, it is known, that licorish, saffron, cherries, apples, pears, hops, and cabbages of England, are the best in the world (22). And a little farther imputes it to our ill husbandry, that we have quinces from Flanders, small nuts from Spain, prunes and walnuts from France, almonds from Italy, and chesnuts from Portugal (23). Nay, we may gather from the same author, that, but twenty years before his writing these particulars, a famous town, which he names in the margin Gravesend, had not so much as a mess of pease but what they were forced to send twenty miles for, even to London; though perhaps they ought to have been at the pains, since they would use none at home in raising them, to have gone as far as Orford for them.

(20) Printed in folio, 1597.

(21) Intituled, Catalogus Arborum, Fruticum, ac Plantarum, tam Indigenarum, quam Exoticarum, in Horto Johannis Gerardi, Civis ac Chirurgi Londinensis Nascentium. Fol. Lond. Impensis Joan. Norton. 1599.

(22) Robert Child's Letter on the Defects and Remedies of English Husbandry, edit. 1651, in Samuel Hartlib's Legacy of Husbandry, 4*to*, 1655, p. 9.

(23) Idem. p. 18.

[*B*] *Which, by his own knowledge and experience, proved successful in the relief of human maladies.*] Besides those medicines he used to cure the Lady Hilton, and probably others, of a tympany, as before mentioned, our Doctor has ingenuously communicated several others, wherewith he no less effectually restored many patients; among which, some of the most remarkable, we shall briefly point at. And these are, his clyster to stop the bloody-flux; with which, he says, under the person or character of Health, 'Assure yourself I have helped many, and hindered none that have used it; for I myself have oftentimes proved it, even so do you.' The particulars of the herbs, and other ingredients used therein, being too long to receite here, we must refer to, as also, Dr Mansfield's clyster for the cholick, mentioned in the same leaf (24). In his discourse of eye-waters, he recommends some, which in the same character, he says also, he had proved himself to have helped many; especially one, which he transcribes from Euonimus; whom, he says, was equal to any who ever practised distillation (25). In his treatise of the French disease, he fairly discloses his own regimen, wherewith he cured many thereof by his guaiacum-drink, and the diet here prescribed; for the knowledge and management of which, he says, few men were to be compared to Thomas Glandfield, a skilful Surgeon of London (26). With this discourse should be read, what he has said in another of his books, as well upon the misusage, as the best manner of using the wood or raspings of *Guaiacum*, in that disease (27), which, in those days, was more common than is generally apprehended, as the antiquity of the said disease has since been found more remote, than the learned in our author's days apprehended (28); and it never was more rife among the Indians or Neapolitans, nor in France or Spain, than it was in the Doctor's time, or soon after, in England. An eminent Surgeon published a tract not long after our author's death, wherein he affirms, that in the Hospital of St Bartholomew in London alone, there had been cured of this disease by himself, and three others, within five years, to the number at least of one thousand or more; and a little further he says, 'It seldom happened, in that single Hospital, while I served there, for the space of nine or ten years, but that among every twenty diseased persons who were taken in, ten of them had the pox (29).' But to return to our author; who, describing a *tabes*, or corruption of humours, which begins with a continual rheum, and aposthumates or putrifies the lungs, 'till it destroys the patient by a consumption, he prescribes an excellent pill, made of the seeds and juice of sage, with spicknard, ginger, long pepper, and old after, taking every morning and evening an ounce; drinking sage water after it; and adds, 'This is the best pill that ever I did know, and it helped me in a great sickness (of that kind) in Suffolk, where some time I dwelled (30).' In another place he says, he has often proved, that the roots of *calamus aromaticus* sodden in wine, and drank, has cured the white morphew (31). And somewhat farther, speaking of the dazie, and it's virtues, called in Latin *bellis*, he more particularly informs us, how he cured R. Bellisis, before spoken of, therewith, among other medicines, of a palsey and a quartan, who yet sought afterwards divers ways to murder him; most ungratefully joining with ruffians for that bloody purpose (32). In the next leaf he relates how he recovered Sir Richard Alie, a Knight famous for his skill in military architecture, and especially the impregnable walls of Berwick, and other eminent buildings; to whom the Doctor administered relief, when other purgations would not work, and eased him of that choler adust, or melancholy humour, which annoyed him, with a decoction of sena, white ginger, and flowers of buglosss, in the whey of goats milk (33). Further, where he is treating of the quality of cresses, he informs us of a Suffolk gentleman, who was an officer in the army, that was cured of a weakness in the seminal vessels, or involuntary wasting of nature, by an infusion of that herb in wine (34). Under his chapter of spurge, we have an account how the Lord Wharton was near being poisoned by *quid pro quo*, an ignorant servant, in the absence of the cook, procuring mercury sublimated at the Apothecary's-shop, instead of the herb mercury, and put it into the broth which his Lordship eat, and would have lost his life by it, if the poison had not been speedily discharged by proper emeticks (35). And in his chapter of gums, &c. he says, that with a tent of bacon dipped in tar, he had oftentimes healed the fistula (36).

(24) His Book of Compounds, fol. 38.

(25) Ibid. fol. 42.

(26) Idem. fol. 47.

(27) His Book of Simples, fol. 60, &c.

(28) Monardus, Montanus, and Johannis de Vigo, &c. affirm, it first appeared in 1494, when the French King went to recover Naples; but a late Surgeon of our own, Mr W. Beckett, has traced it up among us some centuries higher; and a French Physician, Monsieur Pattin, in his Letters, as high as it could go, even to Adam and Eve.

(29) W. Clowes De Morbo Gallico, 4*to*, 1585, and fin.

(30) His Book of Simples, fol. 5.

(31) Idem. fol. 18.

(32) Ibid. fol. 39. b.

(33) Id. fol. 40.

(34) Ib. fol. 42. b.

(35) Id. fol. 48.

(36) Ibid. fol. 63.

[C] Of

but the manuscript copy of it, with many others of his books, &c. which made a good part of his library, perished unfortunately by shipwreck. The author thereupon came patiently to London, with intention to have re-compiled the said work; but was very injuriously, for a considerable time, obstructed therein: for it was not long after he arrived at that city, in the year 1560, before he found himself, to his great surprize and affliction, most falsely and wrongfully charged, by Mr William Hilton of Bidick, with having murdered his brother, our author's worthy patron, the Baron aforesaid; who really died, among his own friends, of a malignant fever. Yet the innocent Doctor was publickly arraigned for the same before the Duke of Norfolk, and the most diligent injustice was used to bring him to a shameful death, that his adversary might, with the covetous Ahab, through false witness and perjury, have obtained, by the counsel of Jezabel, a vineyard with the price of blood. But all the shame and scandal fell upon the prosecutor's own head: his malice and cruelty, were by justice exposed and rejected; and the Doctor was, though not without much vexation and expence, very honourably acquitted. Yet did not that wicked enemy of his give over his bloody persecution; but basely hired some ruffians to assassinate him, with whom also others were drawn in as accomplices, who were of genteel extraction; and particularly one R. Bellises of Yarrow, in the aforesaid Bishoprick, did most ungratefully attempt the life of this learned man, whose skill had, not long before, preserved his. But this also proving ineffectual, the said William Hilton arrested Dr Bulleyn in an action for debt, and confined him in prison for a long time (*i*), where he wrote a great part of those *Medicinal Treatises*, which are to this day extant. Herein he frequently complains, that the vigilant molestations of his implacable enemies, both hindered him from publishing more of his writings, and from compleating those he had already published for the good of his country. But these indignities grieved him the less, coming from him who was a stranger to him, seeing he had persecuted the Lady Hilton, his own brother's wife, whose shame, loss, and blood, he had also sought, tho' she had redeemed much of his lands from loss, by the great sums of money she had lent him; 'and when this man, says the Doctor, should have thankfully re-paid that Lady 'her money, then he gratified her as he did me (*k*).' Here the Doctor exclaims against the most odious and deforming vice of ingratitude, as he has elsewhere more copiously done, in other parts of his work (*l*); shewing how, in spite of great titles, long pedigrees, and coats of arms, it degrades, defaces, and defiles all gentility, with the blackest obloquy, scandal, and contempt. Thus, triumphant innocence having raised a monument of infamy over tyrannical guilt, he leaves his defeated and despised enemy, with the character of being profitable to few, and noisome to himself; a lover of few, and flatterer of many; a vessel of ignorance, full of ingratitude; and unnatural, even to his own children; by wasting that in law, which should be reserved for their relief: so concludes, with recommending this cataplasm to his mortified conscience. Notwithstanding those cruel interruptions, he did find means to set forth such of his compositions, as gained him the character of a learned, experienced, and able, Physician. Throughout the same he also appears a man of piety and probity; and though he lived in the times of Popery, was no way tainted with it's principles. He was very intimate with the works of the antient Physicians and Naturalists, both Greek, Roman, and Arabian; yet is very fruitful in many modern examples of his own experience, of which we have given a little taste in the last note; and, above all, was commendable, not only for the generous disposition, very exemplary in our age, of commemorating so candidly, several persons of distinction, who had done good among their friends and neighbours, with their private or family receipts, but also for celebrating many of those contemporaries who were eminent in his own profession; of both which, for their gratification who may be curious in historical enquiries after the promoters and practitioners of medicinal science in those times, a short recital is here annexed [C]. Thus we have drawn together what Dr

(*i*) Dr Bulleyn's Preface to his Bulwark of Defence, &c.

(*k*) His book of Simples, fo. 84.b.

(*l*) His Book of the use of Sick Men and Medicines, fol. 75, &c.

[C] *Of both which, &c. a short recital is here annexed.*] Of the first, or those gentlemen and ladies who thus humanely relieved the infirmities of their neighbours, Dr Bulleyn has these words: 'Many 'good men and women within this realm, have divers 'medicines for the cancre, and help their neighbours 'who are in peril, and are not only poor and needy, 'having no money to spend in chirurgery, but some 'dwell where no Chirurgeons be near at hand; 'In such cases, many good gentlemen and ladies have 'done no small pleasure to poor people; as that ex'cellent Knight, and worthy learned man, Sir Tho'mas Eliot, whose works be immortal; Sir Philip 'Parris of Cambridge, whose cures deserve praise; 'Sir William Gascoyne of Yorkshire, that helped 'many sore eyes; and the Lady Taylor of Hunting'donshire, and the Lady Dorrel of Kent, had many 'precious medicines to comfort the sight, and to heal 'wounds withal, and were well seen in herbs. The 'Commonwealth hath great want of them, and of 'their medicines; which, if they had come to my 'hands, they should not have been written on the 'backside of my book. Among all other, there was a 'Knight, a man of great worship, a godly, hurtless, 'gentleman, who is departed this life, his name was 'Sir Anthony Hevenyngham (37). This gentleman 'learned a water to kill a cancre, of his own mother, 'which he used all his life, to the great help of many 'men, women, and children. He had also a salve for 'sundry green wounds, but because I have not the copy 'thereof, I will make report but only of that water 'which I am sure he used; and it is not much unlike 'a water for the cancre which Andreas Furnerius, the 'Frenchman, did make of great virtue, &c (38).' And of the modern Physicians, such especially who had advanced the worthy art of Chirurgery, among the worthy fraternity of Chirurgeons in London, by their lectures in Anatomy, he commends 'the learned Dr 'John Kaius his revealing to the said fraternity, the 'hidden jewels and precious treasures of Galen; 'shewing himself to be the second Linacre, whose 'steps he followeth. Who shall forget, adds, he the most 'worthy Dr William Turner? whose learned acts I leave 'to the witty commendations, and immortal praise, 'of

(37) Of Heveningham in Suffolk.

(38) His Book of Compounds, fol. 46, 47.

Dr Bulleyn has written of others and of himself, as far as he thought fit to acquaint us with his own personal history; his further character as an author, beyond what we have here observed, might, if it were needful, be drawn from a more deliberate examination of his *Writings*; which, because some account may be expected of them, we shall here remit to another note [*D*]; all but one tract, the last we have met with of our author's

'of Conrad Gesner: Yet his Book of Herbs will always 'grow green and never wither, as long as Dioscorides is 'had in mind among us mortal wights (*). In the noble 'state of Knights among the English or British nation, 'Which of them did ever in race give a trip, out-run, 'or win the victory of Sir Thomas Eliot, Knight? 'Who hath planted such fruitful trees, &c. that his 'grafts do grow in each place in this our common-'wealth; and his *Castle of Health* cannot decay. 'Thomas Faire (or Phayer), Doctor of Physick, is not 'dead, but is transformed and changed into a new 'nature, immortal. He hath left a piece of dark 'earth behind him, and is gone over Lethe's flood, 'forgetting this world; and with pleasure spendeth his 'time among the heavenly Muses, under the two-topped 'Hill of Parnassus. Full well he knew Pliny, who 'taught the goodness of clean creatures, and also the 'pestiferous venom of deadly melancholy serpents, and 'their present remedy by the virtue of herbs of sundry 'kinds. Dr Andrew Borde, wrote also well of Phy-'sick to profit the commonwealth withal. This man 'declared, how that he was in a great city where he had 'seen three hellish tragedies; the one was *Nullus Ordo*, 'the second was *Stridor Dentium*, the third was *Horror* '*Inhabitans*; and yet this Borde was a bird of this 'nest or cage, called Rome, whereof he maketh this 'report (39). I will not forget Master Thomas Pa-'guinellus, or Paynel, who hath played the good 'servant to the commonwealth, in translating good 'books of Physick. Dr William Kunningham hath 'well travailed, like a good soldier, against the igno-'rant enemy; setting forth the commendation, praise, 'and profit, of Astronomy, Cosmography, and Geo-'graphy, &c.' (40). How well was he seen in 'tongues, learned in arts and sciences, natural and 'moral; a Father in Physick; whose learning gave 'liberty to the ignorant, with his *Whetstone of Wit*, 'and *Castle of Knowledge*? and, finally, giving place 'to sliding nature, died himself in bondage or prison; 'by which death he was delivered and made free, 'and yet liveth in the happy land, among the laureat 'learned: his name was Dr Record; with many 'others, which I must give place to time: for their 'virtues be not unknown in Physick and Chirurgery, 'although I name them not. Yet if you do further 'delight, without disdain, to know the names of them 'who have been excellent in the worthy arts of 'Chirurgery, Physick, &c. I will declare their names 'in order as I have noted and known.' So he gives us a list of above an hundred and twenty ancients and moderns, foreigners as well as natives, who professed the said arts; among which, there are about thirty Englishmen; the chief of whom, not already named, are, Bartholmæus, who wrote *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; Dr Barclay; Dr Butts; Dr Clemens; Dr Chambers; Dr Caldwell, of Oxford; Dr Edwards, of Cambridge; Mr Edmunds, Surgeon, of York; and Mr Gale, of London; Dr Hector, of Cambridge; Dr Robert Huyck, the Queen's Physician; Dr Freer, of Cambridge; John Porter, of Norwich; Dr Langton, and Dr Larkin, both of Cambridge; Dr Masters; Robert Balthrop, Surgeon; Dr Simon Ludford, of Oxford; Thomas Colse, Apothecary; Dr Wendy, of Cambridge; and Vicars, or Vicary, the Surgeon, of London (41).

(*) See more of Dr Turner's praise, in Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 67, under the chapter of Tamerisk.

(40) See Dr Boorde's second Booke of the Breviary of Health, named The Extravagantes, 4to, edit. 1587, fol. 5, b.

(40) See more of this Dr Cunningham and his said Work, in The British Librarian, 8vo, 1738.

(41) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue between Soreness and Chirurgery, fol. 4.

[*D*] *His writings —— we shall here remit to another note.*] Our author's book of *Healthful Medicines*, we have before spoken of, and observed, by what accident the publick was deprived of it: whether it was written in the form of a dialogue, as the rest of his pieces are, which we have seen, is not now to be resolved. To what has been above said of his book, intituled, *The Government of Health*, we may add, that it was first printed in 8vo, 1548, according to Anthony Wood; with a wooden cut of the author prefixed, representing his face in profile, with a long beard. I have by me an imperfect copy of one edition, which had been the property of the late Mr William Beckett, a Surgeon of note in London, who to qualify himself for the laudable labour he had undertaken of reviving our old Physicians, a work long neglected, and which he to the regret of the curious left unfinished, had made himself the best acquainted with their lives and writings of any person, I ever knew, or heard of. By the dates he has written at the end of this book it appears, that the said edition was printed in 1559. There was a later edition still, after the author's death, part of which is bound up with this book, to complete it; in which, the title runs thus,—*The Government of Health; a Treatise written by William Bullein, for the especiall good and healthful Preservation of Man's Bodie from all noysome Diseases, proceeding from the Excess of evill Diet, and other Infirmities of Nature: Full of excellent Medicines and wise Counsels, for Conservation of Health in Men, Women, and Children: both Pleasant and profitable to the industrious Reader. London: printed by Valentine Sims, in Adling-street, at the White Swan, near Bainard's Castle*, 8vo, 1595. After the Dedication to Baron Hilton, as before observed, there are some English verses of the author's in praise of temperance and sobriety, and on the ill consequences of gluttony and drunkenness. At the end of them are two rhiming lines in Latin, to the same purpose, as follow:

> Esse cupis sanus? sit tibi parca manus;
> Pone gulæ metas, ut sit tibi longa ætas.

Which may be rendered thus:

> *If for health you are thinking, be not often drinking;*
> *If you'd live long quiet, be sparing in diet.*

The work contains an account of the nature and properties of all simples used in food, and how to prevent or destroy those distempers to which the body of man is incident. In the 43d page of the former, and the 17th leaf of the last edition, there is an anatomical figure of a man with the twelve cœlestial signs, and seven planets about him, directed to the several parts of the body, over which they are conceived to preside; which is copied from Jerom of Brunswick's Anatomy, as Mr Beckett has in a note at bottom observed. The work is interspersed here and there with some other specimens of our author's poetry, and some wholesome reflections, or admonitions for the conduct of life. Among which, those that would persuade mankind to a regard of that sagacity and forecast, they are commonly most apt to neglect, and which many parts of the brute creation have more prudence to practise, cannot be too much inculcated, nor any exhortations be more seasonably enforced at all times, than those he makes to all men, while they are in the health and vigour of their younger days, to provide against the infirmities of age; where speaking of that lusty state and flower of our lives, from the twenty-fifth to the thirty-fifth thereof, he says, 'It is the best time for 'mankind to travel in, with godly exercise in Science, 'Art, and profitable travels in his vocation; putting 'in practice, the virtues which he hath learned in 'youth; for this is the summer part of life, wherein 'all goodly fruits did flourish in every good occupa-'tion: this is the very harvest, to gather precious 'corn, and fruit of their labours, against the cold 'storms and cloudy days of their aged winter, where-'in the body shall be weak, and the eyes sight decay, 'and the hands tremble; and therefore, it is not 'comely to see the state of age, without rest, which, 'in the time of youth, did honestly travel, for there 'is a grace given to many creatures, unreasonable, 'both beasts and fowls, to make provision before-hand, 'what is then to be required of men, reasonable?' as he further instances, in certain verses there added (42). But some former reader of them perceiving the good sense in those lines, and regretting the infirmities of old age in them, which they admonish us to provide

(42) The Government of Health, p. 30.

author's publishing; which, to do justice to it's contents, might swell that note too much, if it were involved in the catalogue of his other writings therein: for, as it contains many remarkable particulars, which, by reason of it's great scarcity, have been long buried and forgotten, we have been persuaded to revive a particular extract of them; and as they comprehend a variety of intelligence, that may be useful or agreeable to the curious: these are the reasons this tract is reserved to appear last by itself; yet as, like an adjoining paragraph, it follows close to, it should not be thought to appear separate from that catalogue; any more than the officer can be said to be divided from his company, who marches singly at the end of it to bring up the rear [*E*]. All that we have met with further

vide against, has endeavoured to re-invest them in a more modern dress; and these are the words as they are written in the margin of the said copy,

The *bird*, in spring, her artful nest will build;
The *ant*, with grain, in autumn, store her cell;
The *squirrel's dray*, with nuts, 'gainst winter 's fill'd:
These, tho' *irrational*, their wants foretel!
Then should not *man*, with *reason* on his side,
E'er he grows old, for age infirm provide?

C. S.

No less regard has our author had to youth than old age; and as they could not be more seasonable in his days than they are in ours, so of no less general importance are his judicious enforcements of that indispensable duty in all parents, of restraining their children in time, by education, from all indirect or discreditable courses, and training them in those that will make them serviceable members of a common-wealth; to the neglect, whereof, is owing all the greatest evils of a kingdom; for, says he, very emphatically, 'Parents have no small charge committed unto them, that must give account to God how they have brought up their children; and they, who in these years do spare correction, truly be grievous enemies unto their children, and at last shall be recompensed with shame, when they shall see misfortune and wretchedness fall upon the fruits of your own seed. For men have small profit of their corn, that is choked and overcome with thistles, bryers, and brakes, which were not weeded in time; much less of their children, who have received, neither correction nor honest learning in due season. If the keepers of gardens be careful over their late sown seeds, and tender herbs, which are in danger to be destroyed of every frost; what should good fathers and mothers do for their children, whose tender and youthful years be carried away and overcome of every foolish fantasy (43).' There is another treatise ascribed to Dr Bulleyn, in the first printed catalogue of our old books (44), and out of that, by Anthony Wood, intituled, *A Regimen against the Pleurisy*, 8vo. London, 1562 (45). But this, not having seen, we cannot see any thing more of it. It is much, that it was not involved, as *The Government of Health* in some part is, in the collection of his works which were published the same year. This is intituled, *Bulleyn's Bulwarke of Defence, against all Sicknes, Sortnes, and Woundes, that doe daily assaulte Mankinde; which Bulwarke is kept with* Hillarius *the Gardiner*, Health *the Phisician, with their* Chyrurgian, *to help the wounded Soldiors. Gathered and practised from the moste worthie Learned, bothe old and newe, to the great comforte of Mankinde. Doen by* Willyam Bulleyn, *and ended this Marche*, Anno Salutis, 1562, folio. *Imprinted at London* by John Kyngston. On the back of the title page are the arms of Henry Cary, Baron of Hunsdon, Knight of the Garter, printed from a wooden cut; to which Lord our author dedicates the volume, and calls it his Bulwark, or little Fort, against the bodily Evils of Soreness and Sickness; 'And tho' there may be many, *says he* malicious enough and cankered of mind, who with slander and disdain may lay their batteries against this fort, I shall be ever able to repulse them, through your Lordship's aid; for it neither wants strength of ordnance, provision of victuals, nor policy of the most worthy, Captains and good Soldiers, as Hypocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, &c (46).' This volume consists of, 1. *The Book of Compounds*, with a table of their names, and the Apothecaries rules, or terms. 2. *The Book of the Use of sick Men and Medicines*; before which is prefixed a wooden print of an old man, in a fur gown, and a flat bonnet, his purse or scrip by his side, supporting himself on his staff, and a death's head at his feet, with four verses at bottom. These are both composed in dialogues, between Sickness and Health; with an Index at the end. Then follows, 3. *The Book of Simples*, being an herbal, in the form of a dialogue, between Marcellus and Hillarius; at the end of which are the wooden cuts of some plants, and of some limbecks or stills; and after these, an index to this part. The last treatise in the book is, 4. *A Dialogue between Soreness and Surgery*; concerning Aposthumations, and Wounds, with their Causes and Cures. This tract has three wooden cuts in it, one representing a man's body on the forepart, full of sores and swellings; the other, in like manner, behind: the third, is also a human figure, in which the veins are seen, directed to, and named, which are to be opened in Phlebotomy; and at the end, is an index also, as to the rest. Seventeen years after these pieces were thus published, or three years after the author's death, there was a second impression of them, with some few corrections and improvements (47), but no addition of the author's tracts before-mentioned, or that treatise of his, which is the subject of the next note, and was published, in two or three editions, between the first publication and the last, of that collection. But there is prefixed to the said last edition thereof, a copy of commendatory verses, by Thomas Newton, an eminent Physician, and author of *Chester*; in which, it plainly appears, that Dr Bulleyn was then dead, and therefore confirms us in what we before observed, as a mistake in Anthony Wood. In the library of a Physician lately deceased, there was a copy of this volume, in a blank leaf whereof were some other commendatory verses upon it, written with a pen; which, because they seem not to have been published, we shall here, as the greater rarity, present to our reader.

So old a writer, and withal so good!
Believe me, Bulleyn, thou had'st ne'er withstood
The teeth of Time, with such a youthful look,
Had not good med'cines thus preserv'd thy book.

Here, we have cypress-wood, and cedar-oil,
To chase the worms and moths that might it spoil:
Then learning of each simple, compound makes,
To purge the Criticks, and confound the Quacks.

Thus *Bulleyn*'s BULWARK well deserves the name,
Both for the reader's health, and writer's fame.

All we have here more to observe is, that the Doctor's brother, Richard Bulleyn the Divine, above in the text mentioned, who died on the 16th of October 1563, was also well skilled in some branches of Physick; having left behind him a treatise called *The whole Regimen of the Stone*, as the Doctor informs us, where he has given a specimen of his brother's practice in that disease (*), with the syrup, electuary, pills, plaister, and clyster, he prescribed in the same; and also promised to oblige the publick with the work complete; but that he did so, is not as yet come to our knowledge.

[*E*] *Marches singly at the end of it, to bring up the rear.*] This long neglected and unknown treatise, is intituled, *A Dialogue both Pleasaunte and Pietifull, wherein is a goodlie Regiment against the Fever Pestilence; with a Consolation and Comfort against Death: by William Bulleyn*, printed octavo, 1564. It was again newly corrected by the author, and imprinted at London, by John Kyngston, 8vo, 1569 (48). This

(43) Dr Bulleyn's Government of Health, p. 28.

(44) A Catalogue of English printed Book, &c. compiled by Andrew Maunsell, Bookseller, fol. 1595.

(45) Ath. Oxon. the first edit.

(46) Dr Bulleyn's Epist. Dedic. to the Lord Hunsdon.

(47) Lond. folio, 1579.

(*) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue between Soreness and Chirurgery, fol. 48.

(48) A. Wood mentions also an edition in 1578.

further of Dr Bulleyn, is, that he died on the seventh day of January, 1576 (m), and that

(m) John Stow's Survey of London, fol. edit. 1633, p. 314; where, in the foregoing page on the same leaf, the death of W. Bolene is dated 1575, and in the next line W. Bolene, Physician, 1587, which last must be false, for the reason given in the note [D]; however, it might be the ground of A. Wood's error, as we observed in the beginning.

This dialogue is dedicated by the author, to his friend Edward Barret, of Belhouse in Essex, Esq; at whose said seat part of it was written, and the Epistle Dedicatory to him is dated the twelfth of March 1564. There are twelve interlocutors in the whole discourse, which consists of much variety. Their names specified in Latin, according to their characters, which are, the Poor Beggar; the Citizen and his Wife; the Rich Man Antonio, and his Servant; the Physician and Apothecary; the Miser, Double Dealer, Lying Traveller, Death, and the Divine. From these we learn in general, the dispositions and demeanour of various conditions in life, when any adversity draws near a city, especially that of the pestilence; wherein the author has briefly described, in the person of the beggar, our needy brother's poverty, calling upon the merciless rich, who are wholly entrenched in the thorny embraces of their treasures, and entangled in sweet briers of the world: shewing with all, how the sickness of the wealthy, is the health of the poor; how the loss of the one, is the luck of the other; who, when they themselves become naked, are clothed against their wills; death only being able to render those possessions of the covetous beneficial by dispersion, which monopoly had made a nuisance; like the muckhills that are a burthen to the land, and offensive to the inhabitants thereof, 'till their heaps are cast abroad to the profit of many; which is a comparison, by the way, that with a little variation of words, has been admired in succeeding authors; but Dr Bulleyn never quoted for it. So much, by neglecting our old writers, we are led to the injustice of conferring that respect which is due to their sentiments, upon those who are more modern (49). As the drift of this dialogue, is to run out of one remarkable character, description, or story, into another, they cannot all be equally interesting at this distance of time, to require a coherent and proportionable epitome; therefore, we shall only point at the most capital or considerable of them, and such as are most entertaining in themselves, or most applicable, and likely to illustrate others; above all, such as will best display the knowledge and genius of the author. Among these, one of the most conspicuous objects is, that fine column, which one of the correspondents takes notice of, in the delightful garden of Antonio the rich nobleman, which was eighteen feet high, and eight square, adorned with compartments of curious masonry; in which, the Muses were represented sitting under Parnassus, and not only several of the ancient Poets, under green trees, with laurel garlands beset with roses on their heads, and golden pens in their hands; but, near them, the most famous also of our English Poets; who were, to range them here more correspondent with the order of time, than they were carved on these entablatures, first of all, 'witty CHAUCER, who sat in a 'chair of gold, covered with roses, writing prose and 'rhyme; accompanied with the spirits of many Kings, 'Knights, and fair Ladies, whom he pleasantly be'sprinkled with the sweet water of the well, conse'crated to the Muses, named Aganippe. And as his 'heavenly spirit commended his dear Brigham (50), 'for the worthy intombing of his bones, in the long 'sleeping chamber of most famous Kings: so in tra'gedy, he bewailed the sudden resurrection of many a 'nobleman before their time, in the spoiling of epi'taphs, whereby many have lost their inheritance, &c.' To which description is annexed some verses of that Poet's, lamenting the same. 'Near also sat old moral 'GOWER, with pleasant pen in hand, commending 'honest love, without lust; and pleasure, without 'pride; holiness in the Clergy, without hypocrisy; no 'tyranny in rulers, no falshood in Lawyers, no usury in 'Merchants, no rebellion in the commons; and unity 'among kingdoms, &c. There appeared also, la'menting LIDGATE, lurking among the lillies, with 'his bald sconce, and a garland of willows about it. 'Booted he was, after St Bennet's guise, and a black 'stammel robe, with a monstrous hood hanging back'ward; his body stooping forward, bewailing every 'state, with the spirit of providence, foreseeing the falls 'of wicked men, and the slippery seats of princes; the 'ebbing and flowing, the rising and falling of men 'in authority; how virtue advances the simple, and 'vice overthrows the most noble of the world. 'SKELTON sat in the corner of a pillar, with a frosty 'bitten face, frowning; and scarcely yet cooled of 'the hot burning choler, kindled against the cankred 'Cardinal Wolsey; writing many a sharp disticon, 'with bloody pen against him; which he sent, through 'the infernal rivers, Styx, Phlegeton, and Acheron, 'by the ferryman of Hell, called Charon, to the said 'Cardinal. Then BARCLAY, in a hooping russet long 'coat, with a pretty hood in his neck, and fine knots 'upon his girdle, after *Francis's* tricks. He was *born* '*beyond the cold river of Tweed*. He lodged upon a 'sweet bed of camomile, under the cinnamon tree: 'about him, many shepherds and sheep, with pleasant 'pipes; greatly abhorring the life of courtiers, citi'zens, usurers, and bankrupts, &c. whose old days 'are miserable; and the state of shepherds and country 'people, he accounted most happy and sure (51).' There are verses suitable to these characters, cited at the end of every one, as of the first; which for their good sense deserve to be recited; therefore are not omitted here, so much for any little roughness in their cadence, which might appear to meer modern readers, or a few antiquated words in them; as that, our account of Dr Bulleyn's work, may not be thought too much amplified with digression. But before we proceed to some few other observable passages in this book of his, we must here observe, of the last mentioned poet, Alexander Barclay, that there is an expression in this character of him, which very luckily reconciles the dispute in many Historians about his birth-place; who must no longer entitle Devonshire (52), or Somersetshire (53) to the same, seeing our author, a contemporary, who lived in, and long upon, the borders of Scotland, says, as above, he was born in that kingdom: and as much indeed might have been, in great measure, gathered, from an attentive perusal of this Poet himself; among other places, where he makes a digression in praise of James the fourth of that kingdom, and a preference of him, before all other Christian Princes, to be the leader of an holy war; not doubting of peace to Christianity, and conquest of the Turk's dominions, if the English lion would come to a firm and faithful union of his wisdom and riches, with the Scotch unicorne's might and hardiness (54). Before we leave this poet, we shall only admonish our reader, that he is not to be taken for either of the Alexander Barclays, grandfather or grandson, of Mathers in Scotland, who both lived near enough in time, to be mistaken by an unwary reader, or one superficially versed in the chronology of his story, for him; and the rather in that the former of them was a man of a poetical genius; as may appear in a scarce tract, which, commemorating that line of the Barclay's, was written by a descendant thereof, though but few copies were printed of it; for the private satisfaction of the said family, and none ever published (55). But to go on with the contents of our book, and that part more expresly promised in the title, *A Regimen in the Plague*; which we are here led to, by the conference of Antonius the Rich Man, and his Physician; and here we have the causes and signs thereof, with directions as to air, diet, physick, &c. in many prescriptions from the most learned authors, for about sixteen leaves; which yet, is not above a seventh part of the whole book. Throughout the same, though that regimen does not appear to have been written upon any particular occasion, in other parts of the Dialogue it does; and there is a letter at the end, written by the author to Mr Francis Barlow, who then lay expiring under this sickness, past all hopes of recovery. Therefore he prescribes to him, and to another of his acquaintance, Mr Ambrose Barnes, rather like a Divine than a Physician; recommending a contented resignation of this frail being, to that perfect and omnipotent Being, who did but lend it; who offers no wrong in resuming his own; nor any new hardship in that change of life, to which all our forefathers have before passed; and to which, in this pilgrimage, tho' our plagues may be great, they are not so great as our deserts of them; all our sorrows, and all our sufferings, not so great as our sins: concluding in these words, 'If the time had not been so much spent, and the 'venom so dangerous, and the parts so weak and 'feeble, I would have caused you to have been let 'blood, and given you pills *contra pestem*, with cor'dials

(49) See Bacon's Essays, in the chap. of Riches.

(50) Nicholas Brigham, Esq; at whose expence Chaucer's Monument in Westminster Abbey was built, *anno* 1555.

(51) Bulleyn's Dialogue, &c. fol. 10—12.

(52) Vide Pits, p. 745; also The Antiquities of the English Franciscans; 4to, 1726, p. 248.

(53) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. col. 86.

(54) Alex. Barclay's Proem to his Translation of The Ship of Fools, fol. 1509.

(55) Intituled, *A Genealogical Account of the Barclay's of Urie, formerly of Mathers*: extracted from ancient Registers, and authentick Documents: together with Memoirs of the late Colonel David Barclay of Urie, and of his eldest son the late Robert Barclay of Urie. Collected for the information and use of their posterity. Printed, Aberdeen, by James Chalmers, 8vo, 1740.

that he was buried in the same grave, and under the same tomb, with his brother Richard the

'dials accordingly, by God's grace, if that would have 'done you any good; but take this cordial in good 'part, *&c* (56).' Hence, being directed to the History of those times, we may conclude this instance of those patients, and indeed our author's book itself, were the effect of that great plague which was brought into this realm by the English army, who were called home from Newhaven in France, of which they had been in possession near a twelvemonth, under Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; having been more unmercifully besieged there by this disease, than by the enemy; and with this contagious pestilence, at their return in 1563, but a year before our author first published this book above, they so infected their own country, that, as our best Historians have recorded, above twenty-one thosand, five hundred persons died thereof in London only (57). And so epidemically that infection raged in this city, that there was but one street therein which escaped it; the name of which, with the reason of it's said happy exemption, having been transmitted to us by another Physician, who lived at that time, and being worthy of observation, we shall give it in his own words, as follow: 'Here a great question ariseth: Whether sweet 'smells correct the pestilent air, or rather be as a 'guide to bring it the sooner into our hearts? to determine which question, I call all the dwellers in 'Bucklersbury in London, to give their sentence: 'which only street, by reason that it is wholly replenished with Physick, drugs, and spicery; and was 'daily perfumed in the time of the plague, with 'pounding of spices, melting of gums, and making 'perfumes for others, escaped that great plague 'brought from Newhaven, whereof there died so 'many, that scarce any house was left unvisited (58).' But now to pursue our Dialogue, there follows a long confabulation between the citizen and his wife; who with Roger their servant, like multitudes of others, are all flying the city upon the melancholy and dreadful prospects of that destructive visitation every where about it; and as they travel along, they entertain one another with great diversity of topicks. When they come to Barnet, which was Roger's birth-place, the Heath reminds him of a story he had received from his parents, concerning his grandfather, who was a leader of a band of tall men, under the Earl of Warwick, against King Edward IV, in that bloody battle which was fought there on Palm-Sunday 1471; when many thousands were slain on that spot of ground (59), and the said Earl among them. But conscience or fear prevailing upon the grandfather of this Roger (60), the night before the battle, he stole from the Earl's camp, and hid himself in a great hollow oak; where he lived for a month, upon the acorns and nuts which had been laid up in store there by the squirrels; and in his sallet, or head-piece, preserved the rain-water for his drink, 'till at length he escaped without danger; in memory whereof, or his more martial atchievements, his harness was worn upon St George's back, in their church, many a cold winter after: and 'tis here noted, that this piece of secret History was not to be found in the Chronicles (61). A little further, on occasion of some discourse they have, upon the ungenerous and ungrateful treatment which the open-hearted and needy so often meet with in the world, from the crafty and more covetous part thereof, Roger relates them a fable in a very humourous and diverting manner. It is called *Jack Drake's Medicine*, being a cure for treacherous ingratitude. It is too long to repeat here with all it's circumstances, and would lose much of it's beauty without them. The subject of it sets forth, the peril which the water-fowls led the land-fowls into, by decoying them to a voyage, and the revenge of the land-fowls upon their aquatick deceivers (62). The title seems not to be derived so much from the name of those birds which are partly concerned in the action, as from some man, who was famous for setting the story forth in all it's agreeable colours: if so, it might be denominated from that very John Drake, the shoe-maker of Norwich in the time of King Henry VIII, and in Dr Bulleyn's time, whose humour to be of the gentleman's cut in his cloaths, was well purged by Sir Philip Calthrop; as Camden has pleasantly rehearsed (63). Our author, a little further, puts a story

(56) Dr Bulleyn's Letter to Fran. Barlow, at the end of his Dialogue aforesaid, p. 112.

(57) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, *anno* 1563.

(58) Dr Thomas Muffet's Health's Improvement, or Rules of Food, *&c.* 4to. 1655, p. 26. Reprinted 12mo, 1746.

(59) There was, about six years since, an Obelisk erected by Sir Jeremy Vanacker Sambroke, Bart. near where this battle was fought; as by the inscription thereon appears. It stands in the high road, between *Hadley* Windmill and *Kitts-end*; at the end of that road which turns off to *Hatfield*; giving directions to each road, with the distance to each place, and is twelve miles northward from London.

(60) His sirname is not here mentioned, but ten leaves further, this Roger calls James Penington the Apothecary in Wood-street, his brother.

(61) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 44.

(62) Idem. fol. 48.

(63) Camden's Remains, edit. 4to, 1614 p. 236.

into Roger's mouth, which one would believe he must have lived in our age to have so much as dream'd of. But as it has been always a well known practice of the Papists, to raise themselves profit by forging of miracles; and they never fail of finding objects fit for their purpose; so they then procured one that answered their ends, in the person of a bold young quean, born at Harborough, the daughter of one Booker, who was a Butcher in that town; and this woman, to the great alarm or astonishment of the world, at the sudden inconstancy or inconsistency of human nature, was delivered of a cat; not of a kitten, as other cats are; but without any space of time which it must need in the world to grow such, a full grown, old cat, at this it's first pretended birth, that had bacon found in the belly of it (64). Might we not here be apt to fancy, that the tutors of Mary Toft of Godalmin in Surrey, had been reading this story, and made improvements of it upon her; who, at that town, was in the year 1726, brought to bed of seventeen rabbets, with great fame and success. But she must needs keep kindling on, for the continuance of that livelihood she was thereby promised, without any other labour; and we know not what a fruitful warren she might have proved, through the careful assistance of her Surgeon, Mr Howard of Guildford, and Monf. St Andre the King's Anatomist; with the rest of the body learned in the profound art of Midwifry, Sir Richard Manningham, Dr Douglas, Dr Mowbray, Mr Limborch, *&c.* if she had not, by secretly purchasing a rabbet at London, when she was removed to Lacy's bagnio in Leicester-Fields, and obstinately denying it before the Justice, procured herself such closer commitment to custody there, and more vigilant attendance, as quite smothered the project. That Justice, I say, Sir Thomas Clarges, by his seasonable severity proved the best Doctor of them all, as one of them confessed; for he delivered her, even of the imposture; drove away her unnatural births, and restored the woman to a due consistence with, or consideration of, herself: so that after her confessions, Mary Toft was a rabbet-breeder no more, but the renown of her anomalous productions will remain, as long as the Works (65) of her Historians, Poets, and Engravers, shall endure. As for the remainder of our Dialogue, there is still much variety in it; among which we shall only observe, that the entertainment which our author found for his travellers aforesaid, when they got to their inn at *Barnet*, while their dinner was dressing, was, in all probability, more elegant than that which was served up at their table. For there they were diverted, in the parlour with some curious and significant Mottos or Inscriptions; not such as are usually written upon the windows and walls of such pulick-houses in our times, but, as the mode then was, in great mens houses, consisting of noble maxims, and instructive precepts or admonitions, for the amendment of the heart, and the prudent conduct of life; such as might be called golden sentences, as well for the lustre of their ingenuity, and weight of their sense, as that they were here written in letters of gold. Among them, the Citizen explains to his wife, for they are written in Latin, one which alludes with great propriety not only to any particular inn, but to all the passengers and pilgrims thro' this universal inn; therefore it may not be improperly here remembered: *Melius est claudus in via, quam cursor præter viam* (66). Which may be englished thus;

Better a cripple, halting the right way,
Than a swift courier be, that runs astray.

But the pictures wherewith, not only the pannels of that room, but the very borders of them were, by our author's ingenuity adorn'd, being more numerous, attracted a greater share of their attention. And here again there is great scope to admire the delicacy and fertility of his fancy in the choice of them. For they were not such as some of our modern connoisseurs have thought the most ornamental; and in the purchase whereof, to manifest the fulness of their purses, they have exposed the emptiness of their heads, by surrounding themselves with the most boorish, butcherly, and barbarous objects, even the most vulgar and obscene; yet such as have no invention

(64) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 54.

(65) See Brathwait's Remarks on M. St Andre, *&c.* 8vo. 1726. L. Gulliver's Conduct of M. St Andre, *&c.* 8vo, 1726. Sir Richard Manningham's Diary of his close attendance upon Mary Toft, *&c.* 8vo, 1726. Mr John Howard's Narrative of the Delivery of Rabbets, *&c.* 8vo, 1727. Dr Ahler's Observations on the Woman of Godalmin, 8vo. 1727, *&c.* *&c.*

(66) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 60.

the Divine, who died thirteen years before, and wherein John Fox, the Martyrologist, was also interred eleven years after him, in the parish church of St Giles, Cripplegate. There is an inscription on the said tomb, with some Latin verses, in praise of them, wherein they are expressed to be men famous for their learning and piety; and particularly of Dr Bulleyn it is said, that he was always ready to accommodate the poor, as well as the rich, with medicines for the relief of their distempers.

invention to atone for the time and money that was mis-spent upon them; no design deeper than the designations, no meaning beyond the bare figures. His pictures improve the art, and extend the use of painting; they are rhetorical in their very silence; have some soul, as well as body, in them: They all contain some scheme, some moral or political conclusion; they are emblematical pictures, allusive to something more important than what is outwardly represented; and are paintings to direct the understanding, as well as divert the eyes, setting before them devices of perpetual precaution. Thus in his covetous Shepherd, who is sheering his sheep 'till he wounds them, and cannot be content with their fleeces, but must have their flesh and blood; he has significantly painted forth the griping landlord, that ruins his tenants, and, in effect, himself. Thus, in his attendant upon another wounded body, from which he brushes off, with his branch of rosemary, the full-fed flies, and only thereby makes room for a swarm of fresh, hungry ones; he displays, in no less lively manner, what kind of œconomy it often is, in a government, to be shifting and changing of officers in places of profit: And thus in his figure of the fool mounted up in a tree, who is lopping off the very arm of it which supports him, is judiciously decyphered the condition of all traitors against their country, children against their parents and relations, servants against their masters, poor against the rich, tenants against their lords, and all others against those on whom they have their dependance in this world, and will yet seek their detriment, tho' at the price of their own destruction. There are but two pictures, in the whole number, mentioned, that are particularly personal: One is, the first among them, of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, whom our author compares to a Wood-cutter, who, had he not been prevented by death, would have utterly eradicated Popery in the Forest of Antichrist: And the last is, a representation of many persons walking, as it were, in one path and one pace, two by two, in portraiture, who were divided, and at variance, in life; expressing the great power that is in painting, like death itself, to level high and low, good and bad, without distinction, in that amicable contrast; being able, by it's art, to reconcile antipathies, and couple in peace together persons, as well as things, which nature had made disjunctives. For here, in this workmanly and well-handled piece, as our author calls it, of which he names even the artist, William Boswell, living in Paternoster-row, were very oppositely paired Christ and Satan; St Peter, and Simon Magus; Paul, and Alexander the Copper-smith; Becket, and Tracy; Martin Luther, and the Pope; OEcolampadius, and Bishop Fisher; Sir Thomas More, and John Frith; Bishop Cranmer, and Gardiner; Bonner, and Bartlet Green; Galen, and Gregory Wisdom; Avicen, and George Salthouse; Solomon, and Will. Somers; the Cock, and the Lion; the Wolf, and the Lamb (67); and so he makes an end. After this entertainment, the citizen and his wife are diverted at dinner with the surprizing adventures and rodomontades of a correspondent mentioned in this dialogue, named Mendax, or the Lying Traveller; satirically exposing the impositions wherewith men of that character are wont to deceive their countrymen; a vice then in fashion, when so many voyagers returned from the new discoveries in America. But his encomiums on many parts of the government, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, of this great city of London, which he disguises by the metonomy of spelling the word only backwards, as some other words must be read in this book, with his reflections on the vices and vanities, manners and fashions of the nation in general, are, from beginning to the end, totally ironical, and highly consistent with the character that displays them (68). After they parted from this companion, the citizen and his wife proceed on their journey, still further from the infection in the said metropolis, as they think, but they approached nearer to it. For, after a terrible tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, Death appears armed with his three fatal darts, Famine, War, and Pestilence; and, after a serious parley with the citizen, who could by no means avert him with bribery, struck him mortally with the last of those weapons. Upon this, he bewails his condition with great lamentation, and makes his best way to the house of *Theologus* the Divine, from whom having received the best spiritual administrations, he parts with his life in peace, and the parson ends with a prayer suitable to the occasion. G

(67) Idem. fol. 73. b.

(68) Ibidem, from fol. 83—87, &c.

(a) See the remark [F].

BUNYAN (JOHN), the celebrated author of the *Pilgrim's Progress* (a), was born at Elstow, within a mile of Bedford, in the year 1628. His extraction was very mean, his father being a tinker. His parents gave him an education suitable to their condition, bringing him up to write and read; but his natural disposition led him to all manner of wickedness, particularly cursing and swearing; in which course of iniquity he continued, not without some extraordinary checks [A], 'till thro' a gradual progress in the reformation of his life [B], he arrived at an high degree of that saintship, which prevailed in those times

[A] *He met with some extraordinary checks in the course of his iniquity.*] Particularly, one day he was at play with his companions, we are told (1), he heard a sudden voice from Heaven, saying, *Wilt thou leave thy sins, and go to Heaven; or have thy sins, and go to hell?* which put him into such a consternation, that he immediately left his sport; and, looking up to Heaven, he thought he saw the Lord Jesus looking down upon him, and threatening him with some grievous punishment for his ungodly practices. Another time, as he was in a vehement fit of cursing and swearing, a woman, who was herself a notorious sinner, reproved him severely, telling him, he was able to spoil all the youth in the town, if they came but into his company. This reproof, from such a person, filled him with a secret shame, and made him resolve to refrain from that abominable practice (2).

[B] *A gradual progress in the reformation of his life.*] He was induced to set about reading the Scriptures by the accidental conversation of a poor man, with whom he discoursed about religion. But, it seems, he was yet unacquainted with the corruption and depravity of his own nature, and the necessity of the merits of Christ to save him, 'till, by chance, he met with four poor women at Bedford, who were discoursing about the *things of God*, particularly the *New Birth*. Bunyan was so mightily affected with the discourse of these good women, that he took all opportunities of conversing with them, 'till at length he became as knowing in those matters as his instructers. But the devil, not willing so easily to quit his hold, strove, by divers temptations, to extinguish the grace of God in his heart, suggesting to him particularly, that he wanted faith, and never could have any, as not being of the Elect. This put him upon considering how to make trial of this matter; and he resolved to attempt the working a miracle, as the surest test of his faith. Accordingly, as he was one day going between Elstow and Bedford, he was about to say to some puddles that were in the horse-path, *Be dry*: but, just as he was going to speak, some secret impulse prevailed with him not to put his faith upon that trial. After much perplexity, all his doubts were at last satisfied by that passage of St Luke, chap. xiv. ver. 22, 23. *Compel them to come in, that my house may be full.*——AND YET THERE IS ROOM (3).

(1) Account of the Life of Mr J. Bunyan, prefixed to his Works in folio, London, 1736, p. 9. See also Bunyan's Account of his own Life, intituled, Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, &c. in the second Volume of his Works, p. 5.

(2) Account, &c. ib. p. 10. And Grace abounding, &c. ib. p. 6.

(3) Account, &c. ib. p. 10, 11. And Grace abounding, &c. p. 6—10.

[C] He

times of enthusiasm (*b*). He became a soldier in the Parliament's army, and, in 1645, was present at the siege of Leicester; where being drawn out to stand centinel, and another soldier of his company desiring to take his place, he consented, and thereby probably escaped being shot through the head with a musket ball, which took off his comrade. About the year 1655, he was admitted a member of a Baptist congregation at Bedford; and being soon after convicted at the sessions of holding unlawful assemblies and conventicles, he was sentenced to perpetual banishment, and committed to prison [*C*]; where, though that sentence was never executed upon him, he was confined twelve years and a half (*c*). In the last year of his imprisonment, the Pastor of the congregation at Bedford dying, he was unanimously chosen to supply his place, the twelfth of December 1671 (*d*). He was indebted to the compassion and interest of Dr Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, for his enlargement (*e*); after which he travelled into several parts of England, to visit and confirm the brethren, which procured him the epithet of Bishop Bunyan. In King James IId's reign, when that Prince's declaration for liberty of conscience came abroad, Mr Bunyan, by the voluntary contributions of his followers, built a publick meeting-house at Bedford, and preached constantly to large congregations. He likewise frequently came to London, and visited the congregations of Nonconformists there (*f*). He died in London of a fever [*D*], the thirty-first of August 1688, aged 60 (*g*), and was buried in the new burying-place, near the Artillery-Ground. He had, by his wife Elizabeth, four children; one of whom, named Mary, was blind; his wife did not long survive him, but died in 1692 (*h*). We shall give his character in the words of the Continuator of his Life [*E*]. His works are collected together in two volumes in folio, London 1736, 1737.

(*b*) See an Account of the Life of Mr J. Bunyan, prefixed to his Works in folio, Lond. 1736, p. 9–11. See also Bunyan's Account of his own Life, intituled, Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, &c. in the second Volume of his Works, p. 3–10.

(*c*) Account, &c. ubi supra, p. 10–12. And Grace abounding, &c. ubi supra, p. 11, &c.

(*d*) Continuation of Mr Bunyan's Life, &c. in his Works, Vol. II. p. 44.

(*e*) Account, &c. ibid. And Grace abounding, &c. ibid.

(*f*) Continuation, &c. ib. p. 44, 45.

(*g*) See his Print at the head of his Works.

(*h*) Continuation, &c. ib. p. 47.

[*C*] *He was committed to prison.*] There were, besides, in the prison, above sixty dissenters, taken at a religious Meeting at Kaistoe in Bedfordshire; among whom were two eminent teachers, Mr Wheeler and Mr Dun. Mr Bunyan employed part of his time in preaching to, and praying with, his fellow-prisoners; and part in making tagged laces (a trade he had learned since his confinement) for the support of himself and his family (4).

[*D*] *He died in London of a fever.*] He was sent for, from thence, by a young gentleman, a neighbour of his in the country, to be the instrument of making up a breach between him and his father. Mr Bunyan, having happily effected that charitable work, on his return to London, was overtaken by excessive rains; and coming to his lodgings on Snow-hill, very wet, he fell sick of a fever, which put a period to his life (5).

[*E*] *His character in the words of the Continuator of his Life.*] 'He appeared in countenance to be 'of a stern and rough temper; but in his conversation 'mild and affable; not given to loquacity, or much 'discourse in company, unless some urgent occasion 'required it; observing never to boast of himself or his 'parts, but rather seem low in his own eyes, and 'submit himself to the judgment of others; abhorring 'lying and swearing; being just in all that lay in his 'power to his word; not seeming to revenge injuries, 'loving to reconcile differences, and making friendship 'with all: he had a sharp quick eye; accomplished 'with an excellent discerning of persons, being of good 'judgment, and quick wit. As for his person, he was 'tall of stature; strong-boned, tho' not corpulent; 'somewhat of a ruddy face, with sparkling eyes; 'wearing his hair on his upper lip, after the old British 'fashion; his hair reddish, but in his latter days time 'had sprinkled it with grey; his nose well set, but 'not declining or bending, and his mouth moderate 'large; his forehead something high, and his habit 'always plain and modest (6).' T

(4) Account, &c. ib. p. 12. And Grace abounding, &c. p. 40.

(5) Account, &c. ibid.

(6) Continuation of Mr Bunyan's Life, in his Works, Vol. II. p. 47.

BURNET (Thomas) in Latin *Burnetius*, Doctor of Laws, an eminent Divine, and very learned writer at the latter end of the last century, was by birth a Scotchman (*a*), and was admitted of Clare-Hall in Cambridge in June 1651, under the tuition of Mr John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1654, upon the removal of the learned Dr Cudworth, from the Mastership of Clare-Hall, to that of Christ-College, Mr Burnet transplanted himself to the same college, and, in 1657, was chosen Fellow of that house. The year following, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and, in 1661, was chosen Senior Proctor of the University (*b*). In 1685, he was elected into the Mastership of the Charter-House in London (*c*), and soon after entered into Holy Orders (*d*). In this station he boldly withstood an attempt of King James II, to impose one Andrew Popham, a Papist, as a pensioner upon the foundation of that house. In 1680, he first published his *Telluris Theoria Sacra* [*A*]. After the Revolution, he was appointed Chaplain

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(*b*) The Life of Dr Thomas Burnet, prefixed to the translation of his Archeologiæ, Lond. 1736, 8vo.

(*c*) In the room of Mr Cressot, and not of William Erskyne, Esq; as Wood pretends.

(*d*) Wood, ubi supra.

[*A*] *His* Telluris Theoria Sacra.] The whole title is; *Telluris Theoria Sacra, Orbis Nostri Originem et Mutationes Generales, Quas aut jam subiit, aut olim subiturus est, complectens.* It was published in *quarto*, and consisted at first of but two books, *viz. Lib.* I. *De Diluvio et Dissolutione Terræ. Lib.* II. *De Tellure Primigenia et De Paradiso.* In 1689, the author published the two remaining books in 4*to. viz. Lib.* III. *De Conflagratione Mundi. Lib.* IV. *De Novis Cœlis et Nova Terra, ac De Beato Seculo, sive De Mundo Renovato, et Rerum omnium Consummatione.* And at the same time, a second edition was published of the two first books. The first volume of the *Theoria* is dedicated to the Earl of Wiltshire, and we learn from the dedication, that a considerable part of it was written by our author, during his travels abroad, in company with that nobleman. *Cum hujus Tractatus partem non exiguam peregrè agens conscripserim, tibi comes et socius itineris, Vir nobilissime,* &c. (1) The two last books are dedicated to his Grace James Duke of Ormond. In the preface to the first volume, the author briefly unfolds his design; which is, he tells us, 'To draw up 'a sacred theory of the earth, in which, beginning 'from the primæval chaos and origin of all things, he 'will follow nature in all her motions and changes, 'to the consummation of all things.' *Telluris Theoriam Sacram instruere decrevimus, in quâ à primævo Chao, tenerisque rerum principiis sumpto exordio, omnes Naturæ motus et renovationes ad earundem rerum supremum exitum prosequemur.* 'This theory, the author 'adds, may be called *sacred*, because it does not re'spect the common Physiology of the earth, but the 'greater changes, and the revolutions of our na'tural world; such as are taken notice of in the Sa'cred Writings, and are truly the hinges, upon which 'the dispensations of providence, with respect to this 'earth, turn.' *Hanc Theoriam Sacram appello, cum Telluris Physiologiam communem non respiciat; sed majores mundi nostri vicissitudines, quarum meminit Sacra Scriptura, et quæ Providentiæ Divinæ circa Terram* sunt

(1) This circumstance is omitted in the accounts of Dr Burnet's Life.

lain in ordinary to King William, and, through the interest of Archbishop Tillotson, Clerk of

unt veluti cardines. This performance was so universally admired, that, upon it's great success in *Latin*, and the encouragement of King Charles II, the author published an edition in *English*, intituled, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth, containing an account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the General Changes, which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo, 'till the Consummation of all things. In two Volumes. The two first Books concerning the Deluge, and concerning Paradise: The two last Books concerning the burning of the World, and concerning the New Heavens and new Earth. With a Review of the Theory, and of it's Proofs; especially in reference to Scripture.* The sixth edition is of the year 1726: to which is added, *The Author's Defence of the Work, from the Exceptions of Mr Warren, and the Examination of Mr Keil.* Dr Burnet dedicated the first volume of the *English Theory* to King Charles II, and the second to Queen Mary. As to this English edition, he tells us, in the preface to the first volume, 'it is the same in substance with the Latin,' tho' he confesses, 'it is not so properly a translation, as a new composition upon the same ground, there being several additional chapters in it, and several new-moulded.' The author of *The Spectator*, No. 146, speaks in raptures of Dr. Burnet's *Theory*, and quotes a very shining passage out of it. I will transcribe what he says, together with the citation, and will subjoin to it the *Latin*, that the reader may have at once a specimen of the sublimity of our author's genius, and of his style in both languages. 'Oh, how glorious, *says Mr Spectator*, is the old age of that great man, who has spent his time in such contemplations, as have made this Being, what only it should be, an education for Heaven! He has, according to the lights of reason and revelation, which seemed to him clearest, traced the steps of Omnipotence: He has, with a celestial ambition, as far as is consistent with humility and devotion, examined the ways of Providence, from the Creation to the Dissolution of the world. How pleasing must have been the speculation, to observe nature and providence move together; the physical and moral world, march the same pace; to observe Paradise and eternal spring, the seat of innocence; troubled seasons and angry skies, the portion of wickedness and vice. When this admirable author has reviewed all that is passed, or is to come, which relates to the habitable world, and run through the whole fate of it; how could a guardian angel, that had attended it through all it's courses or changes, speak more emphatically at the end of his charge, than does our author, when he makes, as it were, a funeral oration over this globe, looking to the point where it stood?'

"Let us, if you please, to take leave of this subject, reflect, upon this occasion, on the vanity and transient glory of this habitable world; how, by the force of one element breaking loose upon the rest, all the varieties of nature, all the works of art, all the labours of men, are reduced to nothing; all that we admired and adored before, as great and magnificent, is obliterated and vanished; and another form and face of things, plain, simple, and every where the same, overspreads the whole earth. Where are now the great empires of the earth, and their great imperial cities? Their pillars, trophies, and monuments of glory? Shew me where they stood; read the inscription; tell me the victor's name. What remains, what impressions, what difference or distinction do you see in this mass of fire? *Rome* itself, eternal *Rome*, the great city, the empress of the world, whose domination and superstition, antient and modern, make a great part of the history of this earth; What is become of her now? She laid her foundations deep, and her palaces were strong and sumptuous: *She glorified herself, and lived deliciously, and said in her heart, I sit a Queen, and shall see no sorrow.* But her hour is come; she is wiped away from the face of the earth, and buried in perpetual oblivion. But 'tis not cities only, and the works of mens hands; but the everlasting hills, the mountains, and rocks of the earth, are melted as wax before the sun, and *their place is no where to be found.* Here stood the *Alps*, a prodigious range of stone, the load of the earth, that covered many countries, and reached their arms from the *Ocean* to the *Black-Sea*; this huge mass of stone is softened and dissolved, as a tender cloud into rain. Here stood the *African* mountains, and *Atlas* with his top above the clouds. There was frozen *Caucasus* and *Taurus*, and *Imaus*, and the mountains of *Asia*: and yonder, towards the north, stood the *Riphæan* hills, cloathed in ice and snow. All these are vanished, dropt away as the snow upon their heads, and swallowed up in a red sea of fire. *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints.* Hallelujah. *Rev.* xv. 3. (2)"

(2) Burnet's Theory, edit. 1726, Vol. II. p. 159, 160.

The Latin.

Hic Rerum Status, cum simplicissimus sit, nulla indiget ulteriori descriptione. Omnia sibi subegit Ignis, omnia absumpsit; Saxum, Ferrum, Montes, Mare: Orbemque habitabilem non devastavit modo, sed in seipsum hausit, et ad unum omnia Elementa reduxit. Nec tantum Elementa, sed tota Naturæ Varietas, omnesque Formæ, ad indiscretam unitatem rediguntur. Quocunque respicis, eadem est ubique rerum facies. Hic non ita pridem steterunt *Alpes*, et porrexerunt brachia ab Oceano ad Pontum: Hic maximus *Atlas*, et Africani Montes: Hic denique *Taurus*, et *Caucasus*, et *Riphæa* Juga. Sed tantorum corporum quæ vides nunc vestigia? Quas reliquias, quæ frustra monstras? Quò abierunt immania Saxa? Instar teneræ Nivis, quæ sæpe obtexit eorum cacumina, liquata sunt *ante faciem Domini* (*). Si *Insulas* quæramus, aufugerunt insulæ, unà cum montibus, neque *alterutrius inventus est locus.* Vis quæramus *Urbes* Terræ; Sanctas *Hierosolymas*, aut veterum Imperiorum capita: sed quo duce, quibus indiciis? Dic saltem, ubi steterit *Roma*; multis nominibus memoranda *Roma*: Sicubi rubere videas hoc mare ignitum, quasi cruore tinctum, aut vehementius, quam in cæteris locis, effervescere, illic sepultam quære *Romam.* Denique temperare mihi non possum, cum hunc rerum vultum intueor, hanc ultimam incendii faciem, quo minus credam, hoc esse illud *Mare vitreum, igni mixtum*, in *Apocalypsi Johannis* (†); at quod steterunt Sancti, Canticum *Mosis* et *Agni* cantantes, et de *Bestia* et *Bestianis* triumphantes. *Magna et mirabilia sunt Opera tua, Domine Deus Omnipotens: Justæ et veræ sunt viæ tuæ, Rex Sanctorum. Halleluia* Amen (3).

(*) Apoc. xvi. 20.

(†) Apoc. xv. 2, 3.

(3) Ejusd. Telluris Theoria Sacra, Vol. II. edit. 1689, 4to, p. 121, 122.

Mr Addison addressed the following beautiful Latin Ode to Dr Burnet, on occasion of his *Theory* (4).

(4) See his Miscellaneous Works, Lond. 1726, 12mo, Vol. II. p. 165.

Ad Insignissimum Virum D. Tho. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris *Autorem.*

Non usitatum carminis alitem,
Burnette, poscis, non humiles modos:
Vulgare Plectrum, languidæque
Respuis officium Camœnæ.
Tu mixta rerum semina conscius,
Molemque cernis dissociabilem,
Terramque concretam, et latentem
Oceanum gremio capaci;
Dum veritatem quærere pertinax
Ignota pandis, solicitus parum
Utcunque stet commune vulgi
Arbitrium et popularis error.
Auditur ingens continuò fragor,
Illapsa Tellus lubrica deserit
Fundamina, et compage fracta
Suppositas gravis urget undas.
Impulsus erumpit medius liquor,
Terras aquarum effusa licentia
Claudit vicissim; has inter orbis
Reliquiæ fluitant prioris.
Nunc et recluso carcere lucidam
Balæna spectat solis imaginem,
Stellasque miratur natantes,
Et tremulæ simulacra Lunæ.

Quæ

of the Closet to that Prince. In 1692, he published his *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ* [B]: which giving offence to the Clergy, it is said, he was removed from being Clerk of the Closet upon that account (e). If a late writer is to be believed, Dr Burnet was talked of to succeed Dr Tillotson, in the See of Canterbury; but, upon a representation from some of the Bishops, that his writings were too sceptical, the design of his promotion was laid aside (f). He died September the twenty-seventh 1715, and was buried, the third of October following, in the Charter-House Chapel (g). After his death, came out two posthumous pieces of his, intituled, *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum* [C], and *De Statu Mortuorum*

(e) Life, &c.

(f) Mr Oldmixon's Hist. of England during the reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George I, p. 95.

(g) Life, &c.

Quæ pompa vocum non imitabilis!
Qualis calescit Spiritus ingenî!
Ut follis undas! ut frementem
Diluvii reprimis tumultum!
Quis tam valenti pectore ferreus,
Ut non tremiscens et timido pede
Incedat, orbis dum dolosi
Detegis instabiles ruinas?
Quin hæc cadentûm fragmina montium
Natura vultum sumere simplicem
Coget refingens, in priorem
Mox iterum reditura formam.
Nimbis rubentem Sulphureis Jovem
Cernas; ut udis sævit atrox hyems
Incendiis, commune mundo
Et populis meditata bustum!
Nudus liquentes plorat Athos nives,
Et mox liquescens ipse adamantinum
Fundit cacumen, dum per imas
Saxa fluunt resoluta valles.
Jamque alta cœli mœnia corruunt,
Et vestra tandem Pagina (proh nefas!)
BURNETTE, vestra augebit ignes,
Heu socio peritura mundo.
Mox æqua Tellus, mox subitus viror
Ubique rident: En teretem Globum!
En læta vernantis Favoni
Flamina, perpetuosque flores!
O pectus ingens! O animum gravem,
Mundi capacem! Si bonus auguror,
Te, nostra quo tellus superbit,
Accipiet renovata civem.

Coll. Magd. Oxon. 1699.

But Dr Burnet's Theory, ingenious as it is, was attacked by some writers as *unphilosophical*; among whom the principal were, Mr Erasmus Warren, Rector of Worlington in Suffolk; and Mr John Keil, of Baliol College in Oxford. The former of these published at London, in 1690, *Geologia, or a Discourse concerning the earth before the Deluge; wherein the form and properties ascribed to it, in a book intituled,* The Theory of the Earth, *are excepted against, and it is made appear, that the Dissolution of the Earth was not the Cause of the Universal Flood. Also a new Explication of that Flood is attempted.* Dr Burnet wrote a reply to this, intituled *An Answer to the Exceptions made by Mr Erasmus Warren, against The Sacred Theory of the Earth. London*, 1690, in folio, in which he follows the *Excepter* chapter by chapter. Mr Warren rejoined, and Dr Burnet replied, in *A Short Consideration of Mr Erasmus Warren's Defence of his Exceptions against the Theory of the Earth. In a Letter to a Friend.* Mr Keil published, in 1698, *An Examination of Dr Burnet's Theory of the Earth*, dedicated to Dr Mander, Master of Baliol College. To which Dr Burnet replied, in some *Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth, occasioned by a late Examination of it. In a Letter to a Friend* (5). There were some other pieces written against the *Theory*; particularly, *Some Animadversions upon a book, intituled,* The Theory of the Earth, *by Herbert* (Crofts) *Lord Bishop of Hereford. London*, 1685, *8vo.* Dr Burnet reflects with great severity upon this piece, in the conclusion of his *Answer to the Exceptions*, &c. (6), where he says: 'Some inconsiderate minds make 'every departure from the *Letter*, let the matter or 'cause be what it will, to be an affront to *Scripture*: 'and there, where we have the greatest liberty, 'I mean in things that relate to the *natural* world, 'they have no more indulgence or moderation, than 'if it was an intrenchment upon the Articles of *Faith*. 'In this particular, I cannot excuse the present Animadverter: yet I must needs say, he is a very *Saint*, 'in comparison of *another Animadverter*, who hath 'wrote upon the same subject, but neither like a 'gentleman, nor like a Christian. And such writings 'answer themselves.' *Considerations on the Theory of the Earth, by* John Beaumont, jun. a pamphlet in *4to. London*, 1693. *A. Lovell's Summary of Heads in answer to Dr Burnet. London*, 1696, in *4to. The Abyssinian Philosophy confuted; or,* Telluris Theoria, *neither Sacred nor agreeable to Reason, by* Robert St Clair, London, 1697, in *12mo.* In which the author pretends, that Dr Burnet's hypothesis is not a new one, but was formerly received among the Abyssinian Philosophers. The late Mr Flamstead, the King's Astronomer, speaking to our author with great warmth on the subject of his theory, said he would prove, and make him know, that *there went more to the making the world, than a fine turned period* (7). And the same Astronomer declared, that he was able to overthrow Dr Burnet's *Theory*, in one sheet of paper (8).

(5) These Defences of the Theory are printed at the end of the sixth edition.

(6) Theory, &c. Vol. II. p. 480.

(7) Sir Hans Sloane's Voyage to the Islands of Madeira, &c. Vol. II. Lond. 1725, in fol.

(8) New Memoirs of Literature for Febr. 1726, art. 4.

[B] *His Archæologiæ Philosophicæ.*] The title is: *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ; sive Doctrina Antiqua de rerum Originibus.* i. e. 'An enquiry into the Doctrine 'of the ancient Philosophers concerning the original of 'the World.' In two books. The second edition is in *8vo.* London 1733. It is dedicated to King William. In the Preface the author tells us, 'His design is to 'enquire into the opinions of the Ancients concerning 'the nature of things, in order to vindicate and give 'antiquity it's due praise, and to shew, that neither 'were our ancestors dunces, nor was wisdom or true 'Philosophy born with us.' *Sententias veterum de rerum natura potissimum inquirimus: idque in laudem et vindicias Antiquitatis; ut neque fungos fuisse majores nostros, neque nobiscum natam esse sapientiam, ostendamus.* At the end of the *Preface*, Dr Burnet acquaints us, he had designed to draw up a *Theory of the visible Creation*, both animate and inanimate, cœlestial and terrestrial, but was diverted from his purpose by the consideration of his advanced age, and the approach of death. To the second edition are added two letters, intituled; *Ad virum clarissimum, A. B. circa nuper editum de Archæologiis Philosophicis Libellum, Authoris Epistolæ Duæ.* Mr Keil, in his *Examination of Dr Burnet's Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth*, and Frederic Spanheim, in his *Controversiarum de religione*, &c. *Elenchus Historico-Theologicus*, have animadverted upon the *Archæologiæ*.

[C] *His De Fide et Officiis Christianorum.*] The second edition is in *8vo.* London 1733. In the Preface, the Editor gives us a little history of this, and the other posthumous Tract (9). It seems, it was usual with Dr Burnet, before he published any thing in Latin, to have two or three copies, and no more, printed off; which he kept by him for some time, in order to revise at leisure what he had written *currente calamo*, and sometimes, when he thought proper, to be communicated to his particular friends for their opinions. These copies were always interleaved for the convenience of writing any observations or improvements in the opposite page. One of these *proof-copies* (as they may be called) of the Tract, *De Fide et Officiis*, &c. having been clandestinely obtained during the author's life-time, there appeared a surreptitious edition, in which the Editor had thrown the Doctor's manuscript remarks into the text, very injudiciously, and sometimes in very improper places. Which Dr Burnet hearing, he ordered his Bookseller to buy up the whole impression at any price. Much the same fate attended the Tract, *De Statu Mortuorum*, &c. a *proof-copy* of which, having privately got into other hands, was, after the author's death, publickly sold, among other books, at

(9) De Statu, &c.

Mortuorum et Resurgentium [*D*]; both published (*b*) by his friend, and supervisor of his will, Francis Wilkinson, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq;

(*b*) The first in June, the other in October, 1727.

at an auction. The purchaser, a very learned gentleman (the Editor does not say, who) having perused it, was so highly pleased with it, that he procured a few copies of it to be printed at his own expence: but the greatest care was taken to prevent the publication of it; and those, who had the liberty of perusing the book, were obliged in honour not to suffer it to be transcribed, or committed to the press. But, notwithstanding all this caution, a surreptitious edition of this book was printed in Holland: and thus the publick being in possession of both treatises, Mr Wilkinson, in whose hand the original manuscripts were, was persuaded to publish correct editions of both. As to the Tract, *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum*, it is but a part of a larger design: for the whole work was by the author intituled, *Tractatus de claris et obscuris in Doctrina Christiana*: then follows, *Pars Prior, in qua agitur de iis quæ spectant ad vitam hodiernam, sive, De Fide et Officiis Christianorum*. i. e. 'A Treatise 'of what is plain, and what is obscure, in the Christian 'Doctrine: Part the first, treating of those things, 'which respect this life, or, of the Faith and Practice 'of Christians.' There was found among our author's manuscripts a Preface, intended probably for this work, consisting of no less than twenty-nine *folio* pages; an extract of which the Editor has given us. There were likewise found three additional chapters, numbered thus, Xmum, XImum, and XIImum; with the following titles: 10. *De Religione Romano Pontificia; imprimis, De dogmate Transubstantiationis*. i. e. 'Of the Roman Catholick Religion, and first, of the 'Doctrine of Transubstantiation.' 11. *De Inquisitione Romana*. i. e. 'Of the Romish Inquisition.' 12. *De aliis dogmatis Ecclesiæ Romano Pontificiæ, et de celebrata Infallibilitate*. i. e. 'Of other Doctrines of 'the Romish Church, and of it's boasted Infallibili-'ty.' To all which are added, *Duo Dialogi de rebus Judaicis*. i. e. 'Two Dialogues concerning the Jewish 'Affairs.' But though, in the opinion of the Editor, these pieces are by no means unworthy of Dr Burnet's pen, yet, the present book having received it's FINIS from the author's own hand, he thought it best to proceed no farther.

[*D*] *His De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium*.] That is, *Of the State and Condition of departed Souls before, at, and after the Resurrection*. The history of the publication of this piece is already given. The second edition is in 8*vo*. London 1733. There is added to it an Appendix, *De futura Judæorum Restauratione*. i. e. 'Of the future Restauration of the Jews.' It had been separately printed by the author himself, and thence escaped piratical hands. But it being evident from the beginning of this little Tract, that it was designed by the author as a part of, or rather Appendix to, this book, the Editor thought fit to publish it, from the author's own manuscript, together with this book. T

BURNET (GILBERT) Bishop of Salisbury, and an eminent writer in the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and the beginning of King George I; was born at Edinburgh, the eighteenth of September 1643 (*a*). He received the first rudiments of his education from his father [*A*]; under whose care he made so quick a progress, that, at ten years of age, he perfectly understood the Latin tongue; at which time he was sent to the college of Aberdeen; where he acquired the Greek, and went thro' the usual course of Aristotelian Logick and Philosophy, with uncommon applause. He was scarce fourteen, when he commenced Master of Arts; and then applied himself to the study of the Civil Law; but, after a year's diligent application to that science, he changed his resolution, and turned his thoughts wholly to the study of Divinity (*b*) [*B*]. At eighteen years of age, he was put upon his trial as a Probationer or Expectant Preacher [*C*]; and, at the same time,

(*a*) Life of the Author, by his son Thomas Burnet, Esq; subjoined to the Bishop's Hist. of his own Time, in two Volumes, fol. Lond. 1724 and 1734. Vol. II. p. 672.

(*b*) Ib. p. 673.

[*A*] *His father*.] He was the younger brother of a family, very considerable for it's antiquity as well as interest, in the Shire of Aberdeen; and was bred to the Civil Law, which he studied for seven years in France. His excessive modesty so far depressed his abilities, that he never made a shining figure at the bar, tho' he was universally esteemed to be a man of judgment and knowledge in his profession. He was remarkably generous in his practice, never taking a fee from the poor, nor from a clergyman, when he sued in the right of his church; and bestowing great part of his profits in acts of charity and friendship. In the year 1637, when the troubles in Scotland were breaking out, he was so disgusted at the conduct of the governing Bishops there, whom he censured with great freedom, and was, at the same time, so remarkable for his strict and exemplary life, that he was generally called a Puritan. But when he saw, that, instead of reforming abuses in the Episcopal Order, the order itself was struck at, he adhered to it with great zeal and constancy; as he did to the rights of the Crown, not once complying with that party, which afterwards prevailed in both nations. For tho' he agreed with Barclay and Grotius (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted) as to their notions of resistance where the laws are broke through by a limited Sovereign, yet he did not think that was then the case in Scotland. He married the sister of the famous Sir Archibald Johnstoun, called Lord Warristoun; who, during the Civil Wars, was at the head of the Presbyterian party, and so zealously attached to that interest, that neither friendship nor alliance, could dispose him to shew favour to those, who refused the Solemn League and Covenant. Our author's father persisting in this refusal, was obliged, at three several times, to quit the kingdom: and when his return was afterwards connived at, as his principles would not permit him to renew the practice of the Law, much less to accept the preferments in it offered him by Oliver Cromwell, he retired to his own estate in the country; where he lived 'till the Restoration, when he was made one of the Lords of the Session. His wife, our author's mother, was very eminent for her piety and virtue, and a warm zealot for the Presbyterian discipline, in which way she had been very strictly educated (1).

[*B*] *He turned his thoughts wholly to the study of Divinity*.] He went through the Old and New Testament, with the best commentators on both: he read the most noted controversial writers in Divinity, particularly Bellarmine and Chamier, in opposition to each other; and he perused some of the most received systems of School Divinity; but was soon disgusted at the subtlety and jargon of those writers. In his hours of amusement, he ran through many volumes of History; and his daily application to these studies seldom fell short of fourteen hours in a day (2).

[*C*] *He was put upon his trial, as a Probationer, or Expectant Preacher*.] A Probationer, we are told (3), is one, who, after having passed examination, is at liberty to preach wheresoever he is desired, but has no particular church, to which he is attendant. This is the first step, in Scotland, towards admission into orders, and was practised both under the Presbyterian and Episcopal Government. The Probationers are first appointed to preach practically on a text assigned them; next, critically upon another, the sense of which is controverted; and then, a mixed sermon, of criticism upon the text, and practical inferences from it. After this, the examiners allot to each a head of Divinity, on which they are to make a Latin oration, and give out theses upon it, which they undertake to defend in publick. Then an Hebrew psalm, and a portion of the Greek Testament, are given them, to render into English *extempore*. Last of all comes the questionary trial, in which every minister of

(1) Life of the Author, by his son Thomas Burnet, Esq; subjoined to the second Volume of the Bishop's Hist. of his own Times, Lond. 1734. p. 672, 673.

(2) Ib. p. 673.

(3) Ib. p. 674.

time, was offered the presentation to a very good benefice, by his cousin-german Sir Alexander Burnet; but, thinking himself too young for the cure of souls (*), he modestly declined that offer (c). His education thus happily begun, was finished by the conversation and advice of the most eminent Scotch Divines (d) [D]. In 1663, about two years after his father's death, he came into England, where he first visited the two Universities [E]; and, after a short stay of about six months, he returned to Scotland, where he declined accepting the living of Saltoun, offered him by Sir Robert Fletcher of that place, resolving to travel for some months beyond sea (e). In 1664, our author went over into Holland; where after he had seen what was remarkable in the Seven Provinces, he resided for some time at Amsterdam; from whence passing thro' the Netherlands into France, he made some stay at Paris [F]. Towards the end of the year he returned into Scotland, taking London in the way; where he was introduced, by the President Sir Robert Murray, to be a member of the Royal Society (f). In 1665, he was ordained a Priest by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and presented by Sir Robert Fletcher to the living of Saltoun, which had been kept vacant during his absence. He soon gained the affections of his whole parish [G], not excepting the Presbyterians, tho' he was the only clergyman in Scotland, that made use of the prayers in the Liturgy of the Church of England (g). The same year, he drew up a memorial of the abuses of the Scotch Bishops [H]; which exposed him to the resentments

(*) There is no Law in Scotland which limits the age a minister must be of.

(c) Ib. p. 674.

(d) Ib. p. 675.

(e) Ib. p. 676.

(f) Ib. & p. 677.

(g) Ib. p. 678.

of the district is at liberty to put such questions to the person under examination, as occur to him, out of the Scripture, or body of Divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he must produce a testimonial of his good life from the minister of the parish where he lives; and if, during his trial, which lasts three months, any scandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aside as unfit for the Church.

[D] *His education was finished by the conversation and advice of the most eminent Scotch Divines.*] Among these was Mr Nairn, minister of the Abbey church at Edinburgh; an admired Preacher of that country, remarkable for accuracy of style, as well as strength of reasoning, and sublimity of thought. This gentleman led our author into a new course of reading, by recommending to his perusal *Smith's Select Discourses*, *Dr More's works*, and the writings of *Plato* and his followers; but especially *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*. Another of his intimates was Bishop Leightoun, one of those, who, in 1662, had been consecrated at Westminster; by whose advice he became conversant with all the primitive writers, going through the *Apologies*, and other treatises of the Fathers of the three first centuries; and Binnius's *Collection of Councils*, down to the second Council of Nice. A third eminent Divine, with whom our author contracted an intimacy, was Mr Charteris, a man of great learning, not only in his own profession, but in History, Geography, and the Mathematical Sciences (4).

(4) Ib. p. 675, 676.

[E] *He came into England, where he first visited the two Universities.*] At Cambridge, he had an opportunity of seeing, and conversing with, men of the greatest abilities, and particularly Dr Cudworth, Dr Pearson, Dr Burnet, author of the *Sacred Theory*, and Dr Henry More, one of whose sayings, in relation to rites and ceremonies, then made a great impression on him: *None of these*, said he, *are bad enough to make men bad; and I am sure, none of them are good enough to make men good*. At Oxford, our author was much caressed, on account of his ready knowledge of the Councils and Fathers, especially by Dr Fell, and Dr Pocock, that great master of Oriental Learning. He was much improved there, in his Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy, by the instructions of Dr Wallis, who likewise gave him a letter of recommendation to the learned and pious Mr Boyle at London. Upon his arrival there, he was introduced to all the most noted Divines, as Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Whitchcot, and Wilkins; and, among others of the laity, to Sir Robert Murray (5).

(5) Ib. p. 676.

[F] *He resided at Amsterdam, and afterwards at Paris.*] At the former of these places, by the help of a learned Rabbi, he perfected himself in the Hebrew language: he likewise became acquainted with the leading men of the different persuasions tolerated in that country; as the Arminians, the Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Brownists, the Anabaptists, and the Papists: amongst each of whom he used frequently to declare, he had met with men of such real piety and virtue, that there he became fixed in a strong principle of universal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all severities on account of religious dissensions. At Paris, he conversed with the two famous ministers of Charenton, Daillé and Morus, the former renowned for his learning and judgment, the other for his bright parts and eloquence. His stay in France was the longer, on account of the great freedom and kindness, with which he was treated by the Lord Holles, then Ambassador at the French Court (6).

(6) Ib. p. 677.

[G] *He soon gained the affections of the whole parish.*] During the five years he remained at Saltoun, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the week days: he catechized three times a week, so as to examine every parishioner, old or young, three times in the compass of a year: he went round the parish from house to house, instructing, reproving, or comforting them, as occasion required: the sick he visited twice a day: he administered the Sacrament four times a year, and personally instructed all such as gave notice of their intention to receive it. All that remained above his own necessary subsistence (in which he was very frugal) he gave away in charity. A particular instance of his generosity that way, a person (*) (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his service at Salisbury) used to recount: one of his parishioners had been in execution for debt, and applied to our author for some small relief; who enquired of him, how much would again set him up in his trade; the man named the sum, and he as readily called to his servant to pay it him: 'Sir, said he, it is all we 'have in the house: Well, well, said our author, 'pay it this poor man; you do not know the pleasure there is in making a man glad (7).' This may be a proper place to mention our author's practice of preaching *extempore*, which he learned from the celebrated Mr Nairn, minister of the Abbey church at Edinburgh. He attained to an ease in it, chiefly by allotting many hours of the day to meditation upon all sorts of subjects, and by accustoming himself, at those times, to speak his thoughts aloud, studying always to render his expressions correct. The life-writer gives us here two remarkable instances, in relation to his preaching without book. In 1691, when the Sees, vacant by the deprivation of the Nonjuring Bishops, were filled up, Bishop Williams was appointed to preach one of the Consecration sermons at Bow-Church. But being detained by some accident, the Clerk had twice set the psalm, and still the Preacher did not appear. Whereupon, the Archbishop of Canterbury desired our author, then Bishop of Sarum, to supply his place; which he readily did, to the general satisfaction of all present. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the Thanksgiving sermon before the Queen at St Paul's; and as it was the only discourse he had ever wrote before-hand, it was the only time that he was ever at a pause in preaching, which on that occasion lasted above a minute (8).

(*) This was a story commonly well known at Salisbury, and which the life-writer learned from one Mr Wastefield of that place.

(7) Ib. p. 678.

(8) Ib. p. 675, 676.

[H] *He drew up a memorial of the abuses of the Scotch Bishops.*] We shall give the reader the history of this affair in Bishop Burnet's own words. 'I observed, *says he* (9), the deportment of our Bishops 'was in all points so different from what became 'their function, that I had a more than ordinary 'zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not 'only furious against all that stood out against them, 'but were very remiss in all the parts of their function. 'Some did not live within their diocese: and those 'who did, seemed to take no care of them. They 'shewed

(9) See the Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 216.

resentments of that order; whereupon, resolving to confine himself to study and the duties of his function, he fell into such a retired and abstemious course of life, as greatly impaired his health (*b*). About 1668, the government of Scotland being in the hands of moderate men, of whom the principal was Sir Robert Murray, our author was frequently sent for and consulted by them (*i*); and it was through his advice, that some of the more moderate Presbyterians were put into the vacant churches; a step, which he himself has since condemned, as indiscrete (*k*). In 1669, our author was made Professor of Divinity at Glasgow [*I*]; in which station he continued four years and a half, exposed, through his principles of moderation, to the ill-will both of the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties (*l*). The same year, he published his *Modest and Free Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist* [*K*]. About this time, he was intrusted, by the Duchess of Hamilton, with the perusal of, and putting in order, all the papers relating to her father's and uncle's ministry; which put him upon compiling *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (*m*), and occasioned his being invited to London, to receive farther information, concerning the transactions of those times, by the Earl of Lauderdale; between whom and Duke Hamilton, he managed and concluded a reconciliation (*n*.) During his stay in London, he was offered a Scotch bishoprick, which he refused (*o*). Soon after his return to Glasgow, he married the Lady Margaret Kennedy [*L*], daughter of the Earl of Cassiles. In 1672, he published his *Vindication*

(*b*) Ib. & p. 679. See also the Bishop's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 217.

(*i*) Life, &c. ib.

(*k*) History, &c. ib. p. 280, 281.

(*l*) Life, &c. ubi supra. And History, &c. ib. p. 287.

(*m*) See the reference (*w*).

(*n*) History, &c. ib. p. 299.

(*o*) Life, &c. p. 681, 682. And History, &c. ib.

'shewed no zeal against vice: the most eminently 'wicked in the country were their particular confidents. They took no pains to keep their clergy 'strictly to rules, and to their duty. On the contrary, 'there was a levity, and a carnal way of living, about 'them, that very much scandalized me.——Upon all 'this, I took up a resolution of drawing up a memorial of the grievances we lay under by the ill 'conduct of our Bishops. I resolved, that no other 'person besides myself, should have a share in any 'trouble it might bring on me: so I communicated 'it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts 'of it so well digested, as it otherwise might have 'been: and I was then but three and twenty. I laid 'my foundation in the constitution of the Primitive 'Church; and shewed how they had departed from 'it, by their neglecting their dioceses, meddling so 'much in secular affairs, raising their families out of 'the revenues of the Church, and above all by their 'violent prosecuting of those who differed from them. 'Of this, I writ out some copies, and signed them, 'and sent them to all the Bishops of my acquaintance. 'Sharp (*) was much alarmed at it, and fancied I was 'set on to it by some of the Lord Lauderdale's friends. 'I was called before the Bishops, and treated with 'great severity. Sharp called it a libel. I said, I had 'set my name to it, so it could not be a libel. He 'charged me with the presumption of offering to teach 'my superiors. I said, such things had been not only 'done, but justified in all ages. He charged me for 'reflecting on the King's putting them on his councils, 'I said, I found no fault with the King for calling 'them to his councils; but with them for going out 'of that which was their proper province, and for 'giving ill counsel. Then he charged me for reflecting on some severities, which, he said, was a reproaching publick courts, and a censuring the laws. 'I said, laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always 'fit to be executed: but I only complained of clergymen's pressing the rigorous execution of them, and 'going often beyond what the law dictated. He broke 'out into a great vehemence; and proposed to the 'Bishops, that I should be summarily deprived, and 'excommunicated: but none of them would agree to 'that. By this management of his the thing grew 'publick. What I had ventured on was variously censured. But the greater part approved of it. Lord 'Lauderdale and all his friends were delighted with 'it: and he gave the King an account of it, who 'was not ill pleased at it. Great pains was taken to 'make me ask pardon, but to no purpose. So Sharp 'let the thing fall.'

(*) Archbishop of St Andrew's.

[*I*] *He was made Professor of Divinity at Glasgow.*] This was owing to a casual acquaintance with the Regent of that university, at Hamilton, the seat of the Duchess of Hamilton, who had invited our author thither. He was, at first, in suspense what resolution to take; his friends earnestly persuaded him to accept the offer, and his parishioners at Saltoun, for whom he had a most tender regard, being no less anxious to retain him. At length the authority of Archbishop Leightoun prevailed, and he accepted the Divinity Chair. As his principal care, in this new station, was to form just and true notions in the Students of Divinity, he laid down a plan for that purpose. On Mondays, he made each of the Students, in their turn, explain a head of Divinity in Latin, and propound such theses from it, as he was to defend against the rest of the Scholars; and this exercise concluded with our Professor's decision of the point in a Latin Oration. On Tuesdays, he gave them a *Prelection* in the same language, wherein he proposed, in the course of eight years, to have gone through a compleat System of Divinity. On Wednesdays, he read them a Lecture, for above an hour, by way of a Critical Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel; which he finished before he quitted the chair. On Thursdays, the exercise was alternate: one Thursday, he expounded a Hebrew Psalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgar, and the English version; and the next Thursday, he explained some portion of the Ritual and Constitution of the Primitive Church, making the Apostolical Canons his text, and reducing every article of practice under the head of one or other of those Canons. On Fridays, he made each of his Scholars, in course, preach a short Sermon upon some text he assigned; and, when it was ended, he observed upon any thing that was defective or amiss in the handling of the subject. This was the labour of the mornings: in the evenings, after prayer, he every day read them some parcel of Scripture, on which he made a short discourse; and, when that was over, he examined into the progress of their several studies. All this he performed during the whole time the schools were open; and, in order to acquit himself with credit, he was obliged to study hard from four 'till ten in the morning; the rest of the day being of necessity allotted, either to the care of his pupils, or to hearing the complaints of the Clergy, who, finding he had an interest with men in power, were not sparing in their applications to him (10).

(10) Life, &c. p. 679, 680.

[*K*] *His modest and free Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist.*] It consists of seven Dialogues; and was generally applauded by all, but the zealots of either party, who were very angry with the performance. It met with no answer in Scotland: but one from abroad was sent over, which our author's enemies received with great acclamations; though it was judiciously observed, that *no more pains were needful for refuting the Answer, but the reading over the Dialogues* (11).

(11) See the Preface to Dr Burnet's Vindication of the Authority, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland, Glasgow, 1673, 8vo.

[*L*] *He married the Lady Margaret Kennedy.*] She was a lady of distinguished piety and knowledge: her own sentiments indeed inclined strongly towards the Presbyterians, with whom she was in high credit and esteem; yet was she far from entering into the rigid and narrow zeal of some of their leaders. As there was some disparity in their ages, that it might remain past dispute, that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage, our author delivered the Lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretension to her fortune, which was very considerable, and must otherwise have fallen into his hands, she herself having no intention to secure it (12).

(12 Life, &c. p. 681.

[*M*] His

dication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland [*M*]; which was thought, at that juncture, such a publick service, that he was again courted to accept of a bishoprick, with a promise of the next vacant archbishoprick; but he persisted in his refusal of that dignity (*p*). In 1673, he took another journey to London [*N*], where, at the express nomination of the King, after hearing him preach, he was sworn one of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary. He became likewise in high favour with His Majesty and the Duke of York (*q*) [*O*]. At his return to Edinburgh, finding the animosities between the Dukes of Hamilton and Lauderdale revived, he retired to his station at Glasgow; but was obliged the next year to return to Court, to justify himself against the accusations of Duke Lauderdale, who had represented him as the cause and instrument of all the opposition the measures of the Court had met with in the Scotch Parliament. Thus he lost the favour of the Court [*P*]; and, to avoid putting himself into the hands of his enemies, he resigned the Professor's chair at Glasgow, and resolved to settle in London, being now about thirty years of age (*r*). Soon after he was offered the living of St Giles's Cripplegate, which he declined accepting [*Q*]. In 1675, our author at

(*p*) Life, &c. ib. and p. 682. See also History, &c. ib. p. 339.

(*q*) Life, &c. ib. and Hist. ib. p. 354, 355.

(*r*) Life, &c. p. 683, 684.

[*M*] *His Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland.*] This piece is a defence of the royal prerogatives of the crown of Scotland, and the establishment of Episcopacy in that kingdom, against the principles of Buchanan and his followers. It is dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale. The author being afterwards reproached for representing the character of Duke Lauderdale very differently from what he had done in that dedication (13), replied (14), 'that the book was wrote 'when the Duke was the King's Commissioner in 'Scotland, and dedicated to him at his own request; 'and that if what happened a year and a half after 'that, had given him other thoughts of that Minister 'of State, it was no proof that he wrote disingenuous'ly at that time.'

(13) Dr Hickes's Discourses upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson, &c. p. 18, 19.

(14) Reflections on Some Discourses, &c. p. 66, 67.

[*N*] *He took another journey to London.*] The avowed design of this journey was, in order to procure a licence for publishing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*: but, it seems, he had farther views; for, we are told (15), he went with a full resolution of withdrawing himself from farther meddling in matters of State. He saw that Popery was, at bottom, the prevailing interest at Court, and that the Sacramental Test, whereby the Duke of York, the Lord Clifford, and other Papists in employment, had been excluded, was a meer artifice of King Charles, to obtain money for carrying on the war that summer with Holland. He suspected, that the designs of the Court were both corrupt and desperate. He therefore used all the freedom, he decently could, with the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale: he pointed out to them the errors of their management in Scotland, and the ill effects it would have, both upon themselves and the whole nation: but he found no disposition in them to rectify their measures.

(15) Life, &c. p. 682. And History, &c. ib. p. 354, 355, 356.

[*O*] *He was in high favour with the King and the Duke of York.*] Duke Lauderdale introduced him to the King, and proposed the licencing his *Memoirs*, &c. The King read some parts of them himself, and expressed his approbation of them; and ordered they should be licensed by the Secretary Coventry. He had, afterwards, a long private audience of the King, in which he took all the freedom with him, that he thought became his profession. 'He run me into a 'long discourse, *says he* (16), about the authority of 'the Church, which he thought we made much of in 'our disputes with the Dissenters, and then took it all 'away when we dealt with the Papists. I saw plainly 'what he aimed at in this; and I quickly convinced 'him, that there was a great difference, between an 'authority of government in things indifferent, and a 'pretence to infallibility. He complained heavily of 'the Bishops, for neglecting the true concerns of the 'Church, and following Courts so much, and being 'engaged in parties. I went thro' some other things 'with relation to his course of life, and entered into 'many particulars with much freedom. He bore all 'very well, and thanked me for it: some things he 'freely condemned, such as living with another man's 'wife: other things he excused, and thought God 'would not damn a man for a little irregular pleasure. 'He seemed to take all I had said very kindly; and 'during my stay at Court, he used me in so particular 'a mann r, that I was considered as a man growing 'into a high degree of favour.' Our author was introduced to the Duke of York, by the Earl of Ancram, who had a mind to engage him to give his Highness an account of the affairs of Scotland. 'But I avoided 'that, *says he* (17), and very bluntly entered into 'much discourse with him about matters of religion. 'He said some of the common things, of the necessity 'of having but one Church; otherwise we saw, what 'swarms of sects did rise up on our revolt from Rome, 'and these had raised many rebellions, and the shed'ding much blood: and he named both his father's 'death, and his great-grandmother's, Mary Queen of 'Scots. He also turned to some passages in Heylyn's 'History of the Reformation, which he had lying by 'him: and the passages were marked, to shew upon 'what motives and principles, men were led into the 'changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all 'these particulars, and shewed him the progress, that 'ignorance and superstition had made in many dark 'ages, and how much bloodshed was occasioned by 'the Papal pretensions, for all which, the opinion of 'infallibility was a source never to be exhausted.—— 'The Duke, upon this conversation, expressed such a 'liking to me, that he ordered me to come often to him.' Afterwards our author says (18): 'I told him (*the 'Duke*) it was a thing he could never answer to God 'nor the world, that, being born and baptized in our 'Church, and having his father's last orders to con'tinue stedfast in it, he had suffered himself to be se'duced, and as it were stolen out of it, hearing only 'one side, without offering his scruples to our Divines, 'or hearing what they had to say in answer to them.' Our author made no other use of the high favour shewn him by the Duke, than the introducing to him Dr Stillingfleet, and afterwards proposing a conference, to be held in his Royal Highness's presence, between them two, and the chief of the Romish Priests: to which the Duke of York would not consent (19).

(16) History, &c. ib. p. 356, 357.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ib. p. 358.

(19) Ibid. and Life, &c. ubi supra.

[*P*] *He lost the favour of the Court.*] On his arrival at London, the King received him very coldly, and ordered his name to be struck out of the list of Chaplains; yet, at the Duke of York's entreaty, His Majesty admitted him to offer what he thought proper in his justification. He thereupon gave His Majesty such a clear and satisfactory account of his conduct, appealing for the truth of all his assertions to Duke Hamilton, that in the end the King seemed convinced of his innocence, and ordered him home to Glasgow. But the Duke of York dissuaded him from returning thither, 'till his peace should be entirely made; assuring him, that otherwise he would be clapped up in prison, and perhaps detained there as long as the same interest lasted at Court. His Royal Highness likewise used his utmost endeavours to have reconciled him with Duke Lauderdale; but found it impracticable, the latter insisting that our author should abandon his best friends, and discover all the secrets he had hitherto been in; and the other as firmly persisting in his adherence to those, who had shewn him friendship, or reposed a confidence in him (20).

(20) Life, &c. p. 683. And History, &c. ib. p. 371, 372.

[*Q*] *He declined to accept of the living of St Giles's Cripplegate.*] It was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, who had expressed some inclination to bestow it upon Dr Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester; but being made acquainted with the circumstances of our author, and the hardships he had undergone, they sent him an offer of the benefice: he thanked them for the favour, but said, that, as he had been informed of their intention of conferring it upon so worthy a Divine, he did not think himself at liberty to take it (21).

(21) Life, &c. p. 684.

[*R*] He

at the recommendation of Lord Hollis, and notwithstanding the interposition of the Court against him, was appointed preacher at the Rolls Chapel, by Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Master of the Rolls (s). The same year, he was examined before the House of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale [R], whose conduct the Parliament was then enquiring into (t). He was soon after chosen Lecturer of St Clement's, and became a very popular preacher (u). In 1676, he published his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (w); and the same year, *An Account of a Conference between himself,* Dr Stillingfleet, *and* Coleman [S]. About this time, the apprehensions of Popery increasing daily, our author undertook to write *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* [T]; which he executed with great

(s) Ibid.

(t) History, &c. ib. p. 379, 380.

(u) Life, &c. ubi supra.

(w) In folio.

[R] *He was examined before the House of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale.*] Let us hear his own account of this affair. 'The House of Commons, *says he* (22), fell upon Duke Lauderdale. And those, who knew what had passed between him and me, moved that I should be examined before a committee. I was brought before them. —— I was examined concerning his design of arming the Irish Papists. I said, I, as well as others, had heard him say, he wished the Presbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Irish Papists to cut their throats. I was next examined concerning the design of bringing a Scottish army into England. I desired to be excused, as to what had passed in private discourse, to which I thought I was not bound to answer, unless it were high-treason. They pressed me long; and I would give them no other answer. So they all concluded, that I knew great matters; and reported this specially to the House. Upon that, I was sent for, and brought before the House. I stood upon it, as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to answer; that nothing had passed that was high-treason; and, as to all other things, I did not think myself bound to discover them. I said farther, I knew Duke Lauderdale was apt to say things in a heat, which he did not intend to do. —— I was brought four times to the bar. At last I was told, the House thought they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the safety of the nation, as well as into matters of treason, and they looked on me as bound to satisfy them; otherwise they would make me feel the weight of their heavy displeasure, as one that concealed what they thought was necessary to be known.' Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the discourse formerly mentioned, &c. 'I was much blamed, *adds the Bishop* (23), for what I had done. Some, to make it look the worse, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was false; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great services, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the disclosing of what had passed in confidence; tho' I make it a great question, how far even that ought to bind a man, when the designs are very wicked, and the person continued still in the same post, and capacity of executing them.'

(22) Hist. &c. ib. p. 379.

(23) Ib. p. 380.

[S] *His Account of a Conference between himself, Dr Stillingfleet, and Coleman.*] This Coleman had been bred among the Jesuits, was Secretary to the Duchess of York, and very active in making Proselytes to the Church of Rome (24). Sir Philip Terwhit, a Papist, had married a zealous Protestant, who, suspecting his religion, charged him with it: But he denied it before marriage, and carried the matter so far, that he received the Sacrament with her in her own church. After they were married, she found that he had deceived her; and they lived untowardly together. Some time after, she had scruples suggested to her; with which she acquainted our author, and seemed fully satisfied with the answers he gave her. She afterwards came to him, and desired he would come to her house, and talk of those matters with some persons that her husband would bring to meet him. He told her, he would not decline the thing, if desired, tho' he seldom knew any good come of such conferences. She made the same proposition to Dr Stillingfleet, and he gave the same answer. So a day was set, and they went thither, where they found Coleman, who took the whole debate upon him. Our author wrote down a particular account of all that passed, and printed it. Soon after that, the Lady, who continued firm upon the conference, was possessed with new scruples about the validity of the English ordinations. Our author got from her a paper that had been put into her hand, and answered it; and with that she seemed likewise satisfied. But afterwards, the uneasiness of her life prevailed more with her, than her scruples; and she changed her religion (25).

(24) Hist. &c. ib. p. 368.

(25) Ib. p. 395.

[T] *His History of the Reformation of the Church of England.*] His own account of the rise and progress of this work is as follows. 'Some time after I had printed the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, which were favourably received, the reading of these got me the acquaintance and friendship of Sir William Jones, then Attorney General. —— My way of writing History pleased him: and so he pressed me to undertake the History of England. But Sanders's book, that was then translated into French, and cried up much in France, made all my friends press me to answer it, by writing the History of the Reformation. So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I laid out for manuscripts, and searched into all offices. I got for some days into the Cotton Library. But Duke Lauderdale hearing of my design, and apprehending it might succeed in my hands, got Dolben, Bishop of Rochester, to divert Sir John Cotton from suffering me to search into his library. He told him, I was a great enemy to the Prerogative, to which Cotton was devoted, even to slavery. So he said, I would certainly make an ill use of all I had found. This wrought so much on him, that I was no more admitted, 'till my first volume was published. And then, when he saw how I had composed it, he gave me free access to it (26).' The first volume of this work lay near a year after it was finished, for the perusal and correction of friends; so that it was not published 'till the year 1679, when the affair of the Popish plot was in agitation. This book procured our author an honour, never before or since paid to any writer; he had the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, with a desire, that he would prosecute the undertaking, and compleat that valuable work. Accordingly in less than two years after (*), he printed the second volume, which met with the same general approbation as the first: and such was his readiness in composing, that he wrote the historical part in the compass of six weeks, after all his materials were laid in order (27). The third volume, containing a *Supplement* to the two former, was published in 1715. 'The defects of Peter Heylyn's *History of the Reformation*,' as Bishop Nicholson observes (28), 'are abundantly supplied in our author's more compleat history. He gives a punctual account of all the affairs of the Reformation, from it's beginning in the reign of Henry VIII, to it's final establishment under Queen Elizabeth, *A. D.* 1559. And the whole is penned in a masculine style, such as becomes an Historian, and is the property of this author in all his writings. The collection of *records*, which he gives at the end of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the body of the history, and are much more perfect, than could reasonably be expected, after the pains taken, in Queen Mary's days, to suppress every thing that carried the marks of the Reformation upon it.' Our Author's performance met with a very favourable reception abroad, and was translated into most of the European languages; insomuch that the keenest of his enemies (29) allows it to have *a reputation firmly and deservedly established*. Indeed some of the French writers have cavilled at it; the most eminent of whom, M. Varillas and M. Le Grand, have received due correction from the author himself (30). Nor did it entirely escape censure at home. For, first, it was attacked by Mr S. Lowth (31), who pretended only to oppose the *Erastian* tenets in Mr Hobbes's *Leviathan*; but took occasion, in the conclusion of his book, to censure

(26) Ib. p. 395, 396.

(*) In 1681.

(27) Life, &c. p. 685.

(28) English Historical Library, fol. Lond. 1736. p. 119.

(29) Ant. Harmer, in Præfat. ubi supra.

(30) See his Reflections on Varillas. Amst. 1686, 12mo. Defence of those Reflections, ibid. 1687. Continuation of the same Reflections, ib. 1687. And Answer to J. Le Grand's Defence of Sanders, &c. 4to, ib. 1688.

(31) Of the Subject of Church Power, 8vo, 1685.

great success and universal applause.' In 1680, he published *An Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester* [U], with whom he became accidently acquainted (x). During the affair of the Popish plot, Dr Burnet was often sent for by King Charles, and consulted upon the state of the nation; and about the same time, refused the vacant bishoprick of Chichester, which his Majesty offered him, *provided he would entirely come into his interest* (y). But tho' his free access to that Monarch did not procure him preferment, it gave him an opportunity of sending his Majesty a most remarkable letter [W], in which, with great freedom, he reprehends the vices and errors, both of his private life and his government (z). The unprejudiced part he acted during the time the nation was inflamed with the discovery of the Popish plot; his candid endeavours to save the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford, both zealous Papists; his temperate conduct, in regard to the exclusion of the Duke of York; and the scheme of a Prince-Regent, proposed by him, in lieu of that exclusion; are sufficiently related in his *History of his own Time* (a). In 1682, when the administration was wholly changed in favour of the Duke of York, he continued steady in his adherence to his friends, and chose to sacrifice all his views at Court, particularly a promise of the Mastership of the Temple, rather than break off his correspondence with them (b). This year, our author published his *Life of Sir Mathew Hale* (c), and his *History of the Rights of Princes, in disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church Lands*; which being attacked by an anonymous writer, Dr Burnet published, the same year, *An Answer to the Animadversions on the History of the Rights of Princes*. As he was, about this time, much resorted to by persons of all ranks and parties, in order for a pretence to avoid the returning so many visits, he built a laboratory, and for above a year, went thro' a course of chemical experiments (d). Upon the execution of the Lord Russel, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, he was examined before the House of Commons, in relation to that Lord's speech upon the scaffold, in the penning of which he was suspected to have had a hand (e). Not long after, he refused the offer of a living of three hundred pounds a year, in the gift of the Earl of Halifax, who would have presented him, on condition of residing still of London (f). In 1683, he went over to Paris, where he was well received by the Court, and became acquainted with the most eminent persons, both Popish and Protestant (g). This year came out, his *Translation, and Examination, of a Letter, writ by the last General Assembly of the Clergy of France, to the Protestants*,

(x) Life, &c. p. 685.

(y) Ibid.

(z) Ib. p. 686 & Hist. ib. p. 507.

(a) Vol. I. p. 427–496.

(b) Life, &c. p. 689.

(c) Translated into French, and published at Amsterdam in 1688.

(d) Life, &c. p. 690.

(e) Hist. ib. p. 561, 562.

(f) Life, &c. p. 691.

(g) Hist. ib. p. 564–567.

censure the account Dr Burnet had given of some of Archbishop Cranmer's singular opinions. This author had the confidence to assert, that both our Historian and Dr Stillingfleet had imposed upon the world in that particular, and had *unfaithfully joined together*, in their endeavours to lessen Episcopal Ordination. Our author replied to Mr Lowth, in some *letters in answer to his book*. The next assailant was a gentleman, who, under the name of Anthony Harmer, published *A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation* (32). It is a virulent and uncharitable performance; to which, however, our Historian vouchsafed a short answer, in a *Letter to the Bishop of Litchfield* (33). A third attack on this History was made by the author of some *Discourses on Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson* (34); in which the whole charge amounts to no more than this, that *In a matter of no great consequence, there was too little care had in copying or examining a letter writ in a very bad hand*, and that there was some probability, that Dr Burnet *was mistaken in one of his conjectures*. Our author answered this piece, in a *Vindication* of his History (35). The two first parts were translated into French by M. de Rosemond, and into Latin by Melchior Mittelhorzer. There is likewise an High-Dutch translation of it. In 1682, our author published an *Abridgment of his History of the Reformation* (36), in which he tells us, he had wholly waved every thing that belonged to the *records*, and the proof of what he relates, or to the confutation of the falshoods that run thro' the Popish Historians; all which is to be found in the History at large. And therefore, in this *Abridgment*, he says, every thing is to be taken upon trust; and those, who desire a fuller satisfaction, are referred to the volumes he had before published.

(32) 8vo, 1693, the author Mr Henry Wharton.

(33) 4to, 1694.

(34) 4to, 1695, the author Dr Hickes.

(35) 8vo, 1696.

(36) In 8vo.

[U] *His Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester.*] As our author, tho' he had at this time no parochial cure, refused not his attendance to any sick person, who desired it; he was sent for, amongst others, to one, who had been engaged in a criminal amour with Wilmot Earl of Rochester. The manner he treated her in, during her illness, gave that Lord a great curiosity of being acquainted with him. Whereupon, for a whole winter, in a conversation of at least one evening in a week, he went over all these topics with him, upon which Scepticks and men of loose morals are wont to attack the Christian Religion (37). The effect of these conferences, in convincing the Earl's judgment, and leading him to a sincere repentance, is the subject of this narrative.

(37) Life, &c. p. 685.

[W] *He sent King Charles II. a most remarkable letter.*] The original is in the hands of the life-writer, wrote by the Bishop, with a memorandum, how it was delivered, and when; and how it was received. It is printed at length in the *Life* (38); to which the reader is referred. Let us hear what the Bishop himself says of it. 'Mrs Roberts, whom he (the King) had kept 'for some time, sent for me when she was dying: I 'saw her often for some weeks, and among other 'things, I desired her to write a letter to the King, 'expressing the sense she had of her past life: and at 'her desire, I drew such a letter as might be fit for her 'to write. But she never had strength enough to write 'it: so upon that I resolved to write a very plain 'letter to the King. I set before him his past life, 'and the effects it had upon the nation, with the 'judgments of God that lay on him, which was but a 'small part of the punishment that he might look for. 'I pressed him upon that earnestly to change the whole 'course of his life. I carried this letter to Chiffinch's, 'on the twenty-ninth of January; and told the King 'in the letter, that I hoped the reflections on what had 'befallen his father on the thirtieth of January, might 'move him to consider these things more carefully. 'Lord Arran happened to be then in waiting; and 'he came to me next day, and told me, he was sure 'the King had a long letter from me; for he held the 'candle to him while he read it; he knew at that 'distance that it was my hand. The King read it 'twice over, and then threw it into the fire: and not 'long after, Lord Arran took occasion to name me; 'and the King spoke of me with great sharpness: so he 'perceived he was not pleased with my letter (39).' This part of our author's conduct may perhaps offend the delicacy of some, and be censured as too great a liberty, for any subject, especially in Burnet's then station, to take with his Sovereign. But, however that be, it conveys to the reader a much stronger idea of his character, than any description can give; and it will scarce be thought a step, which any Clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at preferment, than the strict discharge of his duty.

(38) Ib. p. 686.

(39) Hist. ib. p. 507.

testants, inviting them to return to their Communion, &c. also his *Translation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia*, with a *Preface concerning the Nature of Translations*. The year following, the resentment of the Court against our author was so great, that he was discharged from his lecture at St Clement's, by virtue of the King's mandate to Dr Hascard, Rector of that parish; and, in December the same year, by an order from the Lord-Keeper North, to Sir Harbottle Grimstone, he was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel (*b*) [*X*]. In 1685, came out our author's *Life of Dr William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland* (*i*). Upon the death of King Charles, and accession of King James, having obtained leave to go out of the Kingdom, he went first to Paris [*Y*]; where he lived in great retirement, to avoid being involved in the conspiracies then forming in favour of the Duke of Monmouth. But, having contracted an acquaintance with Bragadier Stouppe, a Protestant officer in the French service, he was prevailed upon to take a journey with him into Italy, and met with an agreeable reception at Rome [*Z*], and Geneva (*k*) [*AA*]. After a tour thro' the southern parts of France, Italy, Switzerland, and many places of Germany, of which he has given an account, with reflections on their several governments, &c. in his *Travels*, published in 1687; he came to Utrecht, and intended to have settled in some quiet retreat within the Seven Provinces; but, being invited to the Hague, by the Prince and Princess of Orange, he repaired thither, and had a great share in the counsels then carrying on, in relation to the affairs of England (*l*) [*BB*]. In 1687, our author published a *Translation of Lactantius, concerning the death of the Persecutors*. The high favour shewn him at the Hague, disgusting the English Court, King James wrote two severe letters against him to the Princess of Orange, and insisted, by his Embassador, on his being forbid the Court; which,

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 692. And Hist. ib. p. 596.

(*i*) In 8vo.

(*k*) Life, &c. ib. And Hist. ib. p. 860.

(*l*) Life, &c. p. 693. And Hist. ib. p. 688—692.

[*X*] *He was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel.*] 'I continued, *says the Bishop* (40), at the 'Rolls avoiding very cautiously every thing that re-'lated to the publick: for I abhorred the making the 'pulpit a stage for venting of passion, or for the serving 'of interests. There was a parish in London vacant, 'where the election lay in the inhabitants: and it was 'probable it would have fallen on me; tho' London 'was in so divided a state, that every thing was 'managed by the strength of parties. Yet the King, 'apprehending the choice might have fallen on me, 'sent a message to them, to let them know, he would 'take it amiss if they chose me. Old Sir Harbottle 'Grimstone lived still, to the great indignation of the 'Court. When the fifth of November, being gun-'powder-treason day, came, in which we had always 'sermons at the Chapel of the Rolls; I begged the 'Master of the Rolls to excuse me then from preach-'ing; for that day led one to preach against Popery, 'and it was indecent not to do it. He said, he would 'end his life as he had led it all along, in an open de-'testation of Popery. So, since I saw this could not 'be avoided, tho' I had not meddled with any point 'of Popery for above a year together, I resolved, 'since I did it so seldom, to do it to purpose. I chose 'for my text these words: *Save me from the lion's mouth; thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns*. I made no reflection in my thoughts on the 'lion and unicorn, as being the two supporters of the 'King's scutcheon: (for I ever hated all points of that 'sort, as a profanation of scriptures) but I shewed, 'how well Popery might be compared to the lion's 'mouth, then open to devour us; and I compared 'our former deliverance from the extremities of dan-'ger, to the being on the horn of a rhinoceros. And 'this leading me to the subject of the day, I mention-'ed that wish of King James I. against any of his 'posterity that should endeavour to bring that religion 'in among us. This was immediately carried to the 'Court. But it only raised more anger against me; 'for nothing could be made of it. They talked most 'of the choice of the text, as levelled against the 'King's coat of arms. That had never been once in 'my thoughts. Lord Keeper North diverted the 'King from doing any thing on the account of my 'sermon. And so the matter slept 'till the end of the 'term: and then North writ to the Master of the 'Rolls, that the King considered the Chapel of the 'Rolls as one of his own chapels; and, since he looked 'on me as a person disaffected to his government, and 'had for that reason dismissed me from his own ser-'vice, he therefore required him not to suffer me to 'serve any longer in that chapel.'

(40) Ib. p. 596.

[*Y*] *He went to Paris.*] Before he left England, he enquired of the French Embassador, whether he might be safe in France: and being assured he might, he came to Paris; where there being many, whom he had reason to look on as spies, he took a little house, and lived as privately as he could (41).

(41) Hist. ib. p. 655.

[*Z*] *He met with an agreeable reception at Rome.*] Pope Innocent II. hearing of our author's arrival, sent the Captain of the Swiss guards to acquaint him, he would give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony of kissing his Holiness's slipper. But our author excused himself as well as he could. He was treated with great familiarity, by the Cardinals Howard and D'Estrees; the former shewed him all his letters from England, expressing the high expectations of the Popish Party. One evening, upon visiting Cardinal Howard, he found him distributing some relicks to two French gentlemen: whereupon he whispered to him in English, that it was somewhat odd, that a Priest of the Church of England should be at Rome helping them off with the ware of Babylon. The Cardinal smiled at the remark, and, repeating it in French to the gentlemen, bid them tell their countrymen, how bold the Hereticks, and how mild the Cardinals were at Rome. Some disputes, which our author had at Rome, concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, made it proper for him to quit that city; which he accordingly did, upon an intimation given him by Prince Borghese (42).

(42) Ib. p. 661—663.

[*AA*] —— *and at Geneva.*] Here, perceiving, how strongly they insisted upon their *consent of doctrine* (43), which they required all those to subscribe, who where admitted into orders, he employed all the eloquence he was master of, and all the credit he had acquired among them, to obtain an alteration in this practice. He represented to them the folly and ill consequence of such subscriptions; whereby the honestest and worthiest men were frequently reduced to the necessity of quitting their native country, and seeking a subsistence elsewhere; whilst others of less virtue were induced to submit and comply against their conscience, and even begin their ministry with mental equivocations. The warmth, with which he expressed himself on this head, was such, and such the opinion they had of him, that the clergy of Geneva were afterwards released from the subscriptions, and only left subject to punishment or censure, in case of writing or preaching against the established doctrine (44).

(43) A Formulary, commonly known by the name of the *Consensus*.

(44) Life, &c. p. 692, 693.

[*BB*] *He had a great share in the counsels carrying on in relation to the affairs of England.*] He advised the putting the fleet of Holland immediately into such order, as might give courage to their friends in Great Britain, in case matters there should come to extremities: he prevailed upon the Prince and Princess of Orange, to write a letter to King James, in favour of the Bishop of London, who was then under suspension: he ventured to propose to the Princess, the explaining herself upon the nice but necessary point, of the share the Prince was to expect in the government, in case the British crown should devolve on her; and when it was determined, to send over Mr Dyckvelt, as Embassador to England, our author was employed to draw his secret instructions (45).

(45) Ibid. And Hist. ib. p. 691, 692.

[*CC*] A

which, at the King's importunity, was done; tho' our author continued to be employed and trusted as before. Soon after, a prosecution for high-treason was set on foot against him, both in Scotland and England: but the States refusing, at the demand of the English Court, to deliver him up [*CC*], designs were laid of seizing his person, and even destroying him, if he could be taken (*m*) [*DD*]. About this time, Dr Burnet married Mrs Mary Scott [*EE*], a Dutch Lady, of large fortune, and noble extraction (*n*). He had a very important share in the whole conduct of the Revolution in 1688; the project of which he gave early notice of to the Court of Hanover, intimating, that the success of this enterprize must naturally end in an entail of the British crown upon that illustrious House (*o*). He wrote also several pamphlets (*p*), in support of the Prince of Orange's designs; and, when his Highness undertook the expedition to England, our author accompanied him as his Chaplain, notwithstanding the particular circumstances of danger, to which he was thereby

(*m*) Life, &c. p. 694. And Hist. ib. p. 726, &c.

(*n*) Life, &c. p. 695.

(*o*) Hist. ib. p. 757.

(*p*) They were re-printed at London in 1689, in 8vo, under the title of *A Collection of 18 Papers relating to the Affairs of Church and State during the Reign of King James II. &c.*

[*CC*] *A prosecution for high-treason was set on foot against him ——— but the States refused to deliver him up.*] Take an account of this affair in the Bishop's own words (46): 'After I had stayed a year in Holland, I heard from many hands, that the King seemed to forget his own greatness, when he spoke of me, which he took occasion to do very often. I had published some account of the tour I had made in several letters in which my chief design was to expose both Popery and tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read; and it raised the King's displeasure very high. My continuing at the Hague, made him conclude, that I was managing designs against him. And some papers in single sheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of England, which seemed to have a considerable effect on those who read them. These were printed in Holland; and many copies of them were sent into all the parts of England. All which inflamed the King the more against me; for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed most of them were. But that which gave the crisis to the King's anger was, that he heard I was to be married to a considerable fortune at the Hague. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high treason, for corresponding with Lord Argyle, and for conversing with some that were outlawed for high treason. The King ordered a letter to be writ in his name to his Advocate in Scotland, to prosecute me for some probable thing or other; which was intended only to make a noise, not doubting but this would break the intended marriage. A ship coming from Scotland the day in which this prosecution was ordered, that had a quick passage, brought me the first news of it, long before it was sent to D'Albeville. So I petitioned the States, who were then sitting, to be naturalized, in order to my intended marriage. And this past in course, without the least difficulty; which perhaps might have been made, if this prosecution, now begun in Scotland, had been known. Now I was legally under the protection of the States of Holland. Yet I writ a full justification of myself, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in some letters that I sent to the Earl of Middleton. But in one of these I said, that, being now naturalized in Holland, my allegiance was, during my stay in these parts, transferred from his Majesty to the States. I also said in another letter, that, if, upon my non-appearance, a sentence should pass against me, I might be perhaps forced to justify myself, and to give an account of the share that I had in affairs these twenty years past: in which I might be led to mention some things, that I was afraid would displease the King: and therefore I should be sorry, if I were driven to it. Now the Court thought they had somewhat against me: for they knew they had nothing before. So the first citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on these two accounts. It was pretended to be high-treason, to say, my allegiance was now transferred. And it was set forth as a high indignity to the King, to threaten him with writing a history of the transactions past these last twenty years. The first of these struck at a great point, which was a part of the law of nations. Every man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance to the Prince or State that naturalized him. And since no man can serve two masters, or be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there must be a transfer of allegiance, at least, during the stay in the country, where one is so naturalized. This matter was kept up against me for some time, the Court delaying proceeding to sentence for several months. At last a sentence of outlawry was given: and upon that Albeville said, that, if the States would not deliver me up, he would find such instruments, as should seize on me, and carry me away forcibly. The methods he named of doing this were very ridiculous; and he spoke of it to so many persons, that I believe his design was rather to frighten me, than that he could think to effect them. Many overtures were made to some of my friends in London, not only to let this prosecution fall, but to promote me, if I would make myself capable of it. I entertained none of these. I had many stories brought me of the discourses among some of the brutal Irish, then in the Dutch service. But, I thank God, I was not moved with them. I resolved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do what service I could to the publick, and to my country; and resigned myself up entirely to that providence, that had watched over me at that time with an indulgent care and had made all the designs of my enemies against me turn to my great advantage.' The Bishop goes on (47) to inform us, that Albeville presented a memorial to the States, complaining of his (Dr Burnet's) conduct, and insisting upon his being banished the Provinces: whereupon he was called before Deputies of the States, who were so satisfied with his answers to the Embassador's memorial, that they ordered a memorial to be drawn up agreeable thereto; and instructed their Embassador in England to represent to the King, how sacred a thing naturalization was, and, if his Majesty had any thing to lay to Dr Burnet's charge, justice should be done in their Courts. This produced another memorial against our author, but with no better success than the former.

(46) Hist. ib. p. 726, 727.

(47) Ib. p. 728, 729.

[*DD*] *Designs were laid of seizing his person, and even destroying him, if he could be taken.*] Somebody, it seems, had suggested to King James, that, since a sentence had passed against Dr Burnet for non-appearance, and the States refused to deliver him up, he (the King) might order private persons to execute the sentence as they could. Our author received positive assurances, that five thousand pounds would be given to any one that should murder him: and a gentleman of an unblemished reputation, he tells us, writ him word, that he himself by accident saw an order, drawn in the Secretary's Office, but not yet signed, for three thousand pounds to a blank person, who was to seize, and destroy him (48)

[*EE*] *He married Mrs Mary Scott.*] This Lady's ancestor, on the father's side, was a younger brother, of the family of Buccleugh, who, upon a quarrel in Scotland, went over to Holland: his son was a Brigadier-General at the siege of Middleburgh, in the year 1574, and afterwards Deputy for the province of Zealand in the Assembly of the States General: his grandson, Apollonius Scott, who was the Lady's grandfather, was President of the High Court of Justice at the Hague, and by marriage allied to the noblest houses in Zealand. On the mother's side, who was a *de Ruyter*, she was related to the principal families in Guelderland. With these advantages of birth, she had those of a fine person; was well skilled in Musick, Drawing, and Painting; and spoke Dutch, English, and French, equally well. Her knowledge in matters of Divinity was such, as might rather be expected from a Student, than from a Lady. She had a fine understanding, and sweetness of temper; and excelled in all the qualifications of a dutiful wife, a prudent mistress of a family, and a tender mother of children (49).

(48) Ib. p. 730. And Life, &c. p. 694, 695.

(49) Life, &c. ib

[*FF*] He

thereby exposed (q). At Exeter, after the Prince's landing, he drew up the Association for pursuing the ends of his Highness's Declaration (r). During these transactions, Dr Crew, Bishop of Durham, who had rendered himself obnoxious, by the part he had acted in the High Commission Court, having proposed to the Prince of Orange, to resign his bishopric in favour of Dr Burnet, on condition of an allowance of 1000*l.* *per annum* out of the revenue; our author refused to accept it on those terms (s). But King William had not been many days on the throne, before Dr Burnet found the due recompence of this self-denial, being advanced to the See of Salisbury [*FF*], in the room of Dr Seth Ward deceased (t); and consecrated March 31, 1689. Our Prelate had scarce taken his seat in the House of Lords, when he distinguished himself, by declaring for moderate measures, with regard to the clergy who scrupled to take the oaths, and for a toleration of the Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England (u); and, when the bill for declaring the rights and privileges of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, was brought into Parliament, he was the person appointed by King William, to propose naming the Duchess (afterwards Electress) of Brunswick, next in succession after the Princess of Denmark and her issue (w); and, when this succession afterwards (x) took place, he had the honour of being Chairman of the Committee, to whom the bill was referred (y). This made him considered by the House of Hanover, as one firmly attached to their interests, and engaged him in an epistolary correspondence with the Princess Sophia (z), which lasted to her death (a). This year, Bishop Burnet addressed a *Pastoral Letter* to the clergy of his diocese, concerning the the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to King William and Queen Mary; in which having grounded their Majesties title to the crown upon the right *of Conquest* [*GG*], some Members of both Houses took such offence thereat, that they procured an order for burning the book by the hands of the common executioner (b). After the session of Parliament was over, the Bishop went down to his diocese, where, by his pious, prudent, and vigilant discharge of the episcopal functions [*HH*], he gained an universal love and esteem.

(q) Ib. p. 776.

(r) Ib. p. 793.

(s) Life, &c. p. 696.

(t) Ib. and Hist. Vol. II. p. 8.

(u) Ib. and p. 9, 10.

(w) Ib. p. 15. and Life, &c. p. 687.

(x) In 1701.

(y) Life, &c. ib.

(z) Above 50 of that Princess's Letters to Dr Burnet, are extant in the hands of the Life-Writer; two of which he has given us.

(a) Life, &c. p. 697.

(b) Kennet's Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 587, 650.

[*FF*] *He was advanced to the See of Salisbury.*] The writer of his life tells us (50). 'He was so little 'anxious after his own preferment, that, when the 'Bishoprick of Salisbury became void, as it did soon 'after King William and Queen Mary were established 'on the throne, he sollicited for it in favour of his old 'friend Dr Lloyd, then Bishop of St Asaph:' and that 'the King answered him in a cold way, *That he had another person in view*; and the next day he 'himself was nominated to that See.' The Bishop himself tells us (51), the King named him to that See in terms more obliging than usually fell from him: and that, when he waited on the Queen, she said, she hoped he would now put in practice those notions, with which he had taken the liberty often to entertain her. The Bishop informs us farther, that Archbishop Sancroft refused to consecrate him, and for some days seemed determined to venture incurring a *Præmunire*, rather than obey the Mandate for Consecration: but at last he granted a commission to all the Bishops of his province, or to any three of them, in conjunction with the Bishop of London, to exercise his metropolitical authority during pleasure.

[*GG*] *He grounded their Majesties title to the crown upon the right of Conquest.*] Having set forth the motives, upon which the Prince of Orange acted, in making war upon King James, and shewed them to be justifiable, he goes on: 'So then here was a war begun upon just and lawful grounds; and a war being so 'begun, it is the uncontroverted opinion of all Lawyers, 'that *the success of a just war gives a lawful title to that, which is acquired in the progress of it.* Therefore, King James having so far sunk in the war, 'that he both abandoned his people, and deserted the 'government, all his right and title did accrue to the 'King, in a right of a Conquest over him; so that, 'if he had then assumed the crown, the opinion of 'all Lawyers must have been on his side. But he 'chose rather to leave the matter to the determination of the Peers and people of England, &c (52).' It was not 'till about three years after, that this piece of the Bishop's was publickly burnt, together with another on the same argument, written by Charles Blount, Esq; and intituled, *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors* (53).

[*HH*] *His pious, prudent, and vigilant discharge of the episcopal functions.*] We shall just touch upon the principal parts of his conduct as a Bishop, which are described at large by the author of his Life (54). As he had always looked upon Confirmation, as the likeliest means of reviving a spirit of Christianity, if men could be brought to entertain just notions concerning it, he wrote a short *Directory*, containing proper rules for preparing the youth upon such occasions; this he printed, and sent copies of it, some months beforehand, to the minister of every parish, where he intended to confirm. Every summer, he made a tour, for six weeks or two months, through some district of his bishoprick, daily preaching and confirming from church to church, so as, in the compass of three years (besides his triennial visitation) to go through all the principal livings of his diocese. In these circuits, he entertained all the clergy, that attended upon him, at his own expence, and held conferences with them upon the chief heads of Divinity (55). During his residence at Salisbury, he constantly preached a Thursday's lecture, founded at St Thomas's church: he likewise preached and confirmed, every Sunday morning, in some church of that city, or of the neighbourhood round about it; and, in the evening, he had a lecture in his own chapel, wherein he explained some portion of Scripture. Every week, during the season of Lent, he catechized the youth of the two great schools in the Cathedral Church, and instructed them in order for Confirmation. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuses of the Bishop's Consistorial Court. No part of the episcopal office was more strictly attended to by him, than the examination of candidates for holy orders. He examined them himself, as to the proofs of the Christian Religion, the authority of the Scriptures, and the nature of the Gospel-Covenant; and, a day or two before Ordination, he submitted all those, whom he had accepted, to the examination of the Dean and Prebendaries. As the qualification of clergymen for the pastoral care was always uppermost in his thoughts, he instituted at Salisbury a little nursery of students in Divinity, being ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a salary of thirty pounds a year. Once every day, he examined their progress in learning, and gave them a lecture on some speculative or practical point of Divinity, or some part of the pastoral function. But this foundation being exclaimed at, as a designed affront upon the method of education at the Universities, he was prevailed upon, after some years, to lay it wholly aside. He was a warm and constant enemy to Pluralities, where non-residence was the consequence of them, and in some cases hazarded a suspension, rather than give institution. In the point of residence, he was so strict, that he immediately dismissed his own Chaplains, upon their preferment to a cure of souls. He exerted the principle of Toleration, which was deeply rooted in him, in favour of a Nonjuring Meeting-house at Salisbury, which he obtained the Royal permission to connive at; and this spirit of moderation brought over several Dissenting families of his diocese to the Communion of the Church.

(50) Ib. p. 696.

(51) Hist. &c. Vol. II. p. 8.

(52) Pastoral Letter, &c. p. 19, 20, 21.

(53) Kennet's Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 587, 650.

(54) Ubi supra, p. 705—712.

(55) See the next remark.

(c) Life, &c. p. 705—710.

(d) In 4to. It was re-printed in 1713, with a Preface and an additional Chapter.

(e) Hist. ib. p. 135.

(f) In a piece intitled, A Vindication of Archbishop Tillotson, Lond. 1696.

esteem (c). In 1692, he published a treatise, intituled *The Pastoral Care* (d), in which the duties of the Clergy are laid down with great strictness, and enforced with no less zeal and warmth. The next year, came out his *Four Discourses to the Clergy of his Diocese* [II]. In 1694, our author preached the *Funeral Sermon* of Archbishop Tillotson, with whom he had long kept up an intimate acquaintance and friendship (e), and whose memory he vindicated (f), against the virulent attacks made upon it. The death of Queen Mary, which happened the year following, drew from our author's pen that *Essay on her character* (g), which her uncommon talents, and shining qualities, merited at the hands of a person, who enjoyed so high a degree of her favour and confidence (h). After the decease of that Princess, thro' whose hands the affairs and promotions of the Church had wholly passed, our Prelate was one of the Ecclesiastical Commission, appointed by the King, to recommend to all bishopricks, deanries, and other vacant benefices in His Majesty's gift. In 1698, the Bishop lost his wife by the small-pox; but the consideration of the tender age of his children, and his own avocations, soon induced him to supply that loss by a marriage with Mrs Berkley [KK]. This year, he was appointed Preceptor to his Highness the Duke of Glocester [LL], and employed great care in the education of that young Prince [MM]. In 1699, our author published his *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.*

(g) It was translated into French by D. Mezel, and published at the Hague in 1695; and into High-Dutch, by J. G. Pritius, and printed at Leipsick.

(h) Life, &c. p. 715.

[II] *His four Discourses to the Clergy of his Diocese.*] The first is, on *The Truth of the Christian Religion*; the second, on *The Divinity and Death of Christ*; the third, on *The Infallibility and Authority of the Church*; and the fourth, on *The Obligation to continue in the Communion of the Church.* These discourses are the substance of so many conferences, held by the Bishop with his clergy, at his annual visitations (56). The second of these discourses was animadverted upon by an anonymous Unitarian writer, in a pamphlet printed in 1694, in 4to, intituled, *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c. In a Letter to H. H.* Our author made some remarks on this piece, in a letter to Dr John Williams, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, dated Feb. 2, 1694-5, and subjoined to Dr William's *Vindication of the Sermons of his Grace John Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our blessed Saviour* (57).

(56) See the preceding remark.

(57) Lond. 1695, 4to.

[KK] *He married Mrs Berkley.*] This Lady was the eldest daughter of Sir Richard Blake, Knight, the fifth son of Thomas Blake, of Earantoun, in the county of Southampton, Esq; of an eminent family, and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Dr Bathurst, an eminent Physician in London. She was born the 8th of November 1661. At a little more than seventeen years of age, she was married to Robert Berkley of Spetchly, in the county of Worcester, Esq; grandson of Sir Robert Berkley, who was a Judge in King Charles the first's time. Mr Berkley's mother was a Papist, but Mr Berkley himself a Protestant; which put Mrs Berkley upon studying her own religion more fully, and obliged her to a more than ordinary strictness in her whole conduct. In King James's time, when the fears of Popery began greatly to increase, she prevailed with her husband to go to Holland, and travelled with him over the seventeen provinces; after which, they settled at the Hague, 'till the Revolution, when they returned to England, and their country-seat at Spetchly. In 1693, she lost her husband Mr Berkley, who was buried with his ancestors at Spetchly. After his death, she perfected the Hospital at Worcester, for the erecting of which he had bequeathed a large sum of money. During her widowhood, she made the first draught of that pious treatise, which she afterwards finished and published, intituled, *A Method of Devotion: or, Rules for holy and devout Living; with Prayers on several Occasions, and Advices, and Devotions, for the holy Sacrament*, in octavo. This piece has been so well received, as to run through three editions. After continuing a widow near seven years, she was married to the Bishop of Salisbury, who was so sensible of her worth and goodness, that he committed the care of his children entirely to her, and left her absolute mistress of her own fortune. In 1707, she took a journey to Spaw, for her health, and, after her return, seemed to be much recovered; but, the winter following, upon the breaking of the frost in January, she was taken with a pleuritick fever, of which she died in a few days, and was buried at Spetchly, by her former husband, according to a promise she had made him, as appears by a clause in her will. She was a Lady, in every respect, of most exemplary life and conversation (58).

(58) See an Account of Mrs Burnet's Life and Character, prefixed to her Method of Devotion, &c. Lond. 1713, by Dr T. Goodwyn, Archdeacon of Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel.

[LL] *He was appointed Preceptor to his Highness the Duke of Glocester.*] The Bishop was, at this time, retired to his diocese, upon the death of his Lady; and took that opportunity to wave the offer of this important charge, though he was assured, the Princess of Denmark had testified her approbation of the King's choice. He wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, to use his interest, that he might be excused; and to his friend Archbishop Tennison, desiring him to wait on the King in his name, and intreat his Majesty to allow him to decline this employment. But all his friends concurring to press him earnestly, not to refuse a station, in which he might do his country such signal service, as in the right education of the Duke of Glocester, he thought it might be construed obstinacy not to submit. He therefore signified his compliance in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and waited on the King at Windsor, where he assured his Majesty, it was no longer his intention to decline so honourable an employment, as the educating a Prince so nearly related to the crown, since his Royal Master thought him worthy of that trust; but, as the discharge of his duty in this station must confine him constantly to Court, which was inconsistent with his Episcopal Function, he desired leave to resign his Bishoprick. The King was much surprized at the proposal, to which he would by no means consent. However, he was at length prevailed on to agree, that the Duke should reside all the summer at Windsor (which is in the diocese of Salisbury) and that the Bishop should have ten weeks allowed him every year, to visit the other parts of his diocese (59). An attempt was made in Parliament, the year following, to turn the Bishop of Salisbury out from the trust of educating the Duke of Glocester, some objecting to his being a Scotchman, and others alledging the book (*) which had been ordered to be burnt. But when an address to the King for that purpose was moved for, it was rejected by a great majority (60).

(59) Life, &c. p. 716—718. And Hist. ib. p. 210, 211.

(*) His Pastoral Letter. See the remark [GG].

(60) Hist. ib. p. 237.

[MM] *He employed great care in the education of that young Prince.*] 'I took to my own province, '*says the Bishop* (61), the reading and explaining the 'Scriptures to him, the instructing him in the principles 'of religion and the rules of virtue, and the giving 'him a view of History, Geography, Politicks, and 'Government. I resolved also to look very exactly to 'all the masters, that were appointed to teach him 'other things.' In another place, speaking of the Duke of Glocester's death, he says (62): 'I had been 'trusted with his education now for two years, and 'he had made an amazing progress: I had read over 'the *Psalms, Proverbs*, and the *Gospels*, with him, and 'had explained things, that fell in my way, very 'copiously. —— I went through *Geography* so often 'with him, that he knew all the maps very particu'larly: I explained to him the forms of *Government* 'in every country, with the interests and trade of 'that country, and what was both good and bad in it: 'I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that 'had been in the world, and gave him a copious 'account of the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories, and of '*Plutarch's Lives*: the last thing I explained to him 'was the *Gothick* Constitution, and the Beneficiary and 'Feudal Laws: I talked of these things, at different 'times, near three hours a day.'

(61) Ib. p. 211.

(62) Ib. p. 245, 246.

England [*NN*]. In 1704, the scheme for the augmentation of poor livings, first projected by Bishop Burnet [*OO*], took place, and passed into an Act of Parliament (*i*). In 1706, he published a collection of *Sermons* and *Pamphlets*, in three volumes, 4*to*; in 1710, an *Exposition of the Church Catechism*; and, in 1713, *Sermons on several Occasions*, with an *Essay towards a new Book of Homilies*. We shall mention some other pieces of Bishop Burnet's in the remark [*PP*]. This learned and eminent Prelate died [*QQ*] the seventeenth of March 1714-15, in the seventy-second year of his age (*k*), and was interred in the parish church of St James's Clerkenwell, in London. Since his death, his *History of his*

(*i*) Life, &c. p. 712—715. And Hist. ib. p. 370.

(*k*) Life, &c. p. 724, 725.

[*NN*] *His Exposition of the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.*] This excellent performance was censured by the Lower House of Convocation, in 1701; first, as allowing a diversity of opinions, which the articles were framed to prevent; 2dly, as containing many passages contrary to the true meaning of the articles, and to other received Doctrines of our Church; and 3dly, as containing some things of pernicious consequence to the Church, and derogatory from the honour of the Reformation: but that House refusing to enter into particulars, unless they might, at the same time, offer some other matters to the Upper House, which the Bishops would not admit of, the affair was dropped (63). The *Exposition* was attacked in a piece (64), intituled, *A Prefatory Discourse to an Examination of a late Book, intituled*, An Exposition, &c. London, 1702, in 4*to*. An answer to this discourse (65) came out the year following. Dr Jonathan Edwards, likewise attacked our author in a piece, intituled, *The Exposition given by my Lord Bishop of Sarum of the second Article of our Religion examined.* London 1702, in 4*to*. In answer to which, there appeared *Remarks on the Examinist of the Exposition*, &c. London, 1702. At the same time, Mr Robert Burscough, published, *A Vindication of the twenty-third Article of Religion, from a late Exposition, ascribed to my Lord Bishop of Sarum.* Mr Edmund Elys, likewise published, in 1704, *Reflections on a late Exposition of the thirty-nine Articles*, &c. in 4*to*. There were two editions of the *Exposition*, in folio, the same year.

(63) Ib. p. 285, 286.

(64) Supposed to be written by Dr William Binckes.

(65) Supposed to be written by Dr John Hoadley, Primate of Ireland.

[*OO*] *He projected the scheme for the augmentation of poor livings.*] The reader will be pleased to find here a particular account of this affair, as it is given us by the Bishop himself (66). On the 6th of February, 1704, Queen Anne sent a message to the House of Commons, signifying her purpose to apply that branch of the revenue, which was raised out of the first-fruits and tenths, paid by the Clergy, to the increase of all the small benefices in the nation. This branch was an imposition, begun by the Popes, in the time of the Holy Wars, and raised as a fund to support those expeditions. But when taxes are once raised by such an arbitrary power, as the Popes then assumed, and after there has been a submission, and payments have been settled into a custom, they are generally continued, even after the pretence, upon which they were at first raised, subsists no more. So this became a standing branch of the Papal revenue, 'till Henry VIII. seemed resolved to take it away. It was first abolished for a year, probably to draw in the Clergy to consent the more willingly to a change that delivered them from such heavy impositions. But, in the succeeding session of Parliament, this revenue was again settled as part of the income of the crown for ever. The whole amounted to between sixteen and seventeen thousand pounds a year. This was not brought into the Treasury, as the other branches of the revenue; but the Bishops, who had been the Pope's collectors, were now the King's: so persons in favour obtained assignations on it, for life, or a term of years. In Charles II's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. 'When I wrote the History of the Reformation, *says the Bishop*, I considered this matter so 'particularly, that I saw here was a proper fund for 'providing better subsistence to the poor Clergy; we 'having among us some hundreds of cures, that have 'not of certain provision twenty pounds a year; and 'some thousands that have not fifty. —— I had possessed the late Queen (*) with this, so that she was 'fully resolved, if ever she had lived to see peace and 'settlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue of all the assignations that were upon it, and 'to have applied it to the augmentation of small benefices. I laid the matter before the late King (||), 'when there was a prospect of peace, as a proper expression, both of his thankfulness to Almighty God, 'and of his care of the Church (67) — He entertained this so well, that he ordered me to speak to 'his Ministers about it. They all approved it; the 'Lord Somers did it in a most particular manner. 'But the Earl of Sunderland obtained an assignation, 'upon two dioceses, for two thousand pounds a year, 'for two lives: so nothing was to be hoped for after 'that. I laid this matter very fully before the present Queen (†), in the King's time, and had spoken 'often of it to the Lord Godolphin.' — Upon the Queen's message, a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by a charter, for applying it to the use, for which she now gave it. They added to this, a repeal of the statute of *Mortmain*, so far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their last wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices. Thus are the Clergy in a great measure indebted to Bishop Burnet, for the advantage they derive from this establishment of the first-fruits and tenths.

(66) Hist. ib. p. 369—371.

(*) Queen Mary.

(||) King William.

(67) See the Bishop's two Memorials on this Subject, presented to the King in January 1696, and in December 1697. Life, &c. p. 713, 714.

(†) Queen Anne.

[*PP*] *Some other pieces of Bishop Burnet's.*] I. *Dr Gilbert Burnet's Resolution of two important Cases of Conscience*: the first; *Is a Woman's Barrenness a just ground for Divorce, or for Polygamy?* the second: *Is Polygamy in any Case lawful under the Gospel?* The author resolves both these cases in the affirmative (68). The occasion of his writing this paper, as he himself informs us (69), was this: about the year 1670 or 1671, Duke Lauderdale, having discovered to our author the secret of the Duke of York's Religion, and perceiving him struck with great apprehensions thereupon, hinted to him a project of King Charles's divorce, in order, by an heir to the crown, to set aside the Duke of York. Our author then was but seven and twenty years of age; and, being pretty full of the Civil Law, which had been his first study, he mentioned to the Earl several passages out of the Digests, Code, and Novels, upon that head. The Earl thereupon desired the Doctor to state that matter in writing; which the latter did, telling the Earl at the same time, that he spoke of the sudden, but that, when he went home among his books, he would consider the matter more severely. Accordingly, the winter following, he wrote to the Earl, retracting the whole paper, and answering all the material things in it. II. *Mystery of Iniquity unveiled.* London, 1673, 8*vo*. III. *An Account given by T. K. a Jesuit, of the Truth of Religion examined*, London, 1674, 8*vo*. IV. *A Rational Method for proving the Truth of the Christian Religion, as it is professed in the Church of England*, London, 1675, 8*vo*. V. *A Modest Survey of the most considerable Things, in a Discourse lately published, intituled*, The Naked Truth. London, 1676, 4*to*. We set down this piece on the authority of Anthony Wood, who ascribes it (70) to the Bishop, because he had seen it reckoned as his, in a catalogue of the Bishop's works, at the end of some other book. VI. *A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, in Answer to a Paper, written by one of the Church of Rome, to prove the Nullity of our Orders.* London, 1677, 8*vo*. VII. *Preface to a Book, intituled, The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, &c. London, 1691, 8*vo*.

(68) See Dr Hickes's Discourses upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson, p. 20. Bevil Higgons's Historical and Critical Remarks, &c. second edit. p. 159, &c. And Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq; &c. Lond. 1733. in Append.

(69) Reflections on Dr. Hickes's Discourses, &c. p. 76.

(70) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 866.

[*QQ*] *His Death.*] He was taken ill of a violent cold, which turned to a pleuretick fever: he was attended in it by his friend and relation, Dr Cheyne, who, finding the distemper grow to an height, called in the assistance of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr Mead. He bore the notice of his danger with calmness and resignation; and, as he preserved his senses to the last, he employed the short remainder of his life in continual acts of devotion, and giving the best advice to his family, of whom he took leave with the utmost tenderness and firmest constancy of mind (71).

(71) Life, p. 724, 72

[*RR*] *His*

his own Time [*RR*], with an *Account* of his *Life* annexed, has been published, in two volumes in folio, by his son Thomas Burnet, Esq; (*l*). Our author's publick character, and conduct as a Bishop, have been already set forth: it remains only to take a short view of him in his domestick life [*SS*]; to which we shall subjoin his general character, as drawn by

(*l*) One of the Judges of the Common Pleas.

[*RR*] *His History of his own Time*] The Bishop, by his last will and testament, ordered, that this History should not be printed 'till six years after his death, and then faithfully, without adding, suppressing, or altering it in any particular. Accordingly the first volume was printed at London in 1724, and the second in 1734, in folio. To the first volume is prefixed an advertisement, acquainting the reader, that 'the Editors intended, for the satisfaction of the publick, to 'deposit the copy, from which this History is printed '(corrected, and interlined in many places with the 'author's own hand) in some publick library, as soon 'as the second volume should be published.' The first part of this History was written some time before the year 1705, but how long, is uncertain; only it appears it was then finished, because, in the beginning of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, the author dates the continuation of it on the first day of May 1705. What led him at first to look into the secret conduct of publick affairs, as he himself tells us (72), was the manner of his education, which being solely in the hands of his father, who had been engaged in great friendships with all parties, and took a pleasure in relating to him the series of publick transactions, he had, while very young, a greater knowledge of those matters, than is usual at that age. Besides which, he himself fell into great acquaintance and friendships with several persons, who either were, or had been, Ministers of State, from whom, when the secret of affairs was over, he studied to know as many particulars as he could draw from them. He saw likewise a great deal more among the papers of the Dukes of Hamilton, than was properly a part of their *Memoirs*, or fit to be told at that time. Add to this, his intimacy, for above thirty years, with all who had the chief conduct of affairs, and his own share in many of them, which enabled him to penetrate far into the true secret of counsels and designs. 'This, '*our author goes on* (73), made me, twenty years ago, 'write down a relation of all that I had known to 'that time. Where I was in the dark, I passed over 'all, and only opened those transactions that I had 'particular occasions to know. My chief design in 'writing, was to give a true view of men and of 'counsels, leaving publick transactions to Gazettes, 'and the publick Historians of the times. I writ with 'a design to make both myself and my readers wiser 'and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all 'sides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I my-'self understood it; concealing nothing that I thought 'fit to be known, and representing things in their na-'tural colours, without art or disguise, without any 'regard to kindred or friends, to parties or interests: 'for I do solemnly say this to the world, and make 'my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, 'that I tell the truth on all occasions, as fully and 'freely, as, upon my best enquiry, I have been able to 'find it out. Where things appear doubtful, I deliver 'them with the same incertainty to the world (74).' Our author, then, apologizes for the severity, with which he has treated those of his own profession, his dwelling so long on the affairs of Scotland, and his inclination to think generally the worst, both of men and of parties. Lastly, as to the style of the History, he tells us (75), he purposely avoided all laboured periods and artificial strains, and that he writ it in as clear and plain a style as was possible, chusing rather a copious enlargement, than a dark conciseness. He concludes the Preface with a solemn Dedication of his work to God. There are two French translations of the first volume of this History; the one by M de la Pilloniere, the other by an anonymous translator: the first was printed at the Hague, in three volumes 12*mo*, 1725; the other, with cuts, at the same place, in the same year, in two volumes 4*to*. This last version was reprinted at Trevoux in four volumes 12*mo*. Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Time* has been severely attacked by several writers; particularly, I. By John Cockburn, D. D. in a piece, in 8*vo*, intituled, *A Specimen of some free and impertial Remarks on publick Affairs and particular persons, especially relating to Scotland, occasioned by Dr Burnet's History of his own Times*. A *vindication* of our author against this writer was published in 1724; to which a reply was made under the title of *A Defence of Dr Cockburn, against the Vindication of Bishop Burnet*. A IId Antagonist was an anonymous writer, in a piece, intituled, *A Review of Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, particularly his Characters and secret Memoirs; with Critical Remarks, shewing the Partiality, Inconsistency, and Defects of that Political History*, 8*vo*. III. In 1725, appeared a book, intituled, *Bishop Burnet's late History charged with great Partiality and Misrepresentation, to make the present and future Ages believe, that Arthur, Earl of Essex, in 1683, murdered himself, &c. By Mr Braddon*, 8*vo*. IV. The same year, Mr Bevil Higgons published, in 8*vo*, *Historical and Critical Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time*. This author writes with a peculiar vehemence and sharpness of style. He tells us, in his Preface, 'It is very evi-'dent, that revenge has absolutely guided him, (*the 'Bishop*) through this History, and so darkened his 'understanding, as sometimes to make him fall into 'the grossest absurdities.' The second edition of this book is of the year 1727, with *Additional Remarks*; and a *Postscript, in Answer to the London Journal of January 30th and February 6th*, 1725. V. The late Lord Landsdowne attacked our author's History, in a *Letter to the Author* (Mr Oldmixon) *of the Reflections Historical and Political*, &c. to which the Bishop's son Thomas Burnet, Esq; replied, in some *Remarks* upon that *Letter*, London, 1732, 4*to*. Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Time* concludes with a warm and affectionate address to all ranks and degrees of persons; the Clergy, the Commonalty, the Gentry, the Traders, the Nobility, the Houses of Parliament, and our Monarchs themselves; censuring the faults and errors of their conduct, giving them suitable advice, and earnestly exhorting them to the practice of virtue and religion.

(72) Preface, p. 42.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Ib. p. 2, 3.

(75) Ibid. p. 4.

[*SS*] *A short view of him in his domestick life.*] His time was employed in one regular and uniform manner. He was a very early riser, seldom in bed later than five, or six, o'clock in the morning. Private meditation took up the two first hours, and the last half hour, of the day. His first and last appearance to his family was at the morning and evening prayers, which he always read himself, tho' his Chaplains were present. He took the opportunity of the tea-table to instruct his children in religion, and in giving them his own comment upon some portion of Scripture. He seldom spent less than six, often eight hours a day in his study. He kept an open table, in which there was plenty without luxury: his equipage was decent and plain; and all his expences generous, but not profuse. He was a most affectionate husband to his wives; and his love to his children expressed itself, not so much in hoarding up wealth for them, as in giving them the best education. After his sons had perfected themselves in the learned languages, under private tutors, he sent them to the University, and afterwards abroad, to finish their studies at Leyden. In his friendships, he was warm, open-hearted, and constant; and though his station and principles raised him many enemies, he always endeavoured, by the kindest good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them by returning good for evil. He was a kind and bountiful master to his servants, and obliging to all in employment under him. His charities were a principal article of his expence. He gave an hundred pounds at a time for the augmentation of small livings: he bestowed constant pensions on poor clergymen, and their widows, on students for their education at the Universities, and on industrious, but unfortunate families: he contributed frequent sums towards the repairs or building of churches and parsonage houses, to all publick collections, to the support of charity schools (one of which for fifty children at Salisbury was wholly maintained by him) and to the putting out apprentices to trades. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, sect, or party; but want, and merit, in the object, were the only measures of his liberality. He looked upon himself, with regard to his episcopal revenue, as a meer trustee for

by the Marquis of Halifax [TT].

for the Church, bound to expend the whole in a decent maintenance of his station, and in acts of hospitality and charity; and he had so faithfully balanced this account, that, at his death, no more of the income of his bishoprick remained to his family, than was barely sufficient to pay his debts (76).

(76) Life, &c. p. 721—724.

[TT] *His character, as drawn by the Marquis of Halifax.*] 'Dr Burnet is like all men, who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoke of in a mean; he must either be railed at, or admired. He has a swiftness of imagination, that no other comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having too much, he cannot at all times so hold in his thoughts, but that at some time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a vessel that is brimful, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter, that he ever carries about him, may throw out more, than an unkind Critick would allow of. His first thoughts may sometimes require more digestion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes too fast for him. His friends love him too well, to see small faults; or if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of straying from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse; he may, in some things, require grains of allowance, which those only can deny him, who are unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in discerning other men's faults, than he is in forgiving them; so ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his own, that from blemishes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adversaries, have had no other effect, than the setting his good nature in so much a better light, since his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat, which in most other men raises sharpness and satire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compassion for those in want and misery. As dull men have quick eyes, in discerning the smaller faults of those, that nature has made superior to them, they do not miss one blot he makes; and being beholden only to their barrenness for their discretion, they fall upon the errors, which arise out of his abundance; and, by a mistake, into which their malice betrays them, they think, that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams, that are in their own. His quickness makes writing so easy a thing to him, that his spirits are neither wasted nor sowered by it: The soil is not forced; every thing grows, and brings forth, without pangs; which distinguishes as much what he does, from that which smells of the lamp, as a good palate will discern between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which tastes of the uncleanly pains, that have been bestowed upon it. He makes many enemies, by setting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt, not only of splendor, but of all unnecessary plenty; his degrading himself into the lowest and most painful duties of his calling; are such unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a Dissenter. Virtues of such a stamp are so many heresies, in the opinion of those Divines, who have softened the primitive injunctions, so as to make them suit better with the present frailty of mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, since it is in their own defence; or that, from a principle of self-preservation, they should endeavour to suppress a man, whose parts are a shame, and whose life is a scandal to them.' The copy, from which this is printed, in the Bishop's *Life* (77), was taken from one given to the Bishop, in the Marquis of Halifax's own hand-writing. T

(77) Ib. p. 725, 726.

BURTON (WILLIAM), a very skilful Topographer, and author of the *Description of Leicestershire*, was born August 24, 1575, being descended from a very ancient family [*A*], seated at Lindley in this county, and Falde in Staffordshire (*a*). After having been educated in grammar-learning at Sutton-Colfield in Warwickshire, he was admitted, in Michaelmas-term 1591, in Brasen-nose College in Oxford; where, by the benefit of a careful tutor, he got a tolerable stock of Logick and Philosophy. On the twentieth of May 1593, he became a member of the Inner-Temple, London (*b*): and on the twenty-second of June 1594, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*). But, without compleating it, he went and settled in the Temple; and after having spent a due time in the study of the Law, was made a Barrister (*d*). However, 'the weak constitution of his body, not permitting him to practise in that laborious profession,' he 'retyred to a private countrie life,' and gave himself up to the 'studie of Antiquities, to which he was drawn by a natural genius (*e*).' Wanting neither leisure nor opportunities of improvement (as he had a considerable fortune) he became, with due diligence and application, one of the most eminent persons in the kingdom, for the knowledge of Heraldry, Genealogies, and Antiquities (*f*). Of which he gave an excellent specimen in his *Description of Leicestershire* [*B*], and other works

(*a*) See the Description of Leicestershire, by our author. Lond. 1622, fol. 177—179. And Wood's Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 178.

(*b*) Descript. of Leicest. p. 68. And Wood, ubi supra.

(*c*) Wood, Fasti.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*e*) Preface to his Description of Leicestershire, p. 1, 2.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ibid. And Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 222.

[*A*] *Descended from a very ancient family.*] It appears from the pedigree, inserted by our author in his *Description of Leicestershire* (1). That, *James de Burton* was Squire of the body to King Richard I. and attended him to the Holy Land. His great-great-grandson *Nicolas de Burton*, who lived in the 14th of Edward II. married Agnes, sister and heir of John Curzun of *Falde*, by whom that estate came into the Burton-family. *William Burton*, Standard-bearer to King Henry VI. died in the 39th of that King. His grandson, *James Burton*, married, in 1511, *Elizabeth*, daughter and co-heir of *John Hardwick* of *Lindley* in Leicestershire; which Elizabeth had, for her portion, the third part of the manor of Lindley, with the capital seat. Our author's father, grandson of James last mentioned, was *Ralph Burton* of Lindley, born in 1547, who died the 17th of March 1619, and was buried at Higham. His wife was *Dorothy*, daughter of William Faunt of Foston in Leicestershire, born in 1550, and married in 1571.

(1) Page 177, &c.

[*B*] *His* Description of Leicestershire.] This description was published in 1622 at London, in a small folio. The Author made afterwards very large Additions to it (which were formerly in the hands of Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestre near Stafford, Esq;) as appears by the following original letter of his.

'Good Sir,

'UPON the first edition of my booke, I was challenged by your Ladye for that I had nothing to saye for Thedingworth; and nowe being almost ready for the second, having gotten some Roman, Saxon and other antiquities of good note, as will almost make the worke as bigg againe, to prevent that censure, I have made bould to intreate your helpe for the illustration of that towne, as also what other notes it shall (*) you to bestowe upon me, or what, in the wholl, you shall observe worthy to be corrected, of which I shall be readye to make performance. At my last being with you, you shewed me an old Knighton, which (as I remember) you said you had double: my desire is, that if the same be with you still, that it would please you to lett me, upon reasonable termes, to have the same, not doubting but that it will aford me something worthy the observance; I sawe not long synce a genealogy, wherein was a match of one of your lineall auncestors (a Cotton) that married the daughter of Sir Willin de Fovile; which, for that I never did see in any before, I would intreate your ascerteinment of the truth thereof; and if it shall please you, that your genealogy shall be inserted in my booke, it shall be performed

(*) The word *please* is omitted in the original.

works [*C*]. Having suffered much during the civil wars, he died at his seat of Falde in Staffordshire, on the sixth of April 1645, aged 70; and was buried in the parish church of Handbury (*g*). By his wife, Jane, daughter of Humphrey Adderly, of Weddington in Warwickshire, he had a son named Cassibilan, born 19 November 1609 (*h*), who translated Martial's epigrams into English verse; and, like a true poet, consumed most part of the estate left him by father He died February 28, 1681 (*i*). As for our author; he was one of the most laborious and understanding Antiquarians of his time: and, as one stiles him (*k*), was 'the diligence, and the great ornament of his country.' He gave to the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, *Leland's Collections*, and his *Itinerary*, which were come into his hands (*l*).

(*g*) Athen. ubi supra.

(*h*) See The Description of Leicestershire, by our author, p. 279.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. as above.

(*k*) W. Burton, Comment. on Antoninus, edit. 1658, fol. p. 214.

(*l*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 84.

'performed accordingly. I have moved my brother 'in lawe, Mr Grey, dwelling at the Black Boye upon 'London Bridge, neere Southwerke, to be the bearer 'hereof, that, by your appointment, he may attend 'whensoever it shall please you to send answere; in'treating at this tyme pardon for this overbouldnesse 'of him that resteth

'Ready

Lindley 9: June: 1627:

'at your service,

William Burton.

[*C*] *And other works.*] He left behind him, I. Several Collections of Arms and Monuments, of Genealogies, and other matters of Antiquity, which he had gathered from Churches and Gentlemens houses. II. He left likewise, A Common place book of English Antiquities, in manuscript fol. collected chiefly from Leland's *Itinerary*; but it being written, not with his own hand, but by an illiterate person, there are innumerable faults in it (2). III. There is in the Cottonian Library, 'The foundation of several religious houses in England,' collected by our author (3).

(2) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(3) Cotton. Libr. Julius C. vi. 19.

C

BURTON (HENRY) was born at Birdsall in Yorkshire, in the year 1579 (*a*), and educated at St John's College in Cambridge, where he took the degrees in Arts (*b*). In 1612, July the 14th he was incorporated Master of Arts, at Oxford (*c*). He took afterwards his degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The first employment he had, was that of tutor to the sons of Robert Lord Carey of Lepington, created, in 1625, Earl of Monmouth; whose Lady (*d*) was governess to Prince Charles, in his infancy (*e*). Through this Lord's interest, probably, he was made Clerk of the Closet to Prince Henry; and, after his death, to Prince Charles (*f*). In 1623, he was appointed to attend that Prince into Spain; but, for what reason is unknown, was set aside, when part of his goods were shipped (*g*). Upon King Charles Ist's accession to the crown, he expected no less than to be continued Clerk of the Closet to him: but His Majesty giving that place to Dr Neile, Bishop of Durham, who had in that quality served his father King James I. Mr Burton was highly disgusted at this, and the forementioned affront, and expressed his resentment upon all occasions, particularly by railing against the Bishops (*h*). The twenty third of April 1625, he presented a letter to King Charles, wherein he remonstrated to him, how popishly affected were Dr Neile and Dr Laud his continual attendants (*i*); for which, and some other indiscretions, he was forbid the Court (*k*). About the year 1625, he was presented to the Rectory of St Matthew's in Friday-street, London (*l*). But, what rendered him most considerable, and caused him to be much taken notice of, was his severe prosecution in the Star-Chamber (*m*). For having on the fifth of November 1636, preached in his own church of St Matthew's, two sermons, published afterwards under the title of, *For God and the King* [*A*]; he was, in December following, summoned to appear before Dr Duck, one of the Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, who tendered to him the oath *ex officio*, to answer to certain articles presented to him. But Burton refused to take that oath; and instead of answering, appealed to the King. However, notwithstanding his appeal, a Special High-Commission-Court being called soon after at Doctor's-Commons, he was suspended by them in his absence, both from his office and benefice. Upon that, he thought fit to conceal himself in his own house; and in that time published his two sermons, with an Apology to justify his appeal. But on the first of February, a Serjeant at Arms, with several Pursuivants and other armed officers, by virtue of a warrant from the Star-Chamber, broke open his doors, searched his study, and carried him to prison; whence the next day (February the second) he was, by an order from the Privy-Council, conveyed to the Fleet, and there kept several weeks close prisoner. During his confinement in this place, he wrote *An Epistle to His Majesty*; another *to the Judges*: and *a Letter to the true hearted Nobility* (*n*): For which, as well as for his two sermons abovementioned, he was proceeded against in the Star-Chamber, on March the eleventh, as a seditious

(*a*) He was 67 years of age in 1646, and consequently must have been born in 1579. See A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Fasti, col. 192.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. He was incorporated there again M. A. July 14, 1617, ibid. col. 207.

(*d*) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevanion, of Corriheigh in Cornwall, Knt. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 398.

(*e*) Wood, ibid. and T. Fuller's Church History, Book xi. p. 152.

(*f*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*g*) Fuller, ibid.

(*h*) Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, 6 Vols 8vo, Lond. 1733, Vol. I. p. 200.

(*i*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*l*) Wood, ubi supra. Newcourt could not find when he was instituted.

(*m*) See Rushworth's Histor. Collect. Vol. I. Part iii. edit. 1692, p. 78. and A new Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to, by W. Prynne.

(*n*) Rushworth, ibid. It was printed Lond. 1636, 4to. See also New Discovery, &c. as above, p. 14, 15, 16, 29.

[*A*] *Two sermons, published afterwards, &c.*] The text they were preached upon, was, *Proverbs* xxiv. 21, 22. In these two sermons, and his *Apology* mentioned afterwards, he charged the Bishops (†) with 'dangerous plots to change the orthodox Religion established in England; and to bring in Romish superstition in the roome of it.' And blamed them for introducing several innovations into divine worship. The chief he mentioned, were (1) — 'That in the 'Epistle the Sunday before Easter, they have put out '*In*, and made it, *At the name of Jesus*, which alteration is directly against the Act of Parliament.—That 'two places are changed in the praiers set forth for 'the 5th of November; namely, *Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, which say*, &c. is thus 'altered, Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian 'Sect *of them* which say. Next, *Cut off those workers 'of iniquity whose religion is rebellion*, &c. was, in the 'book printed in 1635, thus altered, Cut off those 'workers of iniquity, *who turne religion into rebellion.*—That the Prayer for the Navy is left out of 'the late booke for the fast.—That the placing the 'communion-table altar wise, at the upper-end of the 'chancel, is done to advance and usher in Popery — 'That the second service, as dainties, is said there.— 'That bowing towards the altar, is worshipping the 'table, or God knows what.'

(†) Page 5.

(1) Apologie, &c. p. 2, 3, 4, 5, 105.

seditious libeller. In the mean time, Mr Prynne, who was prosecuted with him, fearing they should not be permitted to make a full answer to their information, draws up a crosse-bill against the Archbishop, and others; wherein he charged them, 'which usurping upon 'His Majesties Prerogative-Royal; with innovations in religion; licensing of Popish and 'Arminian books, *&c.*' Having signed it, they tendred it to the Lord Keeper; who refused to admit it: and accordingly it was suppressed (†). But it is to be observed, that the Court had a great desire of making their crime amount, if possible, to high-treason. For, June 6, 1637, all the Judges, and the King's Counsel, met at Serjeants-Inn (*o*), about seditious books written and dispersed by Mr Burton, and Dr Bastwick. But, nothing being found in Burton's books, whereon to ground an indictment for treason, he was proceeded against, as I observed above, in the Star-Chamber. The scope of the information against him, was (*p*), for writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books, against the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the scandal of the government. To this information, he (and Bastwick and Prynne, who were indicted with him) prepared answers. But their counsel refused to sign them, for fear of offending the Court of Star-Chamber. Whereupon, the defendants petitioned the Court, that, according to antient precedents, they might sign their answers with their own hands; declaring, they would abide by the censure of the Court, if they did not make good what was contained therein. But this was refused by the Court, unless they brought their answers signed by counsel. Mr Burton's answer was at length signed by Mr Holt, a Bencher of Gray's-Inn; who afterwards withdrew his hand, because the other counsel out of fear, would not subscribe it. However, Mr Burton tendred it to the Court, desiring it might be accepted, or Mr Holt ordered to new sign it. Whereupon, the Court ordered, that it might be received under the hand of Mr Holt alone; which was accordingly done. After it had lain in Court near three weeks, upon the Attorney-General's suggestion to the Court, on the nineteenth of May, that it was scandalous; it was referred to the two Chief-Justices, Sir John Bramston and Sir John Finch, to consider of, and to expunge what was contained therein as unfit to be brought into Court, or otherwise impertinent and scandalous (†). They expunged sixty-four whole sheets, that is the whole answer, except six lines at the beginning, and about twenty-four at the latter end. Soon after a person came to the Fleet, to examine Mr Burton upon interrogatories grounded on his answer. But hearing how much had been expunged out of it, he refused to be examined, unless his answer might be admitted as it was put in; or he permitted to put in a new answer. Which not being allowed of, it was ordered by the Court, on the second of June, that if he would not answer to interrogatories framed upon his answer, he should be proceeded against *pro confesso*; his obstinacy being looked upon as a self-conviction. On the day of the sentence, which was June 14, 1637, Burton and the two other defendants standing at the bar, the Court caused the information to be read; and no legal answer being put in in time, nor filed on record, the Court began for this *contempt*, to proceed to sentence. But the defendants, before the Court spake, cried out for justice——that their answers might be read, and that they might not be condemned unheard. Nevertheless, because their answers were not filed on record, the Court proceed to give this sentence (*q*); namely, to fine Burton and the others, five thousand pounds a-piece, and to order, that He in particular, should be deprived of his ecclesiastical benefice, degraded from his ministerial function, and degrees in the University; should be set on the pillory, and both his ears cut off there; confined to perpetual close imprisonment in Lancashire-castle; debarred the access of his wife, or any other, except his keeper, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper. All which (except the fine) was executed accordingly. For, June the twenty-seventh, he was degraded by Sir John Lamb, in St Paul's; and, the thirtieth of the same month, was set in the pillory (*r*) in the Palace-yard Westminster [*B*], where his ears were cut off in a barbarous manner. For they were pared so close, that the temporal artery was cut, which made the blood stream in great abundance upon the scaffold, and yet he never shrunk at the pain (*s*). After

(†) New Discovery, *&c.* p. 19, 20.

(*o*) 13 Carol. I. See Rushworth's Historical Collect. Vol. I. Part ii. p. 324.

(*p*) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. Part ii. p. 380. See the article BASTWICK (JOHN).

(†) New Discovery, *&c.* as above, p. 27, 28, 41.

(*q*) Rushworth, ubi supra; and Part iii. Vol. I. p. 79. and Prynne's New Discovery, *&c.* p. 43. And The Censure, ibid. p. 25, &c.

(*r*) Fuller's Ch. History, Book xi. p. 153.

(*s*) Fuller, ubi supra, p. 154. Prynne, ubi supra, p. 57.

[*B*] *He was set in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Westminster.*] Where he made a long speech, not entire and continued, but interrupted with occasional expressions. The main design of it was, to parallel his sufferings with our Saviour's. For, at the first sight of the pillory, 'Methinks, said he, I see Mount Calvary 'where the three crosses were pitched.' [For there were three pillories, one for himself, and a double one for Bastwick and Prynne] 'If Christ was numbered 'among thieves, shall a Christian think much, for his 'sake, to be numbered amongst rogues (†), such as we 'are condemned to be? Surely if I be a rogue, I am 'Christ's rogue, and no man's.'——Shortly after he said to his wife, 'See thou be not sad, for I would not 'have thee to dishonour the day, or to darken the glory 'of it, by shedding one tear, or fetching one sigh; 'for behold there, for thy comfort, my triumphant 'chariot, on the which I must ride for the honour of 'my lord and master: And never was my wedding-'day so well-come, and so joyful a day, as this day 'is.'——When he was put in the pillory, he said,—'Good people, I am brought hither to be a spectacle 'to the world, to angels, and to men; and howsoever I stand here to undergo the punishment of a 'rogue, yet except to be a faithful servant to Christ, 'and a loyal subject to the King, be the property of a 'rogue, I am no rogue. But yet, if to be Christ's 'faithful servant, and the King's loyal subject, deserve 'the punishment of a rogue, I glory in it, and, I 'bless God, my conscience is clear.'——Some asking him, 'If the pillory were not uneasy, for his neck and 'shoulders?' He answered, 'How can Christ's yoke 'be uneasy? This is Christ's yoke, and he bears the 'heavier end of it, and I the lighter; and if mine 'were too heavy, he would bear that too.'——One of the guards having an old rusty halberd, the iron whereof was tacked to the staff with an old crooked nail; one said, 'What an old rusty halberd is that?' To which Burton replied, 'This seems to me to be one of 'those halberts, which accompanied Judas when he 'went to betray and apprehend his master.'——A friend asking him, 'If he would have been without this 'particular suffering?' To whom he said, 'No, not 'for a world (*z*).'

(†) This was no great compliment to his fellow-sufferers Prynne and Bastwick.

(*z*) Prynne's New Discovery, and Censure, *&c.* p. 46—56.

[*C*] *And*

After that, he was sent to Lancaster-Castle, in August, and imprisoned there in the common goal (*t*). But great crowds, who pitied his misfortunes, resorting to him there; and he finding means to have some of his virulent papers dispersed in London (*u*): he was, after a twelve weeks confinement in that place, removed, by an order of council, to Cornet-Castle in the isle of Guernsey, in October 1637, where he remained a close prisoner almost three years. But on November 7, 1640, his wife, Sarah Burton, presented a petition to the House of Commons (*w*), complaining, of the severe sentence of the Court of Star-Chamber, inflicted upon her husband in the pillory; and that, by a particular order, she was not to be permitted to come and visit him. Whereupon the House ordered on the tenth (*x*), that her husband should be forthwith sent for to the Parliament, in safe custody, by warrant of the House, directed to the Governor of the isle where he was prisoner, and to the Captain of the castle there; and that the cause of his detainer, might be certified also to the House (*y*). Accordingly, a warrant was signed by the Speaker, to the Governor and Captain of the castle of Guernsey; which was sent with all possible expedition (*z*). Mr Burton, and Mr Prynne, (who was now released from his confinement in Montorgueil-Castle in Jersey) landed at the same time at Dartmouth, on the twenty-second of November, where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and esteem; attended by a marvellous conflux of company; and their charges not only borne with great magnificence, but liberal presents given to them. And this method and ceremony, kept them company all their journey, great numbers of people meeting them at their entrance into all towns, and waiting upon them out, with wonderful acclamations of joy. When they came near London, multitudes of people of several conditions, some on horseback, others on foot, met them some miles from the town; very many having been a day's journey; and they were brought, about two of the clock in the afternoon, in at Charing-Cross, and carried into the city by above ten thousand persons, with boughs and flowers in their hands (*a*); the common people strewing flowers and herbs in the ways as they passed, making great noise, and expressions of joy for their deliverance and return; and in those acclamations, mingling loud and virulent exclamations against the Bishops (*b*). On the fifth of December, Mr Burton presented a petition to the House of Commons, wherein he set forth his sufferings (*c*). In consequence of which, the House resolved on the twelfth of March following (*d*), that the suspending of him, the breaking open his house, and arresting him without any cause shown, and his imprisonment thereupon; and the searching and seizing of his books and papers, was against law, and the liberty of the subject; and that he ought to have reparation and recompence, for the damages sustained by those proceedings [C]. The twenty-fourth of the same month, they further resolved (*e*), that the sentence against him was illegal, and ought to be reversed; that he be freed from the fine of five thousand pounds, and from imprisonment, and restored to his degrees in the University, orders in the Ministry, and to his ecclesiastical benefice in Friday-street London. And also have recompence for his imprisonment, and for the loss of his ears: which, on the twentieth of April, they voted should be six thousand pounds (*f*). But the ensuing confusions in the kingdom, prevented his receiving that sum (*g*). However in October 1642, he was restored to his living of St Matthew's; Mr Chestlin, the then incumbent, being worried out of it (*h*). Burton after this, declared himself an Independent, and complied with all the alterations that ensued. But we are told by A. Wood (*i*), that when he saw what strange courses the Parliament took, he grew more moderate. He was buried January 7, 1647-8 (*k*). And therefore A. Wood is mistaken, when he says (*l*), that he lived 'till after the beheading of his old master, King Charles I. Besides the books abovementioned, for which he was so severely punished, he writ many other things; of which there is an account in the note [D].

(*t*) Rushworth's Histor. Collect. Part iii. Vol I. p. 79.

(*u*) Lord Clarendon. Vol. I. 8vo, edit. Oxford, 1733, p. 200.

(*w*) Rushworth's Histor. Collect. Part iii. Vol. I. p. 20.

(*x*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 2.

(*y*) Rushworth, ibid.

(*z*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 201.

(*a*) There could be but very few flowers, in the latter end of November, when this happened.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, ubi supra p. 201, 202. Fuller's Church Hist. Book xi. p. 172. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. edit. 1733, 8vo, p. 385. And Prynne, p. 113.

(*c*) Rushworth, ubi supra, p. 78.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 207. And Prynne, ubi supra, p. 139.

(*e*) Rushworth, ibid. p. 213.

(*f*) Diurnal Occurrences, or Daily Proceedings of both Houses, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 83.

(*g*) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. Lond. 1733, 8vo, p. 385.

(*h*) Mercurius Rusticus, 1646. 12mo, p. 146, &c.

(*i*) Fasti, Vol. I. col. 192.

(*k*) R. Smith's Obituary in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. Book xiv. p. 22.

(*l*) Ibid.

[C] *And that he ought to have reparation and recompence for the damages sustained by those proceedings*] It was at the same time resolved upon the question, 'That the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of 'London, the Earl of Arundell and Surrey, the Earl 'of Pembroke and Montgomery, Sir Henry Vane, and 'Sir John Cooke, and Sir Francis Windebanke,' (who had signed the warrant at the council-board for his close imprisonment) 'should make reparation to Mr 'Burton for his damages susteyned by his imprisonment (3).'

(3) Prynne, ubi supra, p. 140.

[D] *He writ many other things.*] They are as follow: 'I. A Censure of Simony. Lond. 1624. II. A 'Plea to an Appeal, traversed Dialogue-wise. Lond. '1626. III. The baiting of the Pope's Bull. Lond. '1627. IV. A Tryal of private Devotions, or a Dyal 'for the hours of Prayer. Lond. 1628. V. Israel's 'Fast; or Meditations on the 7th Chap. of Joshua. 'Lond. 1628. VI Seven Vials, or an Exposition on 'the 15th and 16th Chapters of the Revelations. Lond. '1628 VII. Babel no Bethel; i. e. The Church of 'Rome no true visible Church of Christ, being an an'swer to Hugh Cholmeley's Challenge, and Robert 'Butterfield's Maschil. VIII. Truth's Triumph over 'Trent, or the great Gulph between Sion and Baby'lon, i e. The irreconcileable opposition between the 'Apostolick Church of Christ and the apostate Syna'gogue of Antichrist, in the main and fundamental 'Doctrine of Justification. Lond. 1629. IX. The 'Law and the Gospel reconciled against the Antinomi'ans. Lond. 1631. 4to. X. Christian's Bulwark, or 'the Doctrine of Justification. Lond. 1632. 4to. 'XI. Exceptions against a passage in Dr Jackson's Trea'tise of the Divine Essence and Attributes. XII. The 'sounding of the two last Trumpets; or Meditations 'on the 9th, 10th, and 11th Chapters of the Revela'tions. Lond. 1641, 4to. XIII. The Protestation 'protested, or a short Remonstrance, shewing what 'is principally required of all those that have, or 'do take the last parliamentary protestation. Lond. '1641. 4to. XIV. Relation of Mr Chillingworth. 'XV. A Narration of his own Life. Lond. 1643. 4to. 'XVI. A vindication of Independent Churches, in an'swer to Mr Prynne's two books of Church-Govern'ment, and of Independency. Lond. 1645. 4to. 'XVII. Parliament's Power for Laws in Religion. '1645. 4to. XVIII. *Vindiciæ Veritatis*: Truth vin'dicated against calumny. In a brief answer to Dr 'Bastwick's two late Books, entitled, *Independency* '*not God's Ordinance*. Lond. 1645. 4to. XIX. Truth 'shut out of doors: or a brief Narrative of the occa'sion and manner of proceeding of Aldermanbury pa'rish, in shutting their Church-Door against him. 'Lond. 1645. 4to. XX. Conformity's deformity, in 'a Dialogue between Conformity and Conscience. 'Lond. 1646. 4to. (4).'

(4) This account is taken from the Catalogue in Bodley's Library, and from Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 635, and Fasti, col. 191.

C

BUSBY

BUSBY (RICHARD) the most eminent Schoolmaster in his time, was the second son of Richard Busby, of the City of Westminster, Gent. but born at Lutton in Lincolnshire, September 22, 1606 (a). He received his education at Westminster-school, as a King's Scholar; and in 1624, was elected student of Christ-Church (b). The twenty-first of October 1628, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c); and that of Master June 18, 1631 (d); at which time he was esteemed a great Master of the Greek and Latin tongues, and a compleat Orator [A]. On the first of July 1639, he was admitted to the Prebend and Rectory of Cudworth, with the chapel of Knowle annexed, in the church of Wells; of which he lost the profits during the civil wars; but found means to keep his Student's place, and other preferment (e). He was appointed Master of Westminster-school, December 13, 1640 (f); in which laborious station he continued above fifty-five years, and bred up the greatest number of learned scholars, that ever adorned any age or nation. But he met with great uneasiness from the second Master, Edward Bagshaw; who being a busy and pragmatical man, endeavoured to supplant him, but was himself removed out of his place for his insolence [B], in May 1658 (g). After the Restoration of King Charles II. Mr Busby's merit and reputation being taken notice of, his Majesty conferred on him a Prebend of Westminster, into which he was installed July 5, 1660 (h); and the eleventh of August following, he was made Treasurer and Canon-Residentiary of the church of Wells (i). The nineteenth of October 1660, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (k). At the coronation of King Charles II. on the twenty-third of April 1661, he carried the *Ampulla* (l). In the Convocation which met June the twenty-fourth, the same year, he was Proctor for the Chapter of Bath and Wells; and one of those who approved and subscribed the Common-Prayer-Book (m). He gave two hundred and fifty pounds, towards repairing and beautifying Christ-Church College and Cathedral (n): and founded and endowed two Lectures in the same College, one for the Oriental Languages, and another for the Mathematicks; giving moreover a hundred pounds, to repair the room in which they were to be read. He contributed also to the repair of Lichfield-church (o). As for his many other benefactions, they are not upon record, because they were done in a private manner. This great man, after a long, healthy, and laborious life, died April 6, 1695, aged 89 (p); and was buried in Westminster-Abbey, where there is a curious monument erected to him [C]. He composed several books for the use of his school [D]. With regard to his character, we are told, that he was very well acquainted with all parts of learning, especially Philology; which he had chiefly acquired by his own diligence and industry. Of his singular skill in Grammar, his works in that kind are undeniable and sufficient proofs. Notwithstanding his being the greatest master of it, he was the freest man in the world from that pedantick humour and carriage, which makes most of that profession ridiculous to the more sensible

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 923. And his epitaph in Westminster-Abbey.

(b) Wood, Ibid.

(c) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 240.

(d) Ibid. col. 252.

(e) Wood's Athen ubi supra. See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. edit. 1714, fol. Part ii. p. 74.

(f) From his epitaph.

(g) Wood, Ath. ubi supra. *Arcana Dogmatum Anti-Remonstrantium*, Lond. 1659, 12mo, by L. Womock.

(h) J. le Neve's Fasti, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 372.

(i) Ibid. p. 40.

(k) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 137.

(l) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 412.

(m) Ibid. p. 480, 584.

(n) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 2[illegible].

(o) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 376.

(p) See his epitaph; and Wood's Athenæ, ubi sup.

[A] *And a compleat Orator.*] As also a very good actor, as appeared from the part he acted with great applause in the comedy called *The Royal Slave*, written by William Cartwright: which was acted before King Charles I. and his Queen, at Christ-church, by the Students of that house, on the 30th of August 1636 (1).

[B] *But was himself removed out of his place for his insolence.*] Bagshaw published an account of the quarrel between him and Dr Busby, under this title: 'A true and perfect Narration of the Differences between Mr Busby and Mr Bagshaw, the first and second Masters of Westminster-school,' Lond. 1659, in four sheets, 4to (2).——One Owen Price, an Independent, endeavoured, likewise, to supplant Mr Busby about the same time, and to come into his place (3).

[C] *Where there is a curious monument erected to him.*] On which is the following inscription. En infra positam, qualis hominum oculis versabatur, Busbeii imaginem. Si eam quæ in animis altius insedit ultra desideras, Academiæ utriusque, & fori Lumina, Aulæ, senatus, atque ecclesiæ, Principes viros contemplare: Cumque satam ab illo ingeniorum messem Tam variam tamque uberem lustraveris, Quantus is esset qui severit cogita. Is certe erat, Qui insitam cuique a Natura indolem Et acute perspexit, Et exercuit commode, Et feliciter promovit. Is erat, qui adolescentium animos Ita docendo finxit, aluitque, Ut tam sapere discerent, quam fari; Dumque pueri instituebantur, Sensim succrescerent viri. Quotquot illius disciplina penitus imbuti In publicum prodiere, Tot adepta est monarchia, Tot ecclesia Anglicana Propugnatores, Fidos omnes, plerosque strenuos. Quæcunque demum sit fama Scholæ Westmonasteriensis, quicquid inde ad homines fructûs redundarit, Busbeio maxime debetur, Atque in omne porro ævum debebitur. Tam utilem patriæ civem Multis annis opibusque voluit florere, Deus: Vicissim ille Pietati promovendæ Se, & sua alacris devovit: Pauperibus subvenire, Literatos fovere, Templa instaurare, Id illi erat divitiis frui; Et hos in usus, Quicquid non erogarat vivus, Legavit moriens.

Richardus Busby, Lincolniensis S. T. P.
Natus est Lutoniæ ——— ——— 1606 Sept. 22.
Scholæ Westmonast. præfectus est 1640 *Dec.* 23.
Sedem in Eccles. { Westm. Præbend. / Wellensi Thesaur. } Obtinuit. A. *D.* 1660 { July 5. / Aug. 11.
Obiit ——— ——— 1695. Apr. 5.

The substance of which is, 'You see below a representation of Busby's body (4), and outward appearance. If you would see his inward qualifications, behold the lights of both Universities. And of Westminster-hall, the chief men at Court, in the Parliament, and in the Church. And when you perceive, how large and how plentiful a harvest of ingenious men was sown by him, consider how great was the sower. He was a person, very sagacious in finding out every one's genius and disposition, and no less industrious in employing them to advantage, and forwarding them successively. He was a person, who so formed and trained up the minds of youth by his instructions, that they learned at the same time both to speak and to be wise; and whilst they were instructed by him as boys, they insensibly grew up to be men. As many scholars as he sent out into the world, so many faithful, and in general brave, champions, did Church and State obtain. Whatever reputation Westminster school enjoys, whatever advantage has thence accrued, is chiefly due to Busby, and will for ever be due to him. So useful a man God blessed with long life, and crowned with riches. And he, on his part, chearfully devoted himself, and his possessions, to the promoting of piety: To relieve the poor; to support and encourage learned men; to repair churches; That, he thought, was truly enjoying his riches. And what he employed not upon those good uses in his life-time, he bequeathed to the same at his death.'——The rest contains only an account of his birth and death, and of his several promotions, already mentioned above.

[D] *He composed several books for the use of his school.*] Namely these following, I. 'A short Insti-

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 35, 923. And Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 344, 345.

(2) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 491.

(3) See Fr. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1735, lib. xiii. p. 20, 21.

(4) There is, on his monument, his statue in full proportion, and very like him.

ſenſible part of the world. No one ever trained up a greater number of eminent men, both in Church and State, than himſelf; which was a plain demonſtration, of his uncommon ſkill and diligence in his profeſſion. He extremely liked, and even applauded, and rewarded, wit in any of his ſcholars, though it reflected upon himſelf; of which many inſtances are ſtill remembred. We are further told, that there was an agreeable mixture of ſeverity and ſweetneſs in his manners; ſo that if his carriage was grave, it was at the ſame time civil, and full of good nature, as his converſation was always modeſt and learned; but in his ſchool he was extremely *ſevere*. His piety was unfeigned and without affectation, and his ſteadfaſt zeal to the Church, and loyalty to the Crown, were eminent, and not without tryals in the worſt of times. But his greateſt virtue was charity, in the diſcharge whereof none ever took more care, that his right-hand ſhould not know what his left did. As to his conſtitution of body; he was healthy to ſuch a degree, that his old age proved altogether free from thoſe diſeaſes and infirmities, which moſt commonly attend other perſons; and as this was the conſequence and reward of his chaſtity, ſobriety, and temperance, ſo he ſpent this bodily ſtrength, altogether upon his indefatigable labours, in the education of youth in Weſtminſter-ſchool; which he never remitted 'till he was releaſed of it by death, to which he ſubmitted with the utmoſt conſtancy and patience (*q*).

(*q*) J. Crull, M.D. in his Antiquities of Weſtminſter-Abbey, edit. 1715, 8vo, p. 241, 242.

'tution of Grammar for the uſe of Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Cambr. 1647. 8vo. II. *Juvenalis et Perſii Satyræ.* Lond. 1656. purged of all obſcene paſſages. III. 'An 'Engliſh Introduction to the Latin tongue, for the uſe 'of the Lower Forms in Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Lond. 1659. *&c.* 8vo. IV. *Martialis Epigrammata ſelecta.* Lond. 1661 12mo. cleared of all obſcenities. V. *Græcæ Grammaticæ rudimenta in uſum Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis.* Lond. 1663. 8vo VI. *Nomenclatura brevis reformata, adjecto cum Syllabo Verborum & Adjectivorum.* At the end, is printed, *Duplex Centenarius Proverbiorum Anglo-Latino-Græcorum.* Lond 1667. *&c.* 8vo. VII. Ανθολογ α δευτερα : *ſive Græcorum Epigrammatum Florilegium novum. Cum aliis veterum Poematis,* &c. Lond. 1673. &c. 8vo. VIII. *Rudimentum Anglo Latinum, Grammatica literalis & numeralis, in uſum Scholæ regiæ Weſtmonaſt.* Lond. 1688. 8vo. IX. *Rudimentum Grammaticæ Græco-Latinæ metricum, in uſum nobilium puerorum in Schola regia Weſtmon.* Lond 1689. 8vo. Mr Wood ſuppoſes, that ſome of theſe pieces might be compoſed by his Uſhers (5). C

(5) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

BUTLER or BOTELER, the name of a noble family, which, for the great ſervices they have done the Britiſh crown, have been raiſed to titles of honour in all the three kingdoms. The antiquity of this family is ſo great, that it appears to have ſurpaſſed the ſkill of our ableſt Antiquaries, to fix the origin of it with any degree of exactneſs (*a*). Indeed they have been ſo far from doing this, that ſome have ſuggeſted the original ſirname of the family was Walter, others again have inclined to think it Becket, and there want not thoſe who declare in favour of le Boutiller or Butler, againſt them all (*b*) [*A*]. But whatever obſcurity there may be in regard to the ſtate of the family in thoſe times, there is nothing more certain, than that Theobald, who was declared Butler of Ireland in the very beginning of the XIIIth century, eſtabliſhed in that kingdom a moſt honourable

(*a*) Monaſt. Ang. Vol. II. p. 1025. n. 11, 46. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 633, 634. Thynne's *alias* Lancaſter's Genealogical Account of the Botelers of Kent.

(*b*) Carte's Introduction to the Life of James Duke of Ormond, p. iii.

[*A*] *Who declare in favour of le Boutiller or Butler againſt them all.*] We are told, that Mr Roberts, Ulſter King of Arms in Ireland, took a great deal of pains in compiling a Genealogical Hiſtory of the family of Ormond, and therein he labours to prove, that the name of the family was originally Walter, or Water; and in ſupport of this, he brings a great number of inſtances, from which it appears, that Theobald, after he was Butler of Ireland, ſubſcribed Theobald Walter to charters of King John; and he likewiſe ſhews, that his deſcendants preſerved the ſurname of Walter, down to the time of James the firſt Earl of Ormond, who ſtyled himſelf, *Jacobus Walter Pincerna Hiberniæ* (1). We are likewiſe told in ſupport of this notion, that Walter is alſo a name of office, and that it ſignifies the ruler over any of the King's foreſts, and this upon the authority of Richard Verſtegan (2); but as that writer is not very correct, I am apt to think he is a little miſtaken here, and that the office he means, was ſtyled, not Walter, but Waldtgrave, and that Walter is a contraction or corruption of Waldtheer, *i. e.* the Lord or owner of a wood (3), anſwering to the word Sylveſter or Sylvius, ſo that taking all this together, it is not at all improbable, that the father of Theobald might uſe this ſurname. Sir Robert Rothe, who put the laſt hand to another very laborious account of the deſcent of this noble family, which was written by his father, a Barriſter at Law, and Counſel to Thomas, Earl of Ormond, in Queen Elizabeth's time, declares expreſly for the ſurname of Becket, and will have Theobald, Butler of Ireland, to be the ſon of Walter Fitz Gilbert, *i. e.* ſon of Gilbert Becket, and many writers concur in deriving this family from Walter Becket, a younger brother of Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (4). That the Earls of Ormond were deſcended ſome way or other from the family of Becket, it aſſerted in an Act of Parliament; but this does not prove, that the ſurname of the family was Becket, ſince they might be deſcended as well by marriage, which notion may be ſupported from two pedigrees, wherein it is ſo laid down; but as theſe pedigrees are inconſiſtent with each other, ſo the Reverend Mr Carte has clearly ſhewn, that they are irreconcileable to truth (5). But the Reverend Mr John Butler, a Clergyman in Northamptonſhire, being diſſatisfied with all the accounts he had met with, and even with that of the famous Sir William Dugdale's (6), who, to ſay the truth, ſpeaks very cautiouſly of this family, being ſenſible of the imperfections of his materials; reſolved to ſet this whole matter in a new light, and the ſtory he tells us, is this: That Richard I. Duke of Normandy had, beſides his ſon Richard II. by Gunora, another ſon by a Lady whom he does not mention, whoſe name was Geoffry Count of Brionis; who had iſſue Giſſlebert, who was guardian to William the Conqueror. He had alſo two ſons, Richard Earl of Clare, and Baldwin. This Richard Earl of Clare, was Cup-bearer in ordinary to William I. and had five ſons; Gilbert, Roger, Walter, Robert, and Richard; theſe two laſt-mentioned, often ſupplying their father's place, took from thence the ſirname of Bouteillers. Robert, after his father's death, became Cup-bearer to Henry I. and had iſſue Walter, and other ſons. Walter ſucceeded him as Cup-bearer, and was Baron of Baynard-caſtle; and the eldeſt ſon of this Walter was Herveus, who was the father of Theobald, the firſt Butler of Ireland (7). This Reverend Gentleman has taken a great deal of pains to ſhew, that the ſirname of Botiller was much ancienter than the grant of this office to Theobald, whence he would infer, that the ſirname of the family was not either Walter or Becket, but Botiller or Butler. All this very evidently demonſtrates, that it is a fruitleſs thing to expect either exactneſs or certainty in matters of this nature; and, indeed, having looked into the pedigrees of ſeveral families of this name in England, I find different accounts of it's origin in almoſt every one of them.

(1) See an Account of this performance, and the arguments contained therein, in the Rev. Mr Carte's Introduction, p. xi.

(2) Reſtitution of Decay'd Intelligence, Antwerp, 1606, p. 329.

(3) Gotheldt, Antiq. Germ. p. 359.

(4) Carte's Introduction, p. ix, x.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 305.

(7) Carte's Introduction, p. xxi.

[*B*] *Probably*

honourable and potent house, which by the great services they rendered the crown; by their intermarriages with the noblest families in England and Ireland; and by being intrusted with the most honourable and profitable employments in the government, acquired to themselves vast possessions (*c*); so that King Edward II, in the ninth year of his reign, was pleased to create, by patent under the great-seal, dated at Lincoln Sept. 1, 1315, Edmund le Botiller, Earl of Karryke or Carrick, who was afterwards raised to be chief governor of Ireland, under the title of Guardian or Lord Justice of that kingdom (*d*). His son James le Botiller, who married Eleanor, daughter of Humphry de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Constable of England, by Elizabeth daughter of Edward I, was, in consideration of that marriage, created, by Edward III, Earl of Ormond, which being a large territory, whereas Carrick was only a manor, the family bore this title, and, in succeeding times, seldom used that of their more antient honour (*e*). It was to the same person, and on account of the same marriage, that King Edward III. granted by patent, dated at Wallingford November 9, 1358, the regalities and liberties of Tipperary, and the rights of a palatine in that county (*f*). He died January 6, 1307-8, and was succeeded by his son James the second, commonly called the *noble Earl*, on account of his being great-grandson to King Edward I. In 1359, he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, and on July 24, 1376, he was again entrusted with that power, with an appointment of five hundred pounds a year, which was the usual salary (*g*). He died Octob. 18, 1382, and was succeeded by his son James the third Earl of Ormond, who had also the honour to be appointed Lord Justice of Ireland by King Richard II, July 25, 1392. He was afterwards made Constable of Ireland by King Henry IV, who also entrusted him with the office of Lord Justice of that kingdom, in possession of which he died, Sept. 7, 1405 (*h*). He left two sons, James, the fourth Earl of Ormond, and Sir Richard le Botiller. This Earl of Ormond had a very remarkable honour done him, for he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland before he was of age, by commission dated the eighteenth of December, in the ninth year of the reign of Henry IV. In 1420, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by King Henry V, and several times after enjoyed the same honour (*i*). He died August 23, 1452, and left behind him three sons, James, John, and Thomas. The first of these, stiled James, the fifth Earl of Ormond, was, in 1449, created, by King Henry VI, Earl of Wiltshire, two years after he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and adhering steadily to King Henry VI, he was not only appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years, but was twice made High-Treasurer of England, and honoured with the Garter. He had a large share in the battle of Wakefield, fought December 21, 1460, in which the Duke of York was killed, but being taken prisoner the year following at the bloody battle of Towton in Yorkshire, he was beheaded on the first of May 1461, at Newcastle (*k*). His brother John, who was with him in that battle, was attainted, but, by the kindness of Edward IV, he was restored in blood, and succeeded to the earldom of Ormond. He was looked upon as one of the finest gentlemen of that age, and was sent Ambassador to several Courts of Europe; but, in a fit of devotion, making a journey to Jerusalem, he died in the Holy Land in 1478 (*l*). Thomas, his younger brother, being restored in blood, succeeded him as Earl of Ormond, who was of the Privy-Council in England to King Henry VII, and summoned to Parliament there by the stile of Lord Rochford. He died in 1515, and left issue two daughters, the youngest of which, Margaret, married Sir William Bullen, Knight of the Bath, by whom she had Sir Thomas Bullen (*m*). Sir Pierce Butler, grandson to Sir Richard Butler, second son of James the third Earl of Ormond, succeeded to that title, and to all the estates of the family in Ireland, of which he was appointed Lord Deputy in 1521, and in 1524 he was made Lord Treasurer of that kingdom. He had great disputes there with the potent family of Fitzgerald, and finding himself oppressed by their interest at Court, he came over here to sollicit for redress (*n*). At this time, King Henry VIII being much enamoured of the Lady Anne Bullen, prevailed upon Sir Pierce Butler to resign his earldom of Ormond, that he might bestow it upon her father, with which proposition he complied, though probably very unwillingly, and because he durst not refuse it (†) [*B*]. He

(*c*) Laurence's State of Ireland, p. 195.

(*d*) See the patent in Carte's Introduction. Cox's Hist. Ireland, Vol. I. p. 95.

(*e*) By which the Rev. Mr Carte suggests, the Kildare family gained precedency of that of Ormond. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 639.

(*f*) Carte's Introduction, p. xxxiii.

(*g*) Lib. CCC. Lambeth. Historic. Account of the Government, of the Lordship and Kingdom of Ireland from Records, MS. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 125.

(*h*) Annal. Hibern. ad ann. 1405. Cox's History, Vol. I. p. 145.

(*i*) Historical Account of the Governors of Ireland.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 235.

(*l*) Carte's Introduction, p. xlii.

(*m*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 385.

(*n*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 220.

(†) Lib. G. Lambeth, p. 121. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 640.

[*B*] *Probably very unwillingly, and because he durst not refuse it.*] It is strange to see what lengths princes will go to gratify their passions. Sir Thomas Bullen was, indeed, the grandson of Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the grand-nephew of James Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; but both his father and his uncle had been attainted for their adherence to the house of Lancaster; yet now the King was fond of seeing the former title revived, and the latter added to it, in favour of a person whose daughter he thought fit to marry; and therefore, not satisfied with raising to him the title of Viscount Rochford, and to the Order of the Garter, he, on the 8th of December, 1530, created him Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, limiting the former honour to the heirs male of his body, and the latter to his heirs general (8): and, on the 24th of January following, he was made Lord Privy-seal, which however did not hinder him from having the dismal mortification of sitting in judgment upon his daughter, when the King thought fit to proceed against her, in order to take away her life. With that unfortunate Princess, died her brother George Viscount Rochford, who was also attainted, and left no issue; and, in 1539, Thomas Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond departed this life (9), which renders it not easy to apprehend what is said by the Historian of the Ormond family, as to Peter Earl of Ossory's being restored to the title of Ormond, February the 22d, 1537-8, because then Sir Thomas Bullen was living, or Sir William Dugdale is much mistaken as to the time of his death. The Act of Parliament mentioned in the text, was made in the 35th year of the King, and seems to be intended to secure effectually the honour of Ormond to James, the then Earl, and his heirs male, with the like precedency as the ancient Earls of Ormond had. This was a point of justice certainly due to the family, and seems to be one of

(8) 1. Pat. 21. Hen. VIII. p. 2, Decemb. 8.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 306.

He was thereupon created with great pomp at Windsor, Feb. 23, 1527-8, Earl of Offory, and, besides other gratifications, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, which he held for several years, and, in process of time, on the death of Sir Thomas Bullen, he was restored to the title of Earl of Ormond, which was afterwards confirmed to his son by Act of Parliament (o). This Pierce or Peter, Earl of Ormond and Offory, died Aug. 26, 1539, leaving two sons, James and Richard, the latter of whom was created, by King Edward VI. Viscount Mountgarret, which honour continues in his posterity. James, the eldest son, was, in his father's life-time, created Viscount Thurles, and enjoyed most of the great offices of the kingdom, succeeded his father as Earl of Ormond and Offory, and was Lord Treasurer of Ireland the greatest part of his life. He made a very great figure in his country, and would very probably have made a much greater, if he had not been cut off by sudden death; for coming over hither at the King's command, he was poisoned at a feast at Ely-house, and died October 28, 1546 (p). He left behind him, by his wife the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Desmond, seven sons, Thomas, Edmund, John, Walter, James, Edward, and Pierce. Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Offory, was bred up with King Edward VI. and was in great favour with him, as he appears to have been also with Queen Mary, and much more so with Queen Elizabeth, who considered him as her kinsman and near relation, and, in the first year of her reign, she not only confirmed a grant of lands made to him by her sister, and released the reserved rent, but also granted him the office of Lord Treasurer of Ireland, which high post he held during all her reign, and afterwards during his life (q). She likewise confirmed to him the grant of the regalities of Tipperary, and so great a confidence she had in his loyalty, that when two of his brothers, Edmund and Peter, took part with the rebels, she sent the Earl over to reduce them, which he did by fair means. He also managed a long war against the Earl of Desmond, and contributed greatly to his defeat and destruction (r). He was afterwards General against the famous rebel Tyrone, and without involving himself in any of the factions that disturbed the Government, contented himself with doing his duty, and this with great hazard to himself and his family; for, by the treachery of the Irish, he was taken prisoner at a conference, and very hardly treated, but at last he was set at liberty, from an apprehension that he might have died in their hands, which would not have answered their purposes (s). He was about seventy years of age when King James came to the throne, who renewed his commission of Lieutenant-General of the army, and shewed him great respect. He was the first Protestant of his family, and very sincere in his religion; he had the misfortune to be quite blind for about twelve years before his death, and had the mortification also to lose his only son, which gave him much grief (t). He died in 1614, leaving behind him an only daughter, Elizabeth, whom he married first to Theobald, the youngest son of his second brother Sir Edmund Butler, intending that young gentleman for his heir, whom he procured to be created Viscount Tulleophelim, but he dying soon after, King James prevailed upon, or rather obliged him, to give his daughter in marriage to Sir Richard Preston, a favourite of his, whom he created Baron Dingwall in the Kingdom of Scotland (u). But notwithstanding this marriage, the Earl, both by a deed and by his Will, settled all his estates, except one manor, and six thousand pounds portion which he assigned his daughter, upon his heirs at law. Upon his death, Sir Walter Butler of Kilcashe, eldest son to Sir John Butler, who was the third son of James the sixth Earl of Ormond, succeeded to that title, and ought to be succeeded to the estate, but that the superior interest of the Lord Dingwall kept him from it, and so partial was King James in this affair, that he undertook to decide the cause himself, but making such an award as the Earl of Ormond and Offory would not submit to, he was, for his contempt, committed to the Fleet, where he remained a prisoner eight years (w) [C]. In 1625 he recovered his liberty, and going over soon after into Ireland, died at Carrick Feb. 24, 1632. He married Ellen daughter to Edmund Viscount Mountgarret, by whom he had issue two sons and nine daughters. His eldest son, Thomas Viscount Thurles, married, against his consent, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz of Acton (x), in the county of Gloucester. He had the misfortune to be drowned near the Skerries, as he was going to England, December 15, 1619, leaving three sons and four daughters (y). Of these sons, James, the eldest, succeeded his grandfather in his

(o) See this Act in Carte's Introduction, p. xlvi.

(p) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I, p. 280.

(q) Carte's Introduction, p. lviii.

(r) Cox's History of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 424.

(s) Carte's Introduction, p. lxii.

(t) Short Hist. of the Ormond Family, p. 149.

(u) Ancient Peerage of Scotland, p. 133.

(w) Carte's Introduction, p. xvii.

(x) Genealogical Account of the Ancient Families in Gloucestershire, viz. Pipard, Poyntz, &c.

(y) Short Hist. of the Ormond Family, p. 155.

of the worthiest actions of that Prince's reign (10). We may, from hence, discern the reason why Queen Elizabeth had always so great a regard for Thomas Earl of Ormond, and supported him, notwithstanding he had the misfortune to be upon very bad terms with her potent favourite Robert Earl of Leicester.

[C] *Where he remained a prisoner eight years.*] There was something in this case excessively hard. Sir Richard Preston was a gentleman who had been bred up with the King, and therefore it is no wonder that he had an affection for him; but this was no excuse for his obliging the Earl of Ormond to marry his daughter to him, and much less could it be a reasonable cause for his making use of such violent methods, for depriving Walter Earl of Ormond of what had been settled upon him many years before by deed, and was again confirmed to him by will (11). But, notwithstanding all this, that noble Earl continued always loyal, and attributed the wrongs done him to the King's mis-informations, or mis-conceptions. His Majesty is said to have relented at last, and, when pressed by some of his Scotch-favourites to carry things farther, he answered, 'That they had been carried too far 'already, and that if ever he looked into this affair a-'gain, it should be to unravel what he had done.' The Earl of Ormond, however, did not recover his liberty 'till King James's death; and if we consider this transaction attentively, it will be found a most exorbitant, and most ungrateful stretch of prerogative against a family the most unstained in it's honour, and the most affectionate to the English Interest, and the Crown, of any that had settled in Ireland, which had been remarkably

(10) See the Act of Parliament, as referred to in the text.

(11) Carte's Introduction, p. lxvii.

(z) Carte's Introduction, p. lxvii.

his titles, and his ancestors in their estates (z), of whom, therefore, we shall speak more particularly in the ensuing article.

markably distinguished in former reigns, and for which King James pretended to have the highest esteem and regard, while he was oppressing one branch of it, and offering violence to the inclinations of the other; for the Lady Dingwall adhered closely to her father's sentiments, and was far from being in the least instrumental to the wrongs done to her cousin, though it was pretended they were done for her sake. E

BUTLER (JAMES) Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Ormond; one of the ablest Statesmen, most accomplished Courtiers, and worthiest persons of the age in which he flourished. He was the son of Thomas Butler, Esq; eldest son and heir apparent of Sir Walter Butler of Kilcash, by Mrs Elizabeth Poyntz, and was born on the nineteenth of October 1610, in Newcastle House at Clerkenwell, which was then inhabited by his grandfather Sir John Poyntz (a). The affairs of his family were at that time in such disorder, that scarce any man would have imagined he should so soon have worked himself through them, and appeared with that lustre and dignity he did [A]. He was sent to Hatfield to a Carpenter's wife, by whom he was nursed 'till he was about three years old, and he was then sent for over to Ireland by his father and mother. He was frequently carried by them to Thomas Earl of Ormond, who lived about a year after he came over to Ireland, and having a great love to his mother's family, her grandfather having been his constant and faithful friend, as well as a respect for the nearness in blood between them, he was extreamly fond of the child, and delighted much in playing with him though he was then blind (b). Upon the decease of the good old Earl, his grandfather, Sir Walter Butler of Kilcash, assumed that title, and his father was called by courtesy Viscount Thurles, who coming over to England about the law-suits of the family, was unfortunately drowned near the Skerries, December 15, 1619, leaving behind him a widow and seven children, in very disconsolate circumstances (c) [B]. James Butler, now in the ninth year of his age, was by courtesy stiled Viscount Thurles, and the next year was sent over to England by his mother, and placed under the care of Mr Conyers, a Popish Schoolmaster at Finchley near Barnet. But Sir William Parsons, having, by some artifice, entitled the Crown to the wardship of the young Lord Thurles, King James removed him from this school, and sent him to Lambeth, to be brought up under the care and inspection of Dr George Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, that he might be well fixed in the Protestant religion; and in this, as the King's intention was good and his care visible, so it was indisputably attended with success, though some say no great regard was had to his education there, and that his circumstances were very narrow, all which may possibly be very true, though there are authorities which may be urged in proof of a contrary opinion, in respect, at least, to the Archbishop's attention (d) [C]. While Lord Thurles was

(a) Sir Richard Cox's Epistle to the Reader before the second Volume of his Hist. of Ireland, from a M.S. containing many particulars relating to this noble person.

(b) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 4.

(c) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(d) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 5. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[A] *And appeared with the lustre and dignity he did.*] Besides the disputes that happened in this noble family from the partiality of King James, in favour of his countryman Sir Richard Preston, there were others that took rise from personal causes, particularly the high spirit of Sir Walter Butler, of Kilcash, who was extremely displeased that his son Thomas had married Mrs Elizabeth Poyntz. Whence this displeasure arose, does not appear, for, in point of family, there was no sort of occasion to complain, there being, as I take it, scarce a better in England; and as to the Lady's qualities, they were such as intitled her to the esteem of the most judicious persons of that age (1). Add to this, that Thomas Earl of Ormond had the greatest intimacy with Sir Nicholas Poyntz, this Lady's grandfather, as appears by his sending him with a challenge to the great Earl of Leicester (2), which he carried, though against his will. It was, probably, this friendship between the two families, that brought Mr Thomas Butler, afterward Viscount Thurles, to his first acquaintance with the young Lady he married; and it appears, that her family had a great affection for him, and his children; but this produced no alteration in Sir Walter's sentiments, who, when his son and daughter came over to Ireland after the birth of this, their eldest son, did not suffer them to live in the same house with him (3); so that few persons have been born, or bred, under more untoward circumstances, than attended the coming into the world, the infancy, and even the youth, of this great man, who, notwithstanding, gave early hopes of his becoming, in time, all that he afterwards was. So irresistable are the efforts of a great genius, and so much superior to the injuries of fortune!

(1) The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire, by Sir Robert Atkins, p. 202.

(2) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 95.

(3) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 3.

[B] *A widow and seven children, under very disconsolate circumstances.*] The affairs of the Lord Viscount Thurles were in a very perplexed situation; his father was under the King's displeasure, and a prisoner in the Fleet; he laboured himself under his father's displeasure; the family-estate was under sequestration; and the liberties of the County-palatine of Tipperary had been seized by a Quo Warranto; which misfortunes making his presence necessary in England, he was going thither when he had the misfortune to be drowned (4). His issue by his Lady, were three sons and four daughters, *viz.* James, who is the subject of this article; John, who died at Naples in his travels, unmarried, in 1636; and Richard Butler of Kilcash, Esq; Of his daughters; the eldest, Ellen, married the Viscount Muskerry, afterwards Earl of Clancarty; Elizabeth, his second, married, first, James Purcell, Esq; and afterwards, Colonel John Fitzpatrick; Mary, the third, espoused Sir George Hamilton, Knight, son to the then Earl of Abercorne, and ancestor to the present Earl; the fourth, Eleanor, married Sir Andrew Aylmer, Bart (5).

(4) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(5) Carte's Introduction to the Life of the Duke of Ormond.

[C] *In respect, at least, to the Archbishop's attention.*] We are told by Mr Carte, that whatever learning the Archbishop had himself, he shewed very little concern to encourage it in others; and that the young Lord Thurles had so little notice taken of him, that he was not taught so much as to understand Latin (6). 'He lived, however, continues he, in the Archbishop's family, and was maintained there, though but very indifferently, 'till after the death of King James. The reason of this neglect probably was, that the Archbishop considered him as a burden imposed on him by the King, and which he could not, in decency, decline, for he received no allowance for the young Lord's subsistence either from the Court, or from the Ormond family, the whole estate whereof was under sequestration by an extent from the Crown; and forty pounds a year was all that the young Lord had for his own, and his servant's, cloathing and expences.' But Sir Richard Cox gives somewhat a different account of this matter, and more especially of the Archbishop's behaviour, which is the more remarkable, because he transcribed it from a manuscript

(6) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 5.

was at Lambeth, his grandfather, Walter Earl of Ormond, was in great trouble and perplexity: King James had thrown him into the Fleet for contempt, in refusing to acquiesce under his award, and sequestred his estates, and left him nothing to subsist upon. In this situation things continued during the life-time of that Prince; but upon his decease, the Earl recovered his liberty and part of his estate, and then took home his grandson, who by his time was sixteen. It does not appear, that by this change, there was any more care taken of the young Lord's education; on the contrary, his grandfather left him pretty much to himself, so that at eighteen, we find him attending the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, though that favourite was the capital enemy of his family; but from the principles of loyalty, hereditary in his noble house, the young Lord never found any obstacles, when his Sovereign or his country required his service (e). On the Duke's being stabbed by Felton, Lord Thurles returned to London, and embarked in a new scene of life; for finding his cousin, the Lady Elizabeth Preston, at Court, and a very agreeable young Lady, he began to entertain desires of compromising the disputes that had been so fatal to both their families, by marrying her. He met however with many and great difficulties in this affair, which might have exhausted the patience, and been too hard for the prudence of an older man; but his constancy in his addresses, and his indefatigable attention to remove these obstacles, by degrees got the better of them all at last, so that with the King's consent, signified by his letters patents, dated September 8, 1629, he obtained leave to marry her (f) [D]. This marriage was solemnized the Christmas following, and immediately after, he went down to Acton in Gloucestershire, the seat of his uncle, Sir Robert Poyntz, and there with the assistance of his uncle's chaplain, he applied himself to, and gained a competent knowledge of, the Latin tongue. About the close of the ensuing year, he went over to Ireland, where soon after he purchased a troop of horse, but his affairs requiring his presence in England, he left his Lady behind him, and passing through the north of Ireland, crossed over to Scotland, and having visited his Lady's relations in that kingdom, came up to London, where he was at the time of his grandfather's decease, February 24, 1632, by which he became Earl of Ormond (g). He returned to Ireland, in the beginning of the month of September in the ensuing year, at a very critical juncture, when the Lord Wentworth afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, entered upon the goverment of Ireland, with the title of Lord Deputy. He was very early and very advantagiously taken notice of by that wise Statesman, who, amongst his other shining qualities, was an excellent judge of men. He had sent a message to the Earl of Ormond, in relation to a subscription for the support of the army, which, however legal it might be, was a thing unquestionably necessary; and this induced the Earl to second the Lord Deputy's desires, in such a manner, as procured him a very handsome letter of thanks (h). His Lordship soon after came up to Dublin, to pay his compliments to the Deputy, who observing him very attentively as he crossed the Castle-yard, saw something so extraordinary in his looks and in his mien, that he could not help saying to those who stood near him, *That if his skill in Physiognomy did not fail him, that young nobleman would make the greatest man of his family* (i). A prediction which did equal honour to the young Earl of Ormond, and to the Lord Deputy, whose skill in this instance most certainly did not deceive him. One of the first steps taken by the new Governor, was to call a Parliament, which, though a thing absolutely necessary, he foresaw would be attended both with danger and difficulty; but, notwithstanding this, he ventured upon it, and the Houses met July 14, 1634, to whom he went in great state, the Earl of Kildare bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and the Earl of Ormond the Sword (k). In this Parliament, however, there happened a difference between the Earl and the Lord Deputy, of so extraordinary a nature, that considering the temper

(e) Narrative of the Expeditions in support of the French Protestants in the reign of Charles I. p. 193.

(f) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 9. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(g) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 135.

(h) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 58. This Letter, dated Sept. 14, 1633, is in the Appendix to the second Volume, p. 56.

(i) Ibid. p. 58.

(k) See the manner of holding this Parliament in Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 282.

manuscript for which he expresses great esteem, speaking of his mother's management of her eldest son after his father's unfortunate death, he says (7), 'she put 'him to a *private school* under a *Roman Catholick*, but, 'by order of King *James*, he was removed to the 'Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s, Dr *Abbot*, and by *him* 'he was *wholly maintained* for *five* or *six* years with-'out any *pension* from *Court*, or *possibility of help* from '*home*, where all was sequestered and deprest. By *him* 'also he was first instructed in the *Protestant Religion*, 'and in the *doctrine* of the *Church of England*, unto 'which he stuck fast to his death.'

(7) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[D] *He obtained leave to marry her.*] The difficulties the Earl of Ormond had to struggle with in this respect, are very well worth knowing. That potent favourite the Duke of Buckingham, whose ruling passion was raising every branch of his family to titles of honour, and vast estates, cast his eyes upon the Lady Elizabeth Preston, while a very child, and engaged her father, Sir Richard, to bestow her upon his nephew George Fielding, second son to the Earl of Denbigh; and, with a view to this marriage, this young gentleman was created Lord Fielding of the Caghe in the kingdom of Ireland, and Sir Richard Preston was created Viscount Callan and Earl of Desmond, with remainder to his intended son in-law George Lord Fielding, by which limitation those honours are now in the Denbigh family (8). To secure all things more effectually for the favourite's purpose, King James was prevailed upon to grant the wardship and marriage of James Lord Thurles to the said Earl of Desmond, which was certainly a very strange act in that Prince (9). But providence defeated all these schemes by the murder of the Duke of Bucks, and the death of the Earl of Desmond, who was drowned in his passage between Dublin and Holyhead, October the 28th, 1628; his Countess, the daughter of Thomas Earl of Ormond, died eighteen days before him, and recommended it to her daughter, upon her death-bed, to marry her cousin, if possible, to put an end to the disputes in the family (10). After the death of her parents, the Earl of Holland had the ward of this young Lady, and shewed, at first, a strong inclination to make good the contract that had been entered into with the Denbigh family, but was, at last, content to sell his interest for fifteen thousand pounds (which was more than he could have got by the other marriage) to my Lord of Ormond, and then the King's leave was easily obtained (11).

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 441.

(9) History of King James I. p. 375.

(10) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 7.

(11) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(l) Memoirs of the Ormond Family, p. 93.

temper of the latter, it is a wonder that it was so easily made up (l) [E]. But after this they seem to have agreed perfectly well. The Deputy was indeed of a very high spirit, proceeded in his own way, and dealt roundly with people of all ranks; but the Earl of Ormond having nothing in view, but the service of his country, and the honour of the Crown, administred no ground of offence, but, on the contrary, did such eminent services, and in a way so open and free from particular views, that the Lord Wentworth esteemed and admired him, writing over highly in his favour to England, and without any application from him, procured him to be sworn of the Privy-Council in that kingdom, and when he was but twenty-four years of age (m) [F]. The same good understanding continued after the Lord Deputy was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and created Earl of Strafford, and in the next Parliament of Ireland which sat in 1640; the Earl of Ormond was very active, and by his behaviour gave such satisfaction, that when the troubles in Scotland made it necessary to raise an army in Ireland, his Lordship was made choice of to command it under the Lord Lieutenant, when by his zeal and diligence, the forces intended to be raised were levied in a short space of time; and in the month of August, the Lord Lieutenant being then in England;

(m) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 65. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[E] *That it was so easily made up.*] We shall give the reader the story of this quarrel, from the manuscript quoted by Sir Richard Cox, and which it is not impossible, might be copied from some memoirs of this noble person, drawn up by Sir Robert Southwell; for it agrees perfectly with the account given from that gentleman's papers by Mr Carte, only it is shorter, and seems to be more plainly expressed (12). 'The Lord *Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, went over *Lord Deputy* in 1633. In a while after he called a *Parliament*, which being appointed to meet within the *Castle* of *Dublin*, a *proclamation* was issued, *That none of the members, either Peers or Commons, should enter with their swords*. All obeyed the *order* save *this young Lord*, who told the *Black Rod* at the door, *he should have no sword of his except in his guts*. So being the *only Peer*, who sat that day in *defiance* of the *proclamation*, it fired the *Lord Deputy*, who was not wont to be *disobeyed*. The *Earl* was called upon in the *evening* to answer for it, who thereupon shewed *His Majesty's Writ*, calling him to *Parliament*, *cinctus cum gladio*; which sort of *answer* being not expected, and finding him like to prove an *unitractable companion*, it was in deliberation *that night*, between the *Lord Deputy*, and his *two friends* Sir *George Radcliff* and Mr *Wandesford*, *whether to trample him quite under foot, or to oblige so daring a young man, who was now also grown very popular?* But Sir George being for the *more benign extreme*, he was taken into *favour*, *caressed*, and made one of the *Privy-Council*, and no *opportunities* were from that time forward omitted to *oblige* him, or set him forth in a *high character* to *His Majesty*.' Mr Carte's remark upon this translation, is equally pertinent and proper (13); he thinks that his Lordship's defence was founded on the investitude of the earldom *per cincturam gladii*, which was a necessary badge of that dignity, used in all ages, as such, and worn by the Earls of England in the House of Lords; a practice to which the Irish Earls were by express law obliged to conform; so that in this respect he had a statute to support him, with which no order of the Lord Deputy could dispense; and I am entirely of his opinion, that the event in this case was very extraordinary, and so unlikely to follow from a dispute with a Lord Deputy, so impatient of contradiction, that it was no encouragement to any body to engage another. It is however possible, that Lord Wentworth, who was a man of great spirit, might be secretly pleased with this similitude of temper in another man of quality; and it is farther probable, that finding it impossible to censure his Lordship's conduct, he thought it more agreeable to good policy to approve it.

(12) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(13) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 65.

[F] *Procured him to be sworn of the Privy-Council, when he was but twenty-four years of age.*] We cannot well have better lights upon any subject, than are derived to us on this, from the letters of the great Earl of Strafford, which being of a private nature, and written in confidence, most certainly shew the real sentiments of his heart; who, besides, was not a man at all inclined to dissimulation. The first mention he makes of my Lord Ormond, is in a letter dated August 3, 1633, wherein, having taken notice of the manner in which he had provided for the pay of the army on his first coming over, he has this paragraph (14). 'My Lord of Ormond, being, by the Master of the Rolls, made acquainted with this day's resolution of this Council, came the next morning to me in a very noble way, to witness his full consent thereun o, as well for himself as for all his tenants and friends (15).' The only letter in that collection, directed to the Earl of Ormond, is dated from Dublin, June 2, 1634; it is as full and clear, in respect to his Lordship's conduct, and the Deputy's regard for him, as words can make it, but is too long to be inserted here. But in a dispatch, dated from Dublin Castle, December 16, 1634, directed to Mr Secretary Cook, intended as a general view of the state of Ireland at that time; and on the margin of which, his Majesty's sense of the Lord Deputy's representations, are written by the hand of the said Secretary; there is this very remarkable paragraph (16). 'In the higher House there is my Lord of Ormond, that hath as much advantage of the rest in judgment and parts, as he hath in estate and blood; and one who, upon my observation since I came hither, expresseth very good affections to the crown and government, so as I hold him a person of consequence, and fit to receive some mark of His Majesty's favour, and humbly offer it to His Majesty's Wisdom, Whether it were not seasonable to make him a Counsellor; he is young, but take it from me, a very staid head; so as I should think we had got much the better, by the exchange of the Earl of Ormond for Sir Piers Crosby. Besides, it will be impossible without his Lordship, to find a title for the crown to Ormond, so as without him no plantation neither, in which respect it were good to take him in. But as in all others of this nature, I refer it clearly to the King's wisdom, as one who will have no other interests here but the service of my master, nor upon my faith, did I ever so much as mention this, or any such thing, to my Lord of Ormond.' The answer to this part of the Lord Deputy's letter runs thus. 'All these you mention shall find themselves remembered; and for the Earl of Ormond, your Lordship shall receive herewith his Majesty's warrant to swear him Counsellor according to your advice.' In other letters of his, he speaks of him to the King, and to his ministers, with all imaginable esteem and respect. After his troubles came on, and he was prisoner in the Tower, he looked upon the Earl as his sincere friend, and writes to him with all imaginable freedom and confidence. In a letter (17) dated from the Tower, December the 17th, 1640, he informs him, that he had mentioned him to the King for Lord Deputy of Ireland, and that he was hindered from that preferment by his own countrymen, and the Earl Marshal, that is, the then Earl of Arundel. When things bore harder upon him, and his great soul felt, though it never sunk under, his misfortunes, he writ, with some degree of passion, to the Earl of Ormond. His letter is dated from the Tower, February the 3d, 1640 (18). It begins thus: 'My noble Lord, there is so little rest given me, as I have not time scarce to eat my bread. I trust to have more quietness after a while. Your Lordship's favours towards me in these afflictions are such as have, and shall, level my heart at your foot so long as I live, or else let me be infamous to all men.' There is something so generous and so great in the friendship between these noblemen, that it ought to be transmitted with just praise to posterity.

(14) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 99.

(15) Ibid. p. 260.

(16) Ibid. p. 352, 353.

(17) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 28, 29.

(18) Ibid. p. 29.

[G] Might

England, sent over a deputation to the Earl of Ormond, conveying to him all the powers granted to him by his commission, as Lieutenant-General (n). But the fair weather in Ireland did not last long, the same Parliament that had thanked the King in the most solemn manner, for sending them so good a Lieutenant as the Lord Strafford; now in his absence, and when they found he was like to be attacked in England, fell upon him first in Ireland, and the House of Commons drew up a long and vehement remonstrance, consisting of sixteen articles, and endeavours were used to procure a like remonstrance from the House of Lords, but they were defeated by the strenuous opposition of the Earl of Ormond and his friends, for which the King thanked him, by a letter dated the twenty-second of November 1640 (o). It was His Majesty's intentions at this time, to have declared the Earl, Deputy of Ireland; but this being opposed by the Committee of the Irish house of Commons, was laid aside. The Earl was no less active and diligent in the ensuing Parliament, tho' with different success; but his zeal and candour were so well known, and so thoroughly understood, that the last request the Earl of Strafford made the King, when he knew that there was no hopes of saving his life, was, that his Blue Garter might be given to his friend the Earl of Ormond, with which His Majesty would very readily have complied, but that the Earl upon the first notice of it declined it; modestly hinting, that his own loyalty stood in no need of rewards to confirm it, and that perhaps such an honour might be employed more for His Majesty's service (p) [G]. When the great rebellion broke out in that kingdom, on the twenty-third of October 1641, the Earl was at his country-seat of Carrick, the government being then in Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, who had the title of Lords Justices. As soon as the King was informed of it, he thought of the Earl of Ormond for Lieutenant-General, and though the Earl of Leicester, at the desire of the Parliament, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; yet the Lords Justices, upon notice of His Majesty's designation, signed a commission to the Earl of Ormond, to be Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the army, which consisted at that time of no more than three thousand men (q). The Earl no sooner received this commission, than he proposed acting vigorously against the rebels, with the small force he had, and what additional troops could be immediately raised, that they might not have time to form or arm themselves effectually; but from some fatal distaste which the Lord Justices had to the Earl, grounded, as a certain writer tells us, on their apprehension that if he suppressed the rebellion, he would be rewarded with the government of Ireland, they opposed him in every thing; so that with the best intention in the world he was not able to do much, but what he could do he did (r). In the latter end of the month of January 1642, the rebels having advanced within seven miles of Dublin, the Earl marched out of that city, with 2000 foot, 300 horse, and five small field-pieces, and dislodged them from the Naas, and would have proceeded farther if those who had the supreme power would have permitted him. Soon after he made another excursion, by which he obliged the rebels to raise the blockade of Drogheda, and would have pursued them vigorously if he had not been recalled. In the beginning of April he made a third expedition, and having beat the rebels from their several posts, at last, on the fifteenth of that month (s), came up with and engaged them at Kilrush; the forces under his command did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, and those of the rebels were above double his number; he attacked however, and routed them entirely, with the loss only of twenty killed and forty wounded; whereas the rebels had several hundred killed upon the spot, and would have suffered more if they had not had a bog near them. This was a very glorious and important service, and tho' the enemies of the Earl of Ormond, had raised many cruel calumnies against him in England, yet they were so ill put together, and so apparently false, that the House of Commons ordered the Speaker to write him a letter of thanks for his services; and it was proposed to move the House of Lords, to join with them in beseeching His Majesty to make the Earl of Ormond Knight of the Garter; they likewise sent him a jewel of the value of six hundred and fifty pounds; and in the account of the victory, published by order of their House, celebrated his conduct and courage very highly (t). The Earl made another expedition that year with great success, and there is no doubt but the rebels had been pursued with much greater effect, if he had been more at liberty; but standing very indifferently with the Lords Justices, and disputes arising soon after with the Earl of Leicester, who was Lord Lieutenant, the service in Ireland was much impeded (u). But the King being very sensible of the Earl's entire fidelity to him, released him in some measure from the difficulties he was under, by appointing him Lieutenant-General, by an independent commission from himself under the Great Seal, and soon after of his own motive,

(n) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 197.

(o) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 115.

(p) See this explained in the note [G].

(q) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 81.

(r) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 236.

(s) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 106.

(t) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 312—314. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 106. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 21.

(u) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 319. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 22.

[G] *Might be employed more to his Majesty's service.*] One of the last acts of the Earl of Strafford's life, was to testify his kindness and regard to the Earl of Ormond, whom he recommended, the evening before he suffered, to his Majesty, by the Lord Primate Usher, and at that time it is most likely, that he desired his Garter might be given to him; for amongst the memoranda set down in the Primate's almanack, of the answers given him, by the King, to the Earl's requests, which were to be communicated to him the morning he suffered (the 7th) is this (19): 'Earl of Ormond shall be Knight of the Garter in his place.' We are indebted to Mr Carte for the account given us of the Earl's declining this honour (20), and of his reason for it. That he did decline it is certain, since he did not receive the Garter during this reign; and that he did it from the motive assigned in the text is highly probable, because he could not well do it from any other; for, as things stood at that time, the Parliament would not have been displeased at his receiving that favour.

(19) Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 418, 432. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(20) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 139.

[H] Such

(w) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 337. Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

motive, created him Marquis of Ormond (w), as a farther mark of his favour. All this however did not contribute much to the prosecution of the war, the Irish became daily more and more numerous, and the English weaker and weaker, and, which was still worse, they were so ill supplied, that the only method that could be found to enable the army once more to take the field, was by calling in and coining half the plate of those that were so good subjects as to send it. At length, however, the Marquis of Ormond marched with two thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse, on the second of March 1642-3, and after some small advantages came before the town of Ross, on the twelfth battered it in breach and made an assault, in which he was repulsed; this encouraged the Irish General Preston, to advance with six thousand foot and six hundred horse to it's relief, and being an officer of experience and judgment, he not only threw a supply into the place, but also forced the Marquis of Ormond to a battle, under various disadvantages, exclusive of the superiority in numbers of two to one (x). The horse of the Marquis's army, or at least the best part of them, were weak enough to fancy that they were betrayed by him, which made them give way, and thereby endangered his life and liberty; but having got with some difficulty to his foot, he charged the Irish so briskly, that he broke them and gained a compleat victory, taking Lieutenant-General Cullen, and a great number of prisoners, with all the baggage (y). If this victory could have been improved, there is no doubt the consequences of it would have been great; but the government in Ireland was so weak, and the people either so poor, or had so little confidence in their rulers, that no sufficient supply was furnished for the use of the army, and this, together with the commands he received from Oxford, obliged the Marquis of Ormond to think seriously of a cessation which the rebels had proposed. More especially when by a resolution of the Privy-Council at Dublin, dated the twenty-second of June 1643, it was declared that the army could not be supplied with ten thousand pounds, half in provision and half in money, in which case the Marquis offered to besiege Wexford, discontinue the treaty, and prosecute the war (z). Being thus disappointed on one side and pressed on the other, he concluded, but not without the greatest caution and with the best advice, such a cessation on the fifteenth of September 1643 [H]. The news of this cessation was but very ill received in England, where the barbarities

(x) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 1, 11. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 21, 22.

(y) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 404.

(z) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 23. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 128. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 437.

[H] *Such a cessation on the 15th of September, 1643.*] There was no action of this noble person's life that has been more censured, than his making this cessation, which, it must be allowed, had a bad effect upon his Majesty's affairs in England, and must likewise be confessed, not to have done much good in Ireland (21). Yet, upon a fair and candid inquiry, it will not be found that the Earl of Ormond acted any other part than became a person of strict honour, and steady principle. It has been very truly observed, that there were, at that time, no less than five parties in Ireland; the Protestants loyal to the King, at whose head was the Earl of Ormond; the Protestants inclined to the Parliament, who were countenanced, at least, by one of the Lords Justices; the Papists that were well affected to the Constitution, whose chief was the Marquis of Clanrickard; the Papists that meant to adhere to the Pope, headed by the greatest part of their Clergy; and the Scots who meant well to themselves, who were resolved to keep what they had got, and desired to get more if they could. As all these parties had different views, so they pursued different measures; the Earl of Ormond was for prosecuting the war against such as were actually rebels, but not for driving all the Irish to despair, which he thought would strengthen the rebels (22). The Lords Justices were for the continuance of the war, though cold in the prosecution of it; but, at the same time, violent in refusing the submissions, forfeiting the estates, and executing, by law, such of the Irish Papists as fell into their hands, depending upon a force from England, sooner or later, to support their conduct. The wiser part of the Irish were for obtaining a toleration of their religion, and returning to their duty; the wilder sort who, by the way, were much the majority, aimed at throwing off, what they called, the English yoke, and setting up for themselves. The Scotch were for the continuance of the war, as that by which they were like to get most. The Earl of Ormond laboured all he could to reduce all parties to one mind, and to the obedience that was due to the laws and to the King, while he had any hopes of accomplishing this by drawing off such as had unwillingly, or upon mistaken notions, joined the rebels, and reducing those who persisted in rebellion, by the sword; he was for continuing the war, in which no man had acted more vigorously, or had more freely exposed his person. But when he saw that, by a complication of untoward accidents, this was rendered very impracticable, if not absolutely impossible, he then inclined, from the natural generosity of his temper, his desire to prevent unnecessary effusion of blood, and, above all, out of regard to his master's service, and of preserving, at least, one kingdom in it's obedience, to give way to a cessation, with a view of coming at peace (23). That he was not alone in these sentiments, but had the concurrence of the wisest and best men of all ranks and professions in that nation, will sufficiently appear to the candid reader, from the following paper signed by those with whom he advised, and containing the reasons which induced them to give him such advice (24), which may be looked upon as a full vindication of the rectitude of his intentions, and the uprightness of his conduct, from which we ought to judge of a man's character, and not from events.

(21) Lord Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 28. Sir John Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion. Borlace's History. Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs. Cox's History of Ireland.

(22) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 450.

(23) See Sir Philip Percival's large Vindication of the Cessation, in the Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 454—463.

(24) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

'WHEREAS the Lord Marquis of Ormond hath demanded the opinions, as well of the members appointed from the Council-board to assist his Lordship in the present treaty; as of other persons of honour and command, that have, since the beginning thereof, repaired out of several parts of this kingdom to his Lordship. They therefore seriously considering how much his Majesty's army here hath already suffered through want of relief out of *England*, tho' the same was often pressed and importuned by his most gracious Majesty, who hath left nothing unattempted, which might conduce to their support and maintenance, and unto what common misery, not only the officers and soldiers, but others also his Majesty's good subjects within this kingdom, are reduced. And further, considering how many of his Majesty's principal forts and places of strength are, at this present, in great distress, and the imminent danger the kingdom is like to fall into; and finding no possibility of prosecuting this war without large supplies, whereof they can apprehend no hope or possibility in due time: They, for these causes, do conceive it necessary for his Majesty's honour and service, That the said Lord Marquis assent to a cessation of arms, for one whole year, on the articles and conditions this day drawn up, and to be perfected by virtue of his Majesty's commission, for the preservation of this kingdom of Ireland. Witness our hands, the 15th day of September, 1643.'

Clanrickards and St Albans,	James Ware,	John Gifford,
	Michael Ernly,	Philip Percival,
Roscommon,	Foulk Hunks,	Richard Gibson,
Richd. Dungarvan,	John Poulet,	Henry Warren,
Edward Brabazon,	Maurice Eustace,	Alanus Cooke,
Inchiquin,	Edward Povey,	*Advocatus Regis.*
Thomas Lucas,		

[I] Which

barbarities committed by the Irish at the breaking out of the rebellion, made them justly considered as men who deserved no regard, and indeed they met with none but what they derived from their own force, and the divisions and weakness of the English, which had compelled the Marquis to act as he did (*a*). On the other hand, the Irish observed this cessation of theirs very indifferently, which put the Marquis under great hardships, notwithstanding which, he sent over forces to the assistance of his Royal Master, and the King was so fully satisfied of his fidelity one the one hand, and his capacity on the other, that he resolved to make him Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Leicester (*b*). The Marquis of Ormond had before declined that employment, but found himself now in such circumstances, or rather found the affairs of the King and of the nation in such a situation, that he was obliged to accept it, and accordingly was sworn into and entered upon his government in the beginning of 1644 (*c*). He found every day new difficulties to struggle with, from the time of his accepting that great trust. The power of the Irish was continually increasing, the Scots in Ireland were very little inclined to obey his orders, and the Parliament had their Agents and Emissaries every where, which gave him great disturbance. But what troubled him most, was the new treaty, into which he was obliged to enter with the Irish, who, on the one hand, dealt very insincerely with him, had an independent interest at Oxford, where they ought to have had none; and, on the other, pretended on the score of his tenderness for many misguided, whom he therefore considered as honest, men amongst them, and his relation to the most considerable persons in their councils, to expect more from him than they could have pretended to from another in his place (*d*). All these considerations taken together, induced him to desire leave to resign, which the King would not hear of, but endeavoured to dispel his apprehensions, and to remove some at least of the many difficulties he was under, by sending him fresh powers (*e*) and farther instructions. These, as they shewed his Majesty's kindness towards him, prevailed upon him to continue in his post; yet neither these instructions, nor his care, could prevent many inconveniencies and misfortunes that fell out the ensuing year, when several attempts were made by the friends of the Parliament, to surprize the fortresses in Ireland, and even Dublin itself, which though by his vigilance the Lord-Lieutenant prevented, yet these and other accidents gave such incouragement to the Irish, that they broke out again in several parts of the kingdom (*f*). But the worst of all was their insincerity and double dealing in the management of the peace, and their strange negotiations with the Earl of Glamorgan, which have been the subject of so much dispute, and which, though they remain still not a little in the dark, sufficiently demonstrate the honour and integrity of the Lord-Lieutenant, who never had any thoughts of peace (*g*) but upon just principles. The more prudent and moderate men however, even amongst the Irish, were equally sensible of the necessity of a peace, and of a peace concluded under the authority of the Lord-Lieutenant, which at last they brought very near taking effect, but the arrival of John Baptista Rinuncini, Archbishop and Prince of Firmo, the Pope's Nuncio, made a great change in affairs (*h*), and excited a new spirit of madness, among those who were beginning to return to their reason and duty. Yet notwithstanding all these distractions, and the strange behaviour of the Irish, the peace was at last concluded at Dublin, on the thirtieth of July 1646, and actually proclaimed at Kilkenny, which had been the chief seat of the rebellion (*i*) [*I*]. But the Nuncio persisting in his bad designs, called an assembly of the Clergy at Waterford, by which he defeated all that might have been expected from that treaty, and had such an influence over the Generals of the Irish rebels, as to gain them to a most perfidious attempt, for surprizing the Marquis of Ormond, who, upon the faith of the treaty, had marched with a small body of forces to Kilkenny; so that with infinite difficulty and danger he retreated back to Dublin, and the rebels immediately took measures for besieging that city (*k*). The King was now in the hands of his enemies, the affairs of the Protestants in Ireland in a very low condition (*l*), the city of Dublin in so weak a state, that to excite the diligence of the soldiers and inhabitants to fortify it, the Marchioness of Ormond, and other

(*a*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 24. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

(*b*) Borlace's Hist. p. 139. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 137. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 467, 475.

(*c*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 137.

(*d*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 27. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 508.

(*e*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 141, 142. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 519—521.

(*f*) Temple's Hist. of the Rebellion. Cox's History of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 148. Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs, p. 45. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 524.

(*g*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 153. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 550.

(*h*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 31. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 156.

(*i*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 32. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 166. See also the Articles themselves, in his Appendix, p. 92.

(*k*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 33. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol II. p. 169. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 580.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 123.

[*I*] *Which had been the chief seat of the rebellion.*] There never was any thing more base, more barbarous, or more inconsistent with any kind of principles of honour, morality, or religion, than the behaviour of the Irish Catholicks to the Marquis of Ormond. He marched to Kilkenny in the latter end of August, with two hundred horse and twelve hundred foot, and was received there with all the marks of affection, respect, and triumph, that it was possible for a nation to express. But when he had heard what the Clergy were doing at Waterford, he suspected the storm that soon followed; and to prevent it, he offered, as the clearest mark of the sincerity of his intentions, to give his Lady and children as hostages. But even then, he did not suspect any design against his person, or the forces under his command; so that he marched to Carrick, and from thence to Clonmell, where he was denied entrance, notwithstanding which, he moved on to Cashell, where he was informed, that Owen O Neile, had threatned the city with destruction, if they received his Excellency; and soon after he had full information, that this blood-thirsty rebel was marching with a numerous army to intercept him; upon which he turned back to Calan, and marched from thence to Loghlinbridge, arriving there before O Neile could reach him, and so back to Dublin, where he was received with inexpressible transports of joy, friends and foes, having given him over for lost (25). But the worst part of this affair was, that General Preston and his army, who were for the most part of English extraction, should, against their own interest, so far concur in this measure, as to let O Neile march through their quarters, without giving the Marquis any notice; and afterwards he behaved still worse, and therefore the Lord Lieutenant and Council in vindicating their next measure, wrote to the King in these terms (26), That the Irish having perfidiously violated the peace had begun a new war, to wrest the kingdom from his Majesty, and transfer it to the King of Spain or the Pope, to avoid which they were forced to apply themselves to the Parliament.

(25) Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 37. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 169. Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 577—582.

(26) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 172.

other Ladies of the first quality, carried baskets of earth to the works with their own hands (m). Under these circumstances the Marquis entered into a treaty with the commissioners from the Parliament of England, but was far from being hasty therein, that the Irish might have time to consider cooly of their own interests, and the duty they owed to their Sovereign. This had in some measure it's effect, some overtures were made and received, but their fickleness and insincerity put it out of the Lord Lieutenant's power to deal with them (n), and he was at last compelled to sign a treaty with the Parliament's Commissioners, which he did on the nineteenth of June 1647, on the best terms (o) that he could possibly obtain [K]. In pursuance of this treaty, on the twenty-eighth of July, he left the Regalia to be delivered to the Commissioners, and embarking on board Captain Matthew Wood's frigate, was transported to England, and landed on the second of August at Bristol (p). He went from thence to Acton in Gloucestershire, the seat of his uncle Sir Robert Poyntz, and from thence as soon as he could obtain Sir Thomas Fairfax's pass, to London. As soon as he had permission, from those who were then in power, he went to pay his duty to His Majesty at Hampton-Court, to whom he gave in writing a clear and distinct account of his proceedings in Ireland, which when His Majesty had considered at his leisure, he fully and in every part approved, and upon the Marquis's offering to resign his commission, refused it (q), adding, that if it could be ever employed with success in that kingdom, it must be by him. He gave His Majesty his advice upon the then state of his affairs, and attended him as long as he was so permitted; but finding publick concerns running daily more and more into confusion, his private circumstances much embarrassed, and his person in danger, he judged it necessary to provide for his own safety, and accordingly December 25, 1647 (r), embarked for France. On his arrival there, he applied his thoughts more immediately to Ireland, and finding that all had happened there which he foresaw, from the violence of the Nuncio, who had rendered himself odious even to all the discreet men of his own party; he set on foot new schemes for the bringing back that kingdom to it's duty, by engaging part of the army to declare for the King, and the better part of the Roman Catholicks to join with him, which design he managed with such secrecy and address, that the Lord Inchiquin offered to receive him in Munster, and the Catholicks, that they might be the better able to close with him, expelled the Nuncio (s). Having taken all the precautions he was able, for receiving assistance from France, he set out from Paris, went to see his family at Caen in Normandy, and from thence embarking on board a cyder-boat of Havre de Grace, very narrowly missed being drowned (t) by a ship-wreck, procured by his own impatience [L]. With much ado he got on board a Dutch man of war, attended by the Earls of Roscommon and Castlehaven, with many other persons of distinction, and arrived safely at Cork September 9, 1648. He wrote from thence to the General Assembly of the Catholicks at Kilkenny, and invited them to treat with him for a peace, to which they shewed themselves very sincerely inclined, and prevailed upon him to come to his own castle of Kilkenny, allowing him guards for his security;

(m) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 175. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 587.

(n) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 181, 182. Historical View of the affairs of Ireland, p. 53. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 590.

(o) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 68, 69, 71.

(p) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 605.

(q) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 78. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 11—13.

(r) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 82. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 15.

(s) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 202. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 83. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 37.

(t) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 94. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 38.

[K] *On the best terms that he could possibly obtain.*] The reader may find these articles at large in the Appendix to Cox's History of Ireland, and upon reading them it must be readily owned, that they were such as none but the Marquis of Ormond could have procured from those who granted them (27). As this negotiation had taken up a great deal of time, and as the preservation of Dublin was, during all that time, chiefly owing to the supplies which the Lord-Lieutenant procured on his own credit, there was, amongst other articles, a very reasonable one for his being reimbursed; which, however, gave his enemies, of whom he had always enough, some handle for aspersing him. The Earl of Clarendon has cleared up this matter in very few words (28). ‘Since upon ‘the most strict and impartial examination of those ‘proceedings, malice itself cannot fix a colourable imputation upon the Marquis, of the want of that ‘fidelity and discretion which was requisite to preserve his Majesty's interest, or of any absence of a ‘singular affection and compassion towards the people, ‘who have the honour to be of the same nation with ‘him, they endeavoured to get it believed by dark ‘and obsure expressions, that in the articles he made ‘before the delivery of Dublin, he intended his own ‘particular benefit and advantage, and objected to him, ‘that he consented to have thirteen thousand pounds ‘paid to his own use and behoof, and that the same ‘was paid by them, and received by him accordingly; ‘and so they would persuade the world, that the person which frankly exposed the greatest fortune and ‘estate that any subject had in either of the three ‘kingdoms, and who, while he was possessed of any ‘part of it, made all worthy men in want owners of it ‘with him, could betray a trust for a vile sum of ‘money, and could be so sottish as to make that infamous bargain, and insert it into the articles which ‘were to be viewed and perused by all men; whereas ‘he might as easily have driven that traffick with ‘such secrecy, that it could never have been discovered ‘if he had meant it should be secret.’ His Lordship then proceeds to shew, in what manner the money, raised by the Marquis of Ormond, was applied in the support of Dublin, and other garrisons; how that account was audited by Sir James Ware; and how thoroughly satisfied the Parliament Commissioners were, that not one penny of this sum could be acquired by, or come into the pocket of, the Marquis of Ormond, who disposed of it immediately for the payment of debts he had contracted for those services.

(27) Appendix to the second Vol. p. 137.

(28) Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 71.

[L] *By a shipwreck procured by his own impatience.*] When the Marquis left his family at Caen, he purposed to ride post down to the ferry opposite to Havre de Grace; but having rode the first stage to Dive, he there met the Master of an half-decked boat laden with cyder, who promised to convey him that evening to Havre; and the Marquis having with him a new book, which he was desirous of reading by the way, he and his servant, for all the rest of his company were gone before, went on board that small vessel. The wind turned, and sat so cross, that they were all night on the water. Towards morning the wind blew very high, and the Master being at a loss, asked the Marquis of Ormond what hour it was by his watch. The Marquis's impatience to be on shore, betrayed him into an error that had like to have proved fatal to him, and indeed occasioned the loss of the vessel; he told the Master, it was an hour later than, in fact, it was; this made the man so miscount his tide, that he ran upon the flats, the boat was split, and the Marquis, with some difficulty, escaped in the cock-boat, which brought him so near the shore, that men waded into the water, and carried him to land on their shoulders. This happening on a Sunday morning when all people were at church, those helps were wanting, which otherwise might have saved the cyder-boat (29).

(29) This Account is taken from Sir Robert Southwell's Narrative.

[M] The

security; and the peace being concluded, was presented to him by the hands of the Speaker of that Assembly, on the seventeenth of January following (*u*). There now seemed to be greater hopes than ever, of the revival and recovery of the Royal Authority in that kingdom. But that old intractable rebel, Owen O Neile, who had revived that fatal distinction amongst the Catholicks, of the Old English, and the Old Irish, refused to submit to the peace, and all the creatures of the Nuncio and the bigotted Irish adhered to him (*w*). About this time the new's of the King's murder reached Ireland, and was received with such universal abhorrence, that the Lord-Lieutenant saw plainly, the whole island might be brought to acknowledge King Charles II, whom he caused to be immediately proclaimed, if O Neile could be brought over in time (*x*). But his endeavours upon this head proved ineffectual, as did also another attempt of his to gain over Jones and Coot, and tho' to outward appearance the King's affairs in Ireland looked fair and promising, yet the Lord Lieutenant quickly found that it was impossible to shake the resolution of his open and declared enemies, and at the same time, there appeared but too many good reasons to doubt, whether he might safely rely upon the assurances of many of his pretended friends (*y*) [*M*]. Under all these perplexities, amongst which this was not the least, that a fair understanding was grown up between the Parliament party, and the Old Irish under Owen O Neile; he formed the great and generous design of attacking Dublin, in order to which, he had by continual skirmishes, whereby he ruined the English horse; and by the assistance of his friends, and his own personal credit in Ireland, raised money enough to keep together a very considerable body of forces, though, as he apprehended, scarce sufficient for the execution of so great a scheme (*z*). He came however before that city, with an army consisting of two thousand horse and five thousand foot, exclusive of the forces under the Lord Dillon of Costillo, which were on the north side, and consisted of two thousand foot and five hundred horse. But while they were thus employed, they could not hinder the coming in of a great supply from England, consisting of two thousand foot and six hundred horse, under the command of the Colonels Reynolds and Venables (*a*). The Lord-Lieutenant was extremely apprehensive of Jones's making a sally from the city, in which his forces were now become very near as numerous as those that formed the siege, and therefore he was inclined to retire; but the Irish troops having been hitherto very successful, since they were under his command, apprehended that nothing could oppose them, and therefore they desired that a body of forces might be sent to secure Baggatrath, in order to prevent any new succours from entering the place (*b*). But while they were busy in this, Jones, as the Lord-Lieutenant apprehended, sallied out of the city with four thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and attacked the royal army, which was not in the best order, with such fury, that notwithstanding all the Lord-Lieutenant could do, in point both of courage or conduct,

(*u*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 204, 205. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 96, 97.

(*w*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 104, 105. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 3. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 57.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 375.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 58. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 3. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 109.

(*z*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 5. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 113. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*a*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 118. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 6. Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 391.

(*b*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 122, 123.

[*M*] *The assurances of many of his pretended friends.*] It is not easy to conceive or describe the situation of the Lord-Lieutenant at this juncture. He returned into the kingdom without either men or money; and though he found numbers convinced of their past mistakes, and making strong professions of obedience for the future, yet, at the same time, there were powerful enemies in different parts of the kingdom. The city of Dublin was in the hands of Colonel Michael Jones, who commanded the Parliament's forces; and besides that, and other neighbouring garrisons, Colonel Monck was in possession of Dundalk and other places, and the same party had also a strong garrison in Londonderry (30). Owen O Neile had an army of near six thousand men composed of the old Irish, which were wholly at his devotion; and though he always entertained some kind of correspondence with the Lord-Lieutenant, yet he was, at the same time, treating with Colonel Monck, and other officers of the Parliament party. In England, Oliver Cromwell had been appointed Commander in Chief for the reduction of Ireland, the very fame of which kept up the spirits of the rebels, and terrified many that were well affected. At the same time, the Lord-Lieutenant was controuled by the Commissioners appointed by the Assembly at Kilkenny; the disputes about command in his own army, kept him in constant employment, and it was with great difficulty he found means to adjust them. Some also of Lord Inchiquin's officers were discontented, and this once rose so high as a mutiny at Cork, to appease which the Lord-Lieutenant was forced to go thither in person. But what is most surprizing, Prince Rupert, who with part of the fleet that had revolted from the Parliament, was all this time on the Irish coast; instead of giving the Marquis any assistance, as he might have done, created fresh uneasiness by his intrigues with all parties; attended with an apparent jealousy of, and dislike to, the Lord-Lieutenant, flowing from motives of ambition and self-conceit. Against so many open and concealed enemies, it was a difficult thing to make provision; and yet, for some time, the Lord-Lieutenant did it with success. Owen O Neile, though he had a good army, wanted ammunition, and thereupon applied to Colonel Monck, who, upon his undertaking to make a diversion, by cutting off the Marquis of Ormond's subsistence, promised to supply him with powder, bullet, and match; to receive which, O Neile sent Lieutenant-General O Farrel with a detachment of five hundred horse; but Lord Inchiquin having intelligence of this, met O Farrel in his return, routed and destroyed his detachment, took the whole convoy, besieged Dundalk, and, in two days, obliged Monck to surrender, by which all the magazines in that place fell into the hands of the Royalists (31). This, tho' it put out of the power of O Neile to perform what he had promised, yet did not hinder him from making a new agreement for relieving Londonderry, for which he had two thousand pounds in money, a great quantity of ammunition, and two thousand cows, and this service he performed; so that when it was to serve their own turns, the Parliament made no scruple at all of deriving assistance from the most guilty of the Irish rebels, and the avowed enemies of the English name and nation. The jealousies in the Lord-Lieutenant's army still subsisted; Cromwell was continually sending over fresh emissaries to sow sedition and disaffection; all the parties in Ireland had their particular views, which they continued to pursue at the expence of the publick interest, which was the sole care of the Lord-Lieutenant, and it was the steadiness he shewed in adhering to it, beyond all other considerations, that raised him so many enemies, who were continually plotting and contriving to defeat all his designs, and, in order to it, scrupled not to make use of any measures. Upon this view, therefore, of the situation of his affairs, the reader will easily judge of the care and perplexity he must be in; and if he is inclined to enter into all the particulars of his conduct, and to receive full satisfaction as to the grounds of these assertions, he need only consult the Earl of Clarendon's elaborate work, in which he will find every step of the Lord-Lieutenant's management fully cleared, and effectually vindicated (32).

(30) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 39, 40.

(31) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 4, 5.

(32) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 93—118.

[*N*] *Edmund*

conduct, and he gave very noble instances of both, yet they were totally routed with very great loss of men, and all their baggage, tents, and artillery, fell into the enemies hand (c). This was the fatal battle of Rathmines, the loss of which totally destroyed the hopes of the Lord-Lieutenant, and threw the affairs of Ireland into greater confusion than ever, yet such was his presence of mind, that in his retreat he took the important fortress of Balysonan, making the Governor believe that Dublin had surrendered, by which he covered Kilkenny, and soon after forced Jones to raise the siege of Drogheda (d). There wanted not some malicious people, who would have thrown the scandal of this great loss upon the Lord-Lieutenant, but the honestest and best informed amongst the Irish Papists, have not only acquitted him on this head, but have fairly owned, that the chief cause of the defeat, was the army's being betrayed by Edmund Reily, afterwards the Popish Archbishop of Armagh (e) [N]. The Lord-Lieutenant, to repair in some measure this great misfortune, renewed his treaty with Owen O Neile, and have shewing him in a clear light his own danger, brought him to conclude it, and promise to join him with an army of six thousand foot and five hundred horse; but before he could execute this he was taken off by poison (f). In the mean time Oliver Cromwell landed with his army at Dublin, about the middle of August, having eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two hundred thousand pounds in ready money. He entered immediately after his arrival upon action, and advanced without delay to Drogheda, into which place the Lord-Lieutenant had thrown a garrison of two thousand three hundred men of his best troops, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, while himself endeavoured to collect an army sufficient to relieve it. Cromwell came before the place on the third of September, and receiving his heavy cannon by sea, began to batter it on the ninth, and having made a breach that was practicable by the eleventh, he caused it to be attacked, carried it that day by assault, and with infinite barbarity put to death all that he found therein, which struck such a terror into the Irish as could never be worn off (g). A little before this time, King Charles II. sent him the Garter by Mr Seymour. The growth of the enemies power, and the divisions that happened among his own forces, put it entirely out of his power to raise an army sufficient to look Cromwell in the face; but notwithstanding this and the deep distress he was in for want of money, he made a shift to force him to raise the siege of Duncannon, and kept him for some time from enlarging his conquests, but what he was not able to effect by force, he knew how to bring about by other means, and having debauched part of Lord Inchiquin's forces, he thereby weakened the Lord-Lieutenant's power extreamly (h). The Bishops and Clergy began now to revive their clamour, and to pretend that no good was to be expected so long as affairs were directed by Ormond; and their intrigues had such an effect, that at last it was openly insisted upon, that the Lord-Lieutenant should leave Ireland, which, except the concern he had for the interest of the King, and his subjects that were still faithful, was agreeable enough to his inclination; and therefore when he found he could no longer be useful to either, he declared the Marquis of Clanrickard Lord-Deputy, and embarked December 5, 1650, for France, carrying with him the Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Wogan, and about forty officers (i). The Marquis landed very safely in France, and went the beginning of the year following to Paris, where he attended the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York, 'till the arrival of His Majesty, after his unfortunate defeat at Worcester. His finances being now in a very disordered condition, the King in no condition to assist him, and the Parliament about to share all the lands in Ireland, belonging to persons who had fought against them, amongst those that were stiled Adventurers; it was found absolutely necessary, to send the Marchioness over to try if she could not obtain from the Parliament of England, an exemption of her own estate, that they might have something to subsist upon (k). After her departure the Marquis fell into great straits, and might have fallen into greater, if the nobility of France had not showed him great civilities, and freely invited him to spend some time at their houses, where he was treated with all possible kindness and respect. One of these invitations was attended

(c) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 7. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 79. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 124—127.

(d) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 128, 129.

(e) Peter Walsh's Hist. of the Remonstrance, p. 583—609.

(f) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 137. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 82.

(g) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 8. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 84. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 131.

(h) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 97. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 147. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 10.

(i) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 257, 258. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 51, 52.

(k) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 157.

[N] *Edmund Reily, afterwards the Popish Bishop of Armagh.*] This Edmund Reily was, at this time, Vicar-General of Dublin, and had been engaged in a long series of most iniquitous negotiations between Colonel Michael Jones, the Marquis of Antrim, and Owen O Neile (33). About four years after this, he was one of the chief authors of a most vile and detestable action, which was, the burning the black castle of Wicklow, and causing the people that were in it, to be murdered during the time of a cessation, for which inhuman barbarity he would infallibly have suffered death, had he not claimed the merit of this other infamous action, of betraying the Marquis of Ormond's army at this fatal action of Rathmines, which service to the rebels he so fully made out, that he saved his life (34). Yet for all this, we have no very clear relation of the manner in which this act of treachery was committed; but from laying circumstances together, it seems to have been thus: The post of Baggatrath was so situated, as to command a meadow under the walls of Dublin, in which the rebels grazed their horses, and besides lay so conveniently towards the river, that by drawing a line from thence, and fortifying it, all future supplies might have been cut off, as well as the horses starved. The Lord-Lieutenant detached fifteen hundred men for this service, and they marched on the 1st of August at the fall of night; but though the place was not quite a mile off, yet their Popish guides so managed the matter, as that the detachment did not reach the ground they were to fortify, 'till an hour before day. It is therefore very likely, that Reily's treachery consisted in corrupting these guides, and giving notice to the enemy of the march of the detachment; for before they had time to fortify themselves, they were attacked by the rebels. But notwithstanding all this, and his future behaviour at Wicklow, this very man was made choice of, by the Pope, to be afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland; which is an incontestible proof of Popish perfidy, and of the small concern the subjects of that religion had for the service of their Sovereign.

(33) Peter Walsh's Hist. of the Remonstrance, p. 583. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 7.

(34) Peter Walsh's Hist. of the Remonstrance, p. 609.

[O] Will

attended with an adventure, the circumstances of which were so entertaining, that I am persuaded the reader will be pleased to see them in the notes (*l*) [*O*]. While he was thus in needy circumstances abroad, the Marchioness struggled through very great difficulties at home; she did indeed, in the beginning of 1653, procure an order of Parliament for the settling upon her two thousands pounds a year, together with Dunmore-house near Kilkenny, for the subsistence of herself and family; but she found so many obstructions in the carrying this order into execution, that it was about two years before she got that matter fully settled, and then she went over and resided at Dunmore, after she had sent her two sons to Holland, and never saw her husband 'till after the King's restoration (*m*). It is certain, that the Marquis had as great a share in the King's confidence as any man, and hardly ever quitted his attendance on his person, during the time of his exile. When Cardinal Mazarine, to oblige Cromwell, constrained His Majesty to leave France, he went for Spaw, where meeting with his sister the Princess of Orange, they went to Aix la Chapelle, and from thence to Cologne, where the King staid for some time (*n*). It was here that His Majesty had an account of the ill usage his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, met with from the Queen-Mother, in order to force him to change his religion, and this engaged the King to think of bringing him to Cologne, with the care of which the Marquis of Ormond was intrusted, and he performed it with great steadiness and spirit. He went afterwards to the Hague to fetch the Princess of Orange, and on his return attended His Majesty, Her Royal Highness, and the Duke of Gloucester, to the fair of Franckfort, and on that occasion was present at Koningstein, at an interview between his Master and Queen Christiana of Sweden, who, whatever respect she might pay him, had been no friend to his family (*o*). The Marquis was afterwards intrusted with a negotiation, in which the King engaged with the Duke of Newburgh, by whose assistance it was hoped he might conclude an advantageous treaty with Spain. This however went on but slowly, 'till Don Juan of Austria was declared Governor of the Spanish Low-Countries, and even then His Majesty procured but indifferent terms. Such as they were, however, it was thought requisite to draw over the Irish regiments from the French service to the Spanish, and this by the industry of the Marquis was effectually performed; they were formed into six regiments, and the Marquis had one of them, and by his interest also the town of St Ghislain, in which the French had a garrison, was delivered up to the Spaniards in the beginning of the year 1657, a service of great importance, considering the vicinity of that place to Brussels (*p*). But notwithstanding all the services the King's subjects rendered to the Spaniards, they were not very forward in making returns, which was chiefly owing to the accounts given by Cardenas, their Minister in England, which meeting with entire credit from Don Juan, he expressed some diffidence of the interest of the King's friends in England (*q*). To clear up this point, the Marquis of Ormond offered to go over and gain an exact account of the state of things in that kingdom, which he performed with infinite hazard to himself, and returned safely after running through almost incredible dangers [*P*]. There

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 159.

(*m*) See her Letter to Oliver Cromwell, in the Collection published by Mr John Nicholls, p. 86. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 160.

(*n*) See Sir Henry Bennet's Letters, p. 95. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 162—169.

(*o*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 335. Bennet's Letters, p. 99.

(*p*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 306, 334, 349.

(*q*) Bennet's Letters, p. 133.

[*O*] *Will be pleased to see them in the notes.*] A French nobleman of great quality having invited the Marquis of Ormond to his house at St Germain en Laye (35), entertained him there for some time, in a manner perfectly suitable to his own rank, and that of his guest. At his coming away, the Marquis, in compliance with a very inconvenient English custom, left with the Maître d' Hôtel ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road, ruminating on this melancholy circumstance, and contriving how to raise a small supply for present use, he was surprized to be advertised by his servant, that the nobleman, at whose house he had been, was behind driving furiously, as if he was desirous to overtake him. The Marquis had scarce left St Germain, when the distribution of the money he had given caused a great disturbance among the servants, who exalting their own services and attendance, complained of the Maître de Hôtel's partiality. The nobleman hearing an unusual noise in his family, and upon enquiry into the matter, finding what it was, took the ten pistoles himself, and causing horses to be put to his chariot, made all the haste that was possible after the Marquis of Ormond. The Marquis, upon notice of his approach, got off his horse, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and respect; but was strangely surprised to find a coldness in the nobleman which forbad all embraces, 'till he had received satisfaction in a point which had given him great offence. He asked the Marquis, if he had reason to complain of any disrespect, or other defect, which he had met with in the too mean, but friendly, entertainment which his house afforded? And being answered by the Marquis, that his treatment had been full of civility; that he had never passed so many days more agreeably in his life; and could not but wonder why the other should suspect the contrary. The nobleman then told him, that the leaving ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants, was treating his house as an inn, and was the greatest affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own servants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himself; that he considered him a stranger that might be unacquainted with the customs of France, and err through some practice deemed less dishonourable in his own country, otherwise his resentment should have prevented any expostulation; but as the case stood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he must either redress the mistake by receiving back the ten pistoles, or give him the usual satisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront: The Marquis acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with less anxiety about his subsistence.

(35) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 159. From the relation of Dr Drelincourt, Dean of Armagh.

[*P*] *After running through almost incredible dangers.*] It is but reasonable to explain the cause that induced the Marquis of Ormond to undertake this perilous journey, before we mention his narrow escapes therein. The Spaniards had promised to furnish the King with six thousand men, whenever he was master of a port in England to receive them; there were also many gentlemen in England of family and fortune, that had offered their services to his Majesty; whence it seemed to be no rash, or ill founded, scheme to hope, that an insurrection might be raised, and such a port secured (36). It was to look into the bottom of this business; and, if it was found practicable, to put things in motion, that the Marquis undertook this journey, which was covered by a pretence of his returning into Germany, to resume his negotiations with the Duke of Newburgh, that his absence from the King might be accounted for, and Cromwell's spies (37) abroad be the less capable of

(36) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles II. p. 33.

(37) See Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VII. p. 822.

There was about this time some favourable hopes of the Dutch, and not without reason, since it is certain that John de Witt was well affected to His Majesty, and inclined, so far as was consistent with the security of his own country (r), to do him service; so indeed the most considerable people in Holland were, and as for the populace they never dissembled their good affections. To promote these, the Marquis of Ormond entered into a treaty of marriage for his son the Earl of Ossory, with a daughter of the Sieur de Beverweert, natural son to Maurice Prince of Orange (s), which soon after took effect; and though this may seem entirely a family transaction, yet it was attended with circumstances as pregnant with affection and loyalty to his master, as any transaction of his whole life (t). He was soon after engaged in several other schemes for His Majesty's service, and when it was thought requisite that a right understanding should be restored with the Queen-Mother, the Marquis of Ormond was dispatched to Paris to bring it about, and had all the success that could be desired in his negotiation (u). He afterwards attended His Majesty in his journey to Fontarabia, and had there a long conference with Cardinal Mazarine, who made it a point not to see the King, which however had no other consequence, than confirming the Marquis in his notions of the insincerity and bad principles of that Minister, whom he both disliked and despised (w). On his return things began to change their face in England, and Monk beginning his march from the North, the Marquis of Ormond was one of the first that formed a true notion of his design, and not long after, Sir George Downing, who had been Cromwell's Minister to the States of Holland, desired a conference with the Marquis, and therein gave him all the lights he could (x). When the General sent over Sir John Grenvile to the King, the Marquis of Ormond was let into the secret, and had as great

(r) Hist. de Jean de Witt, p. 355.

(s) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 182. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(t) See the article of BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Ossory.

(u) Bennet's Letters, p. 135.

(w) Carte's Life, of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 189.

(x) See the article of DOWNING (Sir GEORGE).

of giving him any information. Instead of going to Germany, the Marquis went directly into Holland; and hiring a small vessel at Scheveling, passed over into England, where he landed, in the beginning of February 1657, at Westmarsh, seven miles from Colchester in Essex, from whence he travelled up to London. His first lodging was at a Popish Surgeon's in Drury-lane (38), where he had not been long, before he took the freedom of asking his Landlord, if he had not a private place in his house to hide a Priest in? He answered in the negative; adding, that his house was the worst in the world for such a person to lodge in, because it was often searched, as all the houses were in two or three streets thereabouts. He took the hint immediately, paid his landlord, and decamped without delay; and very luckily, for that very night the Surgeon's house, and several others in the neighbourhood, were very closely searched. He went next to a French Taylor's in Black-Friers, where he was once alarmed to such a degree, that he was getting out of the garret-window; but finding it was only some workmen that ran hastily up stairs late on the Saturday-night, to remove their tools before Sunday-morning, he returned to his bed, where he slept in his cloaths, that he might never be taken unprovided; and this precaution, and making himself well acquainted with all the back ways, he used all the time he continued in England. This, indeed, was no more than he found necessary; for he had not been a week in town, before Cromwell had notice of it (39), and mentioned it to the Earl of Orrery. He went next to lodge in Old Fish-street, where he was somewhat more at his ease; he took there the name of Pickering, and passed for a disbanded officer. Finding a wig troublesome, and but an indifferent disguise, his friend Colonel Leg, to whom he complained of it, furnished him with a water to turn his own hair black; but either there was too much aquafortis in the mixture, or the Marquis applied it unskilfully, for instead of having the intended effect, it changed his hair of several colours, and besides, scalded his head to such a degree, as gave him a great deal of trouble. The Marquis ventured his person very freely, during the time he stayed, and saw all sorts of persons, that had manifested any inclinations for his Majesty's service, more especially in the city, where being introduced by Sir Philip Honeywood, to a company of some low, and all but middling sort of people, as a person for whom he would answer, and who was going to the King, they absolutely refused to say any thing, unless to some person of character and consideration, upon whom they might depend, he to remove that difficulty, frankly discovered himself, but met with nothing in return, but general assurances, which might have been as well given, without his running that hazard (40). He afterwards met the *sealed knot*, as they were called, or Sir Richard Willis's club, once, in Colonel Russel's chambers, in Bedford-garden; and at another time, at Sir Richard Willis's chambers in Gray's-Inn, where, however, nothing passed of moment, most of those gentlemen, being persuaded, that any attempt to be made then, must be attended with insuperable difficulties, which were largely set forth by Sir Richard, who was all this while betraying them to Cromwell (41). The Marquis entered also into all the particular and private engagements of gentlemen, who were well affected, but seeing nothing that could encourage him to hope any good consequences from such a general insurrection, as had been meditated before his arrival, he advised laying all thoughts of it aside, and having stayed a month on this side the water, was conducted by Dr Quatremaine, the King's Physician, into Sussex, and embarking at Shoreham in a small shallop, passed very safely over to Lieppe (42). It is very certain, that never any man ran through more dangers in so small a space than he did, for tho' at first his departure was mistaken by Cromwell's emissaries abroad, who thought he had left the King, as they phrased it, in a pet (43), yet they very soon penetrated the true design of his journey, and gave notice of it accordingly (44). Secretary Thurloe had several notices of his arrival and of his transactions, but tho' he was indefatigable in searching for him, it was without success. On this occasion, Sir Richard Willis acted with great dexterity in his dangerous employment of a double spy, for he gave the Marquis notice to shift his lodgings in the morning, and in the evening gave Cromwell notice where those lodgings were. By this he at that time gained credit with both, for the Marquis finding his lodgings searched, gave him all the honour of his escape: and Cromwell finding the Marquis had been really there in the morning, looked upon Sir Richard's intelligence as well founded (45). Yet, by a comparison of circumstances, I cannot help thinking, that Cromwell, was neither displeased with his journey nor his escape, for it gave a large field to his spies, and afforded a colour for setting on foot a most violent persecution, and erecting a new High Court of Justice, of which Lisle was the President. Before this bloody tribunal numbers were brought, many were tried, and few escaped, Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr Hewitt were beheaded, four persons of meaner quality were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and others were imprisoned (46) as long as Cromwell lived. The Marquis was not much safer at Paris than he had been at London, for Cromwell sent notice to Cardinal Mazarine of his being there, and insisted on his causing him to be apprehended, which he would certainly have done, if he had not been deceived in his intelligence by which he was persuaded, that the Marquis was gone to Scotland (47). One may guess at the Marquis's apprehension by the road he took to join the King again in Flanders, for he went in three days post to Lyons, from thence to Geneva, then passing through the Palatinate, and down the Rhine made the Duke of Newburgh a visit at Dusseldorp, and from thence about the middle of May, 1658, came to his Majesty at Brussels (48.)

(38) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 178.

(39) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, p. 24.

(40) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 176.

(41) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 668, 669.

(42) Bates, Elenc. Motuum, P. ii. p. 225. Life of Lord Viscount Mordaunt, p. 71. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 617.

(43) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 822.

(44) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 4, 17, 27, 28, 107.

(45) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 668. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 179.

(46) Heath's Chronicle, p. 404, 405.

(47) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol I. p. 740.

(48) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond Vol. II. p. 180, 181. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. 1. p 732, 733, 735, 737, 752.

great a share in the transactions, which immediately preceded the King's return, as any man about him, without exception. When all things were fixed for that purpose, as he had attended His Majesty during his long exile, he accompanied him also into England, where he was immediately sworn of the Privy-Council, and made Lord Steward of the Houshold (*y*). He was soon after appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Somersetshire, and High-Steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol, and restored to his office of Chancellor of the University of Dublin; neither was it long before the King gave him farther marks of affection and esteem, by restoring and augmenting the County Palatine of Tipperary, which his family had never enjoyed from the time of it's being seized by King James (*z*). He was also created Baron of Lanthony and Earl of Brecknock (*a*), and very particular regard was shewn by the Parliament also in respect to his estates; to all which the King likewise added some grants that brought him both honour and advantage [Q]. A little before His Majesty's coronation, he was raised to the dignity of Duke of Ormond, and was created Lord High-Steward of England, on account of that solemnity at which he assisted in that high office (*b*). On the fourth of October 1661, he was declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which was so satisfactory to that kingdom, that the Parliament made his Grace a present of thirty thousand pounds (*c*); and at the same time that his Grace sent a letter of acknowledgment to the House of Commons for this high and extraordinary favour, Secretary Nicholas acquainted the Lords Justices, that His Majesty considered that act of the Parliament as a mark of affection to himself. The King's marriage hindered the Duke's going over to Ireland so early as he intended, and did not arrive there 'till the twenty-seventh of July; yet he was so active and vigorous in the dispatch of business, that he passed the Act of Settlement, and some other necessary laws on the twenty-seventh of September, by which, order and good government in that kingdom were restored (*d*). His Grace had not been long in possession of his great employment, before he found himself involved in new troubles and dangers. The Exchequer was empty, the army had great arrears, the Act of Uniformity excited a very mutinous spirit among the fanaticks, which soon after produced a dangerous conspiracy for surprizing the castle of Dublin and seizing the Duke, but this was disappointed by his vigilance, assisted by the informations he received from his friends, as we have already had occasion to show in another place (*e*). He had besides some other, and those too very considerable, discouragements, Sir Henry Bennet, lately made Secretary of State, grew upon that promotion very cool towards him; the Countess of Castlemain, the King's mistress, begged Phoenix-Park and

(*y*) Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 167.

(*z*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 218.

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(*b*) Bill. sig. de ann. 13 Car. II.

(*c*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 237.

(*d*) See the several Letters and Addresses, together with the LordLieutenant's excellent Speech, in the Appendix to Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 20—30.

(*e*) See the article of BLOOD (THOMAS), note [B]. State Letters of the Earl of Orrery, p. 69.

[Q] *Added some grants that brought him both honour and advantage.*] These grants were by letters patents under the great Seal, dated October 8 1660, by which all the reserved rents of his estates and the prisage of wines which he enjoyed as Butler of Ireland, were put out of charge in the Exchequer, and all arrears which were due before April, were ordered to be paid to the Marquis, who had likewise granted to him all his debts by bills, bonds, statutes merchant, and of the staple, or otherwise due to persons, who had forfeited, all which being by such forfeiture devolved to the crown, were now ordered to be discharged (49). His Majesty likewise made him a grant of all the lands which had been formerly by the Marquis himself, or by any of his ancestors, Earls of Ormond and Ossory, mortgaged, granted, demised, leased, or to farm let, in fee, fee-farm, fee-tail, lives or years, and which were forfeited by the having an hand in the late rebellion, directing commissions to be issued for finding his Majesty's title to the premises; and upon return thereof, letters patents to be passed to the Marquis for the same (50). The King's letters were also sent for putting him in possession of the rest of his estate restored to him by the Parliament of England, with the following remarkable preamble, supposed to be drawn by Secretary Nicholas, which the reader cannot but judge worthy of his notice, as making a very material part of the personal history of this illustrious nobleman (51). 'It having pleased Almighty God, in so wonderful a manner, to restore us to our dominions and government, and thereby, into a power not only of protecting our good subjects, but of repairing by degrees the great damages and losses they have undergone in the late ill times, by their signal fidelity and zeal for our service, which we hold ourselves obliged in honour and conscience to do as soon, and by such means, as we shall be able: no body can wonder or envy, that we should, as soon as is possible, enter upon the due consideration of the very faithful, constant, and eminent service performed to our Father of blessed memory, and ourself, upon the most abstracted considerations of honour, duty, and conscience, and without the least pause or hesitation, by our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, James, Marquis of Ormond, and Lord Steward of our houshold, who from the very beginning of the rebellion in Ireland frankly engaged himself in the hardest and most difficult parts of our service, and laying aside all considerations or thought of his own particular fortune and convenience, as freely engaged, that as his person in the prosecution and advancement of our interest; and when the power of our enemies grew so great, that he was no longer able to contend with it, he withdrew himself from that our kingdom, and from that time attended our person in the parts beyond the seas with the same constancy and alacrity, having been never from us, but always supporting our hopes and our spirits in our greatest distresses with his presence and counsels, in many occasions and designs of importance, having been our sole counsellor and companion. And therefore we say, all good men would wonder, if, being restored to any ease in our own fortune, we should not make haste to give him ease in his, that is so engaged and broken for us, and which his continual and most necessary attendance about us, must still keep him from attending himself with the care and diligence he might otherwise do. We knowing well, besides the arrears due to him during the time he commanded the army, and before he was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, that from that time he was by our Royal father put into the supreme command of that kingdom; and during the whole time that he had the administration thereof, he hath never received any of the profits, emoluments, or appointments thereof, but wholly supported himself and our service upon his own fortune and inheritance, and over and above borrowed and supplied great sums of money upon the engagement or sale of his own lands, and disbursed the same upon carrying on the publick service, as well during the time of his first being there under our Royal Father, as since under us.' It must be a great satisfaction to the Marquis to be sensible, that this was not mere form or the overflowings of a venal eloquence, but bare matters of fact, plainly told by one who knew them to be such, and which, upon being either heard or read, would be so acknowledged by the most intelligent people in England and Ireland.

(49) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 218.

(50) See this explained at large in the place before cited.

(51) This agrees exactly in it's contents with the Letter written by the same Secretary on the present made to the Marquis.

[R] An

and House, but his Grace stopped the warrant, which drew upon him her displeasure; and the Queen-Mother, having taken the Marquis of Antrim under her protection, took occasion to differ with him upon that nobleman's account (*f*). These things however made no alteration in his conduct, and by degrees he got over most of the obstacles, to the resettling the tranquillity of that island. A sum of money was remitted him which quieted the army, a small succour of five hundred well-affected men strengthened his security, which was farther augmented by making a considerable draught from the Irish army, for the service of Portugal (*g*). All things being now in a state of tolerable quietness, his Grace, with the King's permission, appointed his son, the Earl of Ossory, Lord-Deputy, and came over to England in May 1664 (*h*), and was received with great kindness by the King. He was far from being idle here, for as there were great complaints made of the Act of Settlement by different parties, the regulating these fell in a great measure to the share of the Duke, and it was chiefly through his care and indefatigable labours, that the Act of Explanation was framed and settled, and as soon as this was done he thought of returning to Ireland, where he landed on the third of September 1665 (*i*). The Parliament met in October following, and the great business of that session, was the passing the Act beforementioned, which was happily effected, though not without great difficulty. The discontents that prevailed among the army, which was but ill principled towards the government, were daily increased by want of pay; so that at length they shewed themselves mutinous, to a degree that broke out at last in an open insurrection at Carrickfergus, which however was suppressed by the Duke's dispatching his son, the Earl of Arran, with four companies of guards by sea the very night he received the news, and the flame hindered from extending itself by the Duke's marching thither in person (*k*). By the like care and activity, other designs of the Malecontents were defeated, and the kingdom kept tolerably quiet. He made use of all his interest in England, in order to prevent the passing an Act for prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, but to no purpose, for the Duke of Buckingham's party made a point of it and carried it (*l*). He foresaw all the ill consequences that attended this law, and did what he could to prevent them, and to find out various methods to ballance them [*R*]. The close friendship between his Grace and Lord Clarendon, drew upon him the hatred of all those who studied, and brought about the misfortune of that great man; and at the same time that they contrived this, they were endeavouring to find out pretences for impeaching the Duke of Ormond, in which however they were disappointed (*m*). But the very rumour had bad effects, more especially in Ireland, which was at that time in such a situation, as made it but too easy for things of this nature to do mischief. In the month of May 1668, his Grace came over to England, as well in obedience to the King's commands, as to take care of his concerns both publick and private; when

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 271—277.

(*g*) Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 725. Heath's Chron. p. 510.

(*h*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 7.

(*i*) Hist. of the Reign of King Charles II. p. 391.

(*k*) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 263.

(*l*) The Interest of Ireland considered, p. 73.

(*m*) Modest Account of the present Posture of Affairs in England, p. 23.

[*R*] *And to find methods to ballance them.*] This act for the prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England, was a matter of very great importance to both nations; and though the subject was handled by the best heads, and the best pens, on both sides of the water, yet it does not appear, that the real consequences of this law (52) were discerned on either side. It took up the attention of both Houses, during two sessions of Parliament, was pushed with all imaginable vehemence, and supported with extraordinary clamour, on one side, and opposed with great vigour, with much show of argument, and with many laboured computations, on the other. Yet, I think it very plainly appears from the event, that neither side was in the right. The truth of the matter seems to be, that the Duke of Buckingham and the rest of the great patrons of this law were of opinion, that it would distress the Irish exceedingly, that it would increase the discontents, and augment the difficulties in administering affairs in that island which were already but too many, and consequently perplex the Duke of Ormond, and his friends (53). There were also some particular advantages aimed at, by giving this trade to Scotland, which engaged the Earl of Lauderdale and Lord Ashley to promote it, as well as private prejudices to be gratified, which drew in all the enemies to the Earl of Clarendon's administration; but the pretences used, were the preventing an immense loss to the English nation, by the purchase of Irish cattle, which it was said had sunk the rents of England, two hundred thousand pounds a year, though the highest computation of the amount of Irish cattle, annually sold in England, fell short of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. On the other hand, those who opposed the bill, fixing their attention entirely on the present benefits, that accrued to Ireland (54) by this trade, which was almost the only one that kingdom then had, looked upon it as a measure as ruinous on one side, as it was cruel on the other. Such as had estates or interests in Ireland, looked upon themselves as deeply concerned in the event; and all the friends of the court, who knew that the King was in his judgment against this law, laboured with the utmost diligence to hinder it from passing. But after all, when this law came to take effect, it's consequences showed them to be all mistaken, for the pains and diligence employed by the Duke of Ormond, and all his friends, in supporting what they took to be Irish interest, endeared both him and them to that nation; so that design of the party absolutely miscarried in that respect (55). At to the interest of the two nations, the English certainly were far enough from being hurt by this traffick; and the Irish, by the passing of this law, being obliged to look out for foreign markets, to feed sheep, and to fall into manufactures; were so far from being hurt by it, that they derived several advantages from it (56), which otherwise they could never have attained to, and of which, few or none were foreseen by their friends. The bill passed through the House of Commons in the first session in five days; and in the last session, the great question was carried by one hundred and sixty-five against one hundred sixty-four; in the House of Lords, the numbers were sixty-three against forty-seven; and it was observed, that all the Bishops were in the minority. The King had procured it to be once laid aside, and had taken a resolution never to pass it, but was so much afraid of losing his supplies, that he thought himself obliged to do it, tho' much against his will (57). As for the Duke of Ormond, he applied himself, on the one hand, to lessen, as far as he was able, the great inconveniences that immediately ensued upon this law; and, on the other hand, to the promoting the stuff-manufactures and the linnen trade, which he did with such vigour, that in less than two years time they became very considerable, which induced an excellent judge of the interest of Ireland to say (58), That posterity would own their future affluence to be a blessing they derived from his Grace's great wisdom and incomparable government.

(52) England's Interest with respect to Ireland truly stated, p. 91. Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 125.

(53) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 329—345.

(54) Paxton's Disc. concerning the nature, advantages, and improvement of Trade, p. 48—59. Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, p. 27.

(55) The Secret Causes and Intrigues of the Romish Party in Ireland, p. 13.

(56) Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 91. Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, p. 28. Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetick, p. 252.

(57) Political Observations on the Reigns of Charles II, and James II, p. 75.

(58) Lawrence's Interest of Ireland, and it's Trade and Wealth stated, p. 189.

[*S*] *The*

when he drew near London, he was met by abundance of persons of distinguished rank and fortune, who, from a rare principle of generosity, thought it became them to show this mark of respect for the Duke, merely on account of those rumours (*n*). He was well received by the King, and upon a very severe and strict enquiry into his conduct, there appeared no ground for censure. Notwithstanding this, an opinion generally prevailed that he would not long continue Lord-Lieutenant, of which he spoke to the King in very pathetic terms, making use amongst others of these, 'that though it would never trouble him to 'be undone for His Majesty, yet it would be an insupportable affliction to be undone by 'him (*o*).' The King gave him all the assurances in the world, and very probably meant as he spoke, but the Duke of Buckingham, who now governed all, made him so uneasy that at length he resolved to displace him, as he did in the spring of the year 1669 (*p*). John Lord Roberts of Truro, then Lord Privy-Seal, was appointed to succed him, who behaved towards his Grace with all imaginable decency, as the Duke also did to him. When this news reached Ireland it was very ill received, and those who had shewn coolness enough towards the Duke's administration, appeared to be very warmly affected by his being removed, and the discontents which this occasioned increased afterward very perceptibly (*q*). To balance the loss of favour at Court, his Grace received a new and high office, meerly from respect to his reputation. Dr Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, being very old and infirm, resigned his post of Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and that learned Body, as a mark of their esteem, unanimously elected the Duke of Ormond August 4, 1669 (*r*). Those who had been instrumental in removing his Grace, could not bear to see him so popular, and therefore they had recourse to all the arts that could be devised for tarnishing his administration, and to make the world believe that he had raised a prodigious fortune at the expence of the publick (*s*). His Grace took care to refute every thing of this kind in so full a manner, that little or no dirt stuck, and the world was particularly satisfied of the falshood of what was suggested in respect to his private fortune [S]. His successor, the Lord Roberts, was removed the year following, and having in the mean time lost his post of Privy-Seal in England, this disgusted him so much that he resolved to retire, as for some time he did, but was afterwards made Lord President of the Privy-Council (*t*). The Lord Berkeley of Stratton was sent over Lord-Lieutenant in his room, and under his administration it was, that very extraordinary favours were granted to the worst sort of Irish Papists, which afterwards created much trouble in that

(*n*) Historical Remembrancer, p. 91.

(*o*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 372.

(*p*) History of England, Vol. II. p. 429.

(*q*) Impartial View of the Affairs of Ireland since the Restoration, p. 55.

(*r*) Hist. & Antiquitat. Univ. Oxon. p. 449.

(*s*) See the Sale and Settlement of Ireland, published in that year, and said to be written by Peter Talbot, the Popish Archbishop of Dublin.

(*t*) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 393.

[S] *The falshood of what was suggested in respect to his private fortune.*] We have a very large account given us by Mr Carte, of the libels that were published about this time against his Grace, which represented him as one who had made immense advantages, under colour of past services, by dint of his great popularity in England and Ireland, and by the high favour he stood in with the King his master; we are also furnished with all the answers that were given to these; but to take notice of either, would extend this article beyond it's due bounds, and therefore we will content ourselves with giving the reader a succinct and very curious state of the account between the Duke of Ormond and the publick, which by that writer is thus represented (59).

(53) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 408, 409.

The Duke of Ormond creditor.

To loss of nine years income of his estate in Ireland, from October 1641, to December 1650, at 20,000 *l.* a year	180,000	00	00
To waste of timber, buildings, &c. on it	50,000	00	00
To 2½ years income from 1650 to 1653	50,000	00	00
To debts contracted by the service of the crown during the troubles	130,000	00	00
To seven years rents of his estate from 1653 to 1660, recoverable from the adventurers and soldiers that possessed it	140,000	00	00
To the value of estates forfeited to him by breach of conditions, the remainders whereof were vested in him, but given up by an Act of Explanation	319,061	05	00
To arrears of pay, as Lord-Lieutenant, commissioned officer, &c.	62,736	09	08
To ditto for fourteen months, from July 1647 to September 1648, at the rate of the allowance of 7893 *l.* a year to the Earl of Leicester, during his absence from Ireland	9,208	10	00
To ditto for nine years and four months, from December 1650, to June 1660, at ditto	73,668	00	00
Total of losses and credits	1,014,674	04	08

The Duke of Ormond debtor.

By receipts on the 30,000 *l.* Act in Ireland	26,440	00	00
By ditto on the grant of 71916 *l.*	63,129	10	08
By ditto on the 50,000 *l.* granted by the Explanation Act	25,196	01	11
By savings on the grant of forfeited mortgages and incumbrances	5,655	12	10
By houses, &c. on Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c. valued by Commissioners at 840 *l.* 12 *s.* a year, at ten years purchase	14,012	02	04
By lands allotted on account of his arrears, set at first for 1194 *l.* but afterwards improved, and set in 1681 at 1594 *l.* a year, but being subject to a quit rent of 449 *l.* a year, their improved yearly value is but 1165 *l.* at ten years purchase	11,650	00	02
Total of profit	146,083	07	11
Total of losses and dues to the Duke of Ormond	1,014,674	04	08
Deduct as by particular of profits	146,083	07	11
So that the Duke's losses by the troubles and settlement of Ireland, exceeded his profits	868,590	16	9

that kingdom. As this and other transactions created many complaints to the King, who examined them in Council; his Grace of Ormond had frequent opportunities of explaining things, and setting the affairs of Ireland in a right light. This heightened the resentments of those who were friends to Lord Berkeley, and who had sent him to Ireland (*u*), more especially the Duke of Bucks, by whose procurement as is generally believed, or at least not without his participation, a most outrageous and detestable attempt was made upon the person of the Duke. The Prince of Orange, afterwards King William, being at this time in England, was invited December 6, 1670, to dine in the city, whither his Grace attended him, and in his return home he was attacked in St James's street, and forced out of his coach by Colonel Blood, who, it is believed, intended to have hanged him at Tyburn, if he had not happily been rescued (*w*). The King expressed very high resentment on the first news of this insult, but was afterwards prevailed upon by it's author, to send the Earl of Arlington to the Duke, to desire he would forgive Blood, for certain reasons which he had orders to tell him. His Grace answered, 'if the King could 'forgive him stealing his crown, he might easily forgive his attempt upon his life; and if 'such was his Majesty's pleasure, that was a sufficient reason for him, and his Lordship 'might spare the rest (*x*).' In the course of seven years, that his Grace was equally out of favour and employment, he never missed any opportunity of doing either his Sovereign or his country service, or of paying his duty at Court, which he did in such a manner, that notwithstanding the great influence his enemies had over his master, which went so far as to hinder him from speaking to the Duke for a whole year; yet they could never deceive him into a censure of any part of his Grace's management in Ireland, though they led him into several enquiries with that view, or prevail upon him to take from his Grace his White Staff as Lord Steward (*y*). It must be allowed that there were good reasons why the Duke stood ill with this Ministry, since he had three capital faults. In the first place he was a hearty friend, as well as a sincere son, of the Church, and therefore never courted either the Papists or the Fanaticks. He depended solely upon the King's sentiments, and would never stoop so low as to make any interest with his mistresses; and, which was not his least crime, he was very cool towards France (*z*). At last, when His Majesty seemed to have overlooked at least, if not forgot, all his former services, and saw him at Court with the utmost indifferency; in the latter end of April 1677, he surprized the Duke, with a message that he would come and sup with him. He did so, and was entertained with all the freedom and mirth that the most dutiful and sincere affection could suggest; so that before he went away, his Majesty disclosed the business of his visit, which was the resolution he had taken to make his Grace once more Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (*a*) [*T*]. As

(*u*) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, Negociations, Stratagems, and Intrigues of the Romish Party in Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution, p. 7. Cox's History of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 11.

(*w*) London Gazette, Decemb. 8, 1670. See the article of BLOOD (THOMAS) note [*F*]. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 869.

(*x*) Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative of Blood's stealing the Crown, preserved in Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. p. 92.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 462.

(*z*) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles II. p. 391.

(*a*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 463. Cox's History of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14.

[*T*] *To make his Grace once more Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.*] In the whole reign of King Charles II, there was not a more extraordinary incident than this, of restoring the Duke of Ormond to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, not only beyond his own expectations, and against even the hopes of his friends, but without any seeking of his or assistance of theirs; in short, by the issue of a court-intrigue, in which he had not the smallest concern (60), thus, then it was brought about. The Earl of Essex made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1672, was a nobleman of great integrity and honour, a true friend to the English and Protestant interest in Ireland, and yet at the time he was put into this government, and during the space he continud in it, extremely well with the Duke of York. The party at court that had ruined and driven the Earl of Clarendon out of the kingdom, removed the Duke of Ormond from the Lieutenancy of Ireland, made the second Dutch war, and themselves infamous to posterity by the title of the *Cabal*, were those who secretly abetted the complaints against the Earl of Essex, and who at last determined the King to remove him (61): I say, that they secretly abetted the complaints against him, because many of them professed themselves his friends, and had address enough to deceive him, both then and afterwards. The scheme they had in view was to put the government for a small time into the hands of Lords Justices, and then to procure the Lieutenancy for the Duke of Monmouth, in which, from the King's natural affection to his son (62), they judged, they should meet with very little difficulty. But this design of theirs could not be carried on with such secrecy as to escape the knowledge of the Duke of York, who, as it may be easily imagined, was not a little alarmed at it. His Royal Highness had no concern in the removal of the Earl of Essex, of whom he had then a very high opinion; but when once he had found out that the Duke of Monmouth was intended for his successor, he resolved to leave no stone unturned to prevent this scheme from taking effect; and therefore took occasion to mention to his Majesty the great services of the Duke of Ormond, and to represent to him in the strongest light the necessity he was under of putting the government of Ireland into the hands of a person in whom he could absolutely confide, and whose reputation was effectually established with all the well-meaning part of his subjects in both nations (63). It was no sooner suggested to his Majesty, than he saw it in that point of light, which tended most to his own security; there was no man he esteemed more, and hardly any he could depend upon so much as this nobleman; and therefore he immediately resolved, that he should be the person. There were various attempts made to alter the King's sentiments in this respect, but to no purpose, he very clearly perceived, that some dark and dangerous designs were brewing, and he was equally afraid of the violence of the Papists, and of the secret plots of the Republicans. He knew that both parties were strong in Ireland; and he knew likewise, that the Duke of Ormond was, of all men living, the most capable of defending him against both, and therefore he was inflexible in his determination of putting that kingdom into his hands (64). How well his Majesty judged upon this occasion appeared, not only from the loud and general approbation this measure met with, both in England and Ireland, but also from the particular conduct of the Earl of Essex. That nobleman, well knowing his Majesty's good-nature, was no sooner acquainted, that his removal was a thing fixed, than he desired and obtained leave to quit the sword, when, and to whom he thought proper. But as soon as he was informed, that the Duke of Ormond was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, he changed his resolution, for which he gave this reason in a letter (65); Since his Majesty has been pleased to pitch 'upon a person, who has so much experience in all 'affairs in this kingdom, and so eminent for his 'loyalty; I am resolved to stay 'till his Grace shall 'arrive, that I may put the sword myself into his 'hands.' He carried this still further, by making a special order for receiving the Duke of Ormond with all the solemnity and pomp imaginable, too long to be inserted; and to which therefore it is sufficient to refer (66).

(60) Compl. History of England, Vol. III. p. 360.

(61) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, &c. p. 13.

(62) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 465, 466.

(63) Hist. of the Reign of King Charles II, p. 391.

(64) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 469.

(65) This Letter is dated from Dublin, Aug. 17, 1677.

(66) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 468.

[*U*] In

As unexpected as the King's choice was, it no sooner became publick, than it was extreamly well received in England, and with very unusual marks of joy in Ireland, though the Lord-Lieutenant they then had on the removal of Lord Berkeley, *viz.* the Earl of Essex, had taken much pains to make himself master of their affairs, and had managed them with great integrity and honour. It is certain, that this conduct of his, did not hinder him from having, perhaps might contribute to procure him, enemies, who had even the boldness to attack his behaviour at the Council-Board, where, from a mere principle of justice, he was very warmly and very effectually defended by the Duke of Ormond; before there was any probability of his succeeding him (*b*). This however had such an effect upon the Earl of Essex, that when his Grace came over, in August 1677, to take the sword, he surrendered it with very unusual and even unexampled marks of esteem. Almost as soon as he entered on his government, the Duke met with things to disturb him. A Popish regiment had been raised, under pretence of being intended for foreign service, but remained in the kingdom longer than there seemed to be any necessity, under pretence of their being disciplined, and for the same reason his Grace was desired to furnish them with arms; which he positively refused, adding that they might very well learn their exercise with sticks (*c*). The Protestant army he put into the best condition possible, gave orders for repairing all the forts, and caused a new one to be raised for protecting Kingsale Harbour, which he called Fort *Charles*. The very next year the Popish plot broke out, and an account was transmitted to the Lord-Lieutenant, of discoveries which had been made, of dangers to which Ireland was exposed; intimating also, some designs against his person. Upon this, he caused Peter Talbot, the Popish Archbishop of Dublin, and every way worthy of that office, as having been the greatest incendiary in the kingdom, to be apprehended; and, by proclamation, ordered all the Dignitaries of the Church of Rome, to depart the kingdom by the twentieth of November: he took this opportunity also of disarming the Papists, and making such orders with respect to the army, that it was impossible either for officers or private men of that communion to shelter themselves therein (*d*). All these, and other wise precautions, he daily took; which however did not protect him from various calumnies in England; but these made no sort of impression upon him, for knowing that kingdom better than any other man, he went on his own way with great firmness; and the consequences of his regulations, fully answered all his expectations. Some attempts however were made to remove him, and a report of this prevailed so strongly, that the Earl of Arlington, who was now become his Grace's warm friend, took occasion to mention it to the King, whose temper was by this time very much changed, as appeared by the short answer he gave him, which was to this effect, 'that the new Ministers he had got, were for jostling out his old friends, but they should never gain that point of him;' adding with an oath, *That while the Duke of* Ormond *lived he should never be put out of that government* (*e*). The Duke of York was also of the same opinion. All this however did not discourage his enemies in England from prosecuting their old designs, and even forming new ones, in order to procure his removal from the Lieutenancy [*U*]. In

(*b*) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, &c. p. 13. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14. Laurence's Interest of Ireland, p. 155.

(*c*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 369.

(*d*) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, &c. p. 15, 16. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14.

(*e*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 492.

[*U*] *In order to procure his removal from the Lieutenancy.*] After the breaking out of the Popish plot, it was impossible for one of the Duke's rank, and in his station, to pass his days in peace. The very cares of his office at such a time, were more than sufficient to exercise all his diligence and attention; and there is no doubt, that they did. But how well soever he might perform what was incumbent upon him from his post, it was impossible, that he should give satisfaction to all parties, indeed, hardly possible, that he should give satisfaction to any; for whatever he did, the Papists thought too much (67), and the malecontents in England, whatever they thought, were ready enough to assert, he did too little. As his Grace wanted not information of all that passed, as well to his prejudice as his advantage; so no body knew better how to make a defence, than he did, as appears from the following extract of a letter of his to Sir Robert Southwell, which deserves a place for two reasons; first, because it fully clears the point now under our eye; and next, because it affords us a specimen of this nobleman's way of writing, which, if I mistake not, will satisfy every judicious peruser, that his Grace's character would have appeared, even in a light superior to what it now does, had he found leisure to be his own Historian (68). 'It hath been my fortune, upon several occasions, to be taken by the Papists, to be their greatest enemy, when it was thought that character would have done me hurt, and sometimes to be their greatest friend, when that would hurt me; and (which is unreasonable) the very same men have been believed, when they have made so different a description of me. A little indulgence towards one, will seem to conclude from thence, that I am in neither extreme, that is, neither transported with fury against them that are of that religion, because some of them, and perhaps too many, are traitors and murtherers, not trusting too much to them, because, I believe, some of them are good subjects and honest men. It may be perhaps unseasonable to profess such a temper; yet it may be as soon excused in me as in any man, for if there be truth in the information of Oates, I am to wait upon the King in the tragedy designed, tho' I really profess, I had rather go before him, even for my own sake, because I would not live to see the calamities and confusions that would follow, if such a villany should have success. —— It seems now to be the Papists turn, to endeavour to dispatch me; the other Non-conformists have had theirs, and may have again, when they shall be inspired from the same place, for different reasons, to attempt the same thing. I know the danger I am and may be in, is a perquisite belonging to the place I am in, and so much envied for being in; but I will not be frighted into a resignation, and will be found alive or dead in it, 'till the same hand that placed me, shall remove me. —— I know well, that I am born with some disadvantages, in relation to the present conjuncture, besides my natural weaknesses and infirmities, and such as I can no more free myself from, than I can from them. My father and mother lived and died Papists, and only I, by God's merciful providence was educated in the true Protestant Religion, from which I never swerved towards either extreme, not when it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. I reflect not upon any, who have held another course, but will charitably hope, that though their changes happened to be always to the prosperous side, yet they were made by the force of present conviction. My brothers and sisters, though they were not very many, were very fruitful and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in their

(67) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, &c. p. 15.

(68) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 489.

In the midst of these publick difficulties, one of the greatest that could reach him in his private capacity, exercised his patience, which was the death of the Earl of Ossory his eldest son, whom he loved with the tenderness of a father and the affection of a friend (*f*). He bore this loss however with great steadiness, nor did he discover any marks of impatience, when within three weeks after so great a misfortune, he found himself obliged to answer a new list of objections, which his enemies had prepared against his administration, with a view perhaps of picking more out of his answers than they knew how to thrust into their charge. In this he disappointed them, for he kept close to his defence, and contented himself with showing that what they suggested was either foolish or false (*g*). By this he preserved his power, but not the exercise of it in such an extent as he wished; for though the times required, and himself pressed, for a Parliament in Ireland, yet he was not permitted to call one, for both the interests at Court were now united against him, and tho' they could not prevail upon the King to part with his Lord-Lieutenant, yet they kept the Lord-Lieutenant from calling a Parliament (*h*). At last His Majesty considered the great proof the Duke had given of his abilities, in keeping all Ireland quiet during the time of the Popish plot, when England was in the utmost confusion, resolved to send for him over, which he did in the spring of the year 1682; and his Grace having settled affairs in Ireland, and left the sword with his son Richard, Earl of Arran, landed at Chester on the second of May (*i*). He was received by the King, with all the marks of affection and esteem that his services could deserve, and, without doubt, his presence and counsels were of great use to his Master in that critical juncture, which induced him to delay no longer a favour he had some time intended for his Grace, which was raising him to the title of Duke in England; and this was accordingly done by a patent, dated November the ninth, in the thirty-fourth year of His Majesty's reign, by the title of Ormond (*k*). All this however did not give him sufficient weight to procure the King's assent to the measure which he had most at heart, which was the holding a parliament in Ireland; on the contrary, the earnestness with which he pushed this was prejudicial to his interest, procured first an order for him to return to that kingdom, which he readily obeyed; and before he was well there, a resolution to remove him from his government, which he received when he least expected it (*l*). As disagreeable as this news might be, it was followed by another piece of intelligence which gave him infinitely more disquiet, and that was the King's death, an event which he had always apprehended, and for which in his private commerce with his friends, he expressed the most sensible concern. He caused King James II. to be proclaimed, as his duty required; but he was very soon made sensible, notwithstanding all the services he had rendered that Prince, at a season when it was most dangerous to render him service, of a wide difference between his Masters; for whereas King Charles would never have obliged him to surrender the sword in person; one of the first orders he received from his successor, was to give it up to the Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard, which he did on the last of March 1685 (*m*). It may indeed be said in excuse of King James, that the Duke of Ormond having a great foresight of the changes that were like to happen, employed all the time, from his last arrival in Ireland, in taking the best measures he was able, for the security of the Protestant and English interest in that island, which was resented to a degree of fury by the Irish, tho' without it's having any effect upon him, who behaved with the same steadiness from the time he received 'till he parted with the ensigns of his authority [*W*].

(*f*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1001.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 509.

(*h*) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, &c. p. 17.

(*i*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 15, 16.

(*k*) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 406.

(*l*) Carte's Life, of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 541. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(*m*) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 449.

'their way, their fruitfulness, hath spread into a large 'alliance, and their obstinacy hath made it altogether 'Popish. It would be no small comfort to me, if 'it had pleased God it had been otherwise, that I 'might have enlarged my industry, to do them good, 'and served them more effectually to them, and more 'safely to myself. But as it is, I am taught by nature, 'and also by instruction, that difference in opinion, 'concerning matters of religion, dissolves not the ob-'ligations of nature; and in conformity to this prin-'ciple, I own, not only, that I have done, but that 'I will do my relations, of that, or any other per-'swasion, all the good I can. But I profess, at the 'same time, that if I find any of them, who are 'nearest to me, acting or conspiring rebellion, or 'plotting against the government and the religion 'established amongst us, I will endeavour to bring 'them to punishment, sooner than the remotest stranger 'to my blood. I know professions of this nature are 'easily made, and therefore sometimes little credited, 'but I claim some belief from my known practice, 'having been so unfortunate, as to have had kinsmen 'in rebellion, and so fortunate, as to see some of 'them fall, when I commanded in chief. Those that 'remain, have, I hope, changed their principles, as 'to rebellion; if they have not, I am sure, they shall 'find, I have not changed mine.'

[*W*] *'Till he parted with the ensigns of his authority.*] We have often quoted in this article, a treatise intituled, 'A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, Negotiations, and Stratagems; Intrigues of the Romish Party in Ireland, from the Restoration to the Revolution, for the Settlement of Popery in that Kingdom.' Printed frequently by itself, and since placed in the Appendix to the State-Tracts, in the reign of King William III. It is written with great spirit, and is one of the principal authorities which Mr Oldmixon consulted in writing his History, so that we may be sure, that it contains nothing partial, in favour of the Duke of Ormond. The author of this piece, speaking of his Grace's conduct, after the accession of King James, describes it thus, 'The 'Duke of Ormond foresaw (69) what was now past 'remedy, and told a friend of his, that nothing 'could now preserve the English, but a precipitateness 'of the *Irish*. *For*, said he, *let my countrymen alone,* '*and they will spoil their own business*. And so, in-'deed, they had in any time but this, when it 'might be said, according to our Saviour's prediction, '*That the time was come, when they that destroyed* '*the Protestants, thought they did God service*. King '*James*, and his former (but now more especial) fa-'vourites, the *Irish*, were become equally furious in 'their course, and seemed to contend, the one, in his 'commands, the other in their forward obedience, which 'should exceed in their joint design, of extirpating 'heresy. The Duke of Ormond was called over, 'but before his departure laboured with an indefa-'tigable diligence, to establish matters on such a 'foundation, that it might not be easy for them to 'create a present change, without a manifest viola-'tion and infringement of the laws and constitutions 'of

(69) A Collection of State Tracts published during the Reign of William III. Vol. III. p. 629.

In performing this, which could be no very agreeable act, his Grace was very much surprized by the Lord Primate's making a long speech, in which, with great plainness and perspicuity, he insisted upon the miseries which that kingdom had endured, and the deplorable condition it was in when his Grace was called to the government of it; he insisted also on the principal benefits derived from the Duke's gentle and wise administration; and concluded with observing, that as the effects of his prudence would be always felt, it was to be hoped they would produce perpetual gratitude towards the Ormond family in the whole Irish nation (n). On his arrival in England, his Grace was received with all possible marks of respect and affection, by all ranks of people, and with great civility by the King, at whose coronation he assisted, as at that of King Charles II, and had the honour to carry the crown. He wanted, not however some very sensible mortifications, for his regiment of foot was without ceremony taken from him, and given to Col. Justin Mackarty, and it is thought that his troop of horse would have been likewise disposed of, but as his Grace bought it fifty years before, it was not thought proper to repay the price he gave, in the decline of life, when his great age promised a speedy vacancy (o). He still kept his post of Lord Steward, which he might have disposed of to advantage; but as it was given him freely by his late Royal Master, he scorned to sell it, yet he saw no reason to resign it; and no arguments could prevail upon King James to take it away. In August 1686, the King made a progress into the West, in which his Grace attended him as far as Bristol, and then His Majesty making longer stages than were proper for a person of his age, the Duke returned to London (p). His affection for the person of the King, as well as his steady loyalty, induced him to behave to that Monarch with all imaginable marks of duty and respect; but the violent counsels by which that unfortunate Prince was hurried to his ruin, forced the Duke of Ormond, as well as several others of his best subjects, to oppose his will in cases that were directly contrary to law, an extraordinary instance of which will be given in the notes (q) [X]. This did not hinder however King James's causing some attempts

(n) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 543.

(o) Succinct Account of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 107.

(p) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 543.

(q) Memoirs of the Life of Dr Burnet, Master of the Charter-House.

'of the Kingdom. The new hospital, a stately fabrick, near Dublin, erected for poor Soldiers, would (he foresaw) be made a nest for hornets, which, to prevent, as well as possible, he sat several days with the Council and Judges, in private, in the castle, and there made all the provision, that could be for it, against the imminent storm. One remarkable passage, I must not omit to mention, which demonstrates the great spirit of that excellent person. At the aforesaid hospital, he appointed a dinner for all the officers of the hospital, and the officers of the army, then in Dublin, which being over, he took a large glass of wine in his hand, and bid them fill it up to the brim, then stood up and called to all the company, *Look here, gentlemen, they say at Court, I am now become an old doating fool; you see, my hand doth not shake, nor does my heart fail; nor doubt but I will make some of them see their mistake:* and so drank the King's health. But upon his arrival at court, he found, that King's James's bigotted opinion would carry him to the most violent actions; a dismal apprehension whereof, as is believed, at length, broke his heart; for tho' he was of a great age, yet he was of such health of body and chearfulness of mind, that, in course of nature, he might have lived twenty years longer, as his mother did. It was plain, that the Irish could fasten no calumnies upon him, when the first thing they reproached him with, was cheating the army in building the hospital; and that Robinson, the Architect, had inriched himself by it; when indeed, not to lessen any thing of his due character, Robinson shewed the parts of an excellent artist in the contrivance, and of an honest man in the charge, as men of value and experience in building affirm.'

[X] *An extraordinary instance of which will be given in the notes.*] The first instance in which the King took upon him to exercise this prerogative was, with regard to Sutton's Hospital, called the Charter-house (70); and in the case of one Andrew Popham, a Roman Catholick, whom by a letter, dated December 20th, 1686, and directed to the Governors of that hospital, he required to be admitted into the first pensioner's place, that became vacant, and in his disposal, without tendering him any oath, or requiring of him any subscription in conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and notwithstanding any statute, order, or constitution of the said hospital, with which he was pleased to dispense. Dr Thomas Burnet, was at this time, Master of the Charter-house, having been chosen, not long before, by the interest of the Duke of Ormond, to whose grandson, the Earl of Ossory, he had been Governor. The Bishops, who were of the number of the electors, had made exceptions to him, that though he was a clergyman, he went always in a lay habit. But the Duke being satisfied, that his conversation and manners were worthy of a clergyman in all respects; and thinking these to be much more valuable than the exterior habit, insisted so strongly in his favour, that he was at last chosen. Popham coming to him with his letter, demanded admission, but was told, that the letter must be delivered to the Governors, before any thing could be done upon it; and was dismissed without admission. On January 17th, there was a full assembly of the Governors, when Popham being present, the letter was read, and the Lord Chancellor Jefferys presently moved, that they should immediately, without any debate, proceed to vote, whether Popham should be accordingly admitted? Dr Burnet, as the junior Governor, was to vote first, but instead thereof, he told them, he thought it his duty to acquaint their Lordships, that to admit a pensioner into that hospital, without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, was not only contrary to the constitutions of the house, but also to an Act of Parliament, 3 *Car.* called *the Charter-house* Act. One of the Governors thereupon, saying, 'What is this to the purpose?' the Duke of Ormond replied, 'He thought it was very much to the purpose, for an Act of Parliament was not so slight a thing, but that it deserved consideration.' After some discourse, the question was put, whether Popham should be admitted; and was carried in the negative. The Governors intended to have returned immediately an answer to the King's letter, but as soon as the vote was passed, the Chancellor and some others hurried away; so that there was not a sufficient number left to act as an assembly, or to do any more business at that time. The Archbishop of Canterbury attempted several times afterwards to have another assembly, that the letter might be written to the King; but could not get a full number together, till the Midsummer following. In the mean time, one Cardonnel, a French Protestant, naturalized and qualified for the place, appeared with a nomination from the King, prior to Popham's. His Majesty thereupon, sent another letter, dated March 21st, to exclude him, and to reinforce his former order for Popham, to whom was likewise granted a dispensation under the great seal. This second letter, and the letters patents, were read on Midsummer-day, in a stated assembly, where nine Governors were present. A letter was then drawn up in the name of the Governors, to one of the Secretaries of State, representing, that they could not admit Popham, nor comply with his Majesty's letters in his behalf, because the hospital was of a private founda-

(70) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 546.

attempts to be made upon the Duke's religion, by the Lord Arundel of Wardour, then Privy-Seal, and the Duke's intimate friend; and by Peter Walsh, a very honest well meaning Priest, to whom the Duke had been very kind; but both ended in such repulses, as gave no encouragement to make new trials (r). His Majesty himself sollicited the Duke for his consent to abolish the Penal Laws; but met with such an answer as he did not expect; to which he made a very memorable reply, that as his Grace had distinguished himself from others, by his long and faithful service to the crown, so he would also distinguish him from others by his indulgence (s). When the Earl of Clarendon went to Ireland, he lent his country-seat at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, to the Duke of Ormond, at which place he spent some part of two summers, and the rest at other places. He intended to have followed His Majesty in his next progress, and had provided accordingly; but being seized with the gout at Badminton, he was forced to remain there for about a month; when His Majesty passing that way, in his road to and from Chester, made him a visit each time in his chamber (t). At the last of these visits, he gave him leave to reside where he pleased, without being tied to any attendance, as Lord Steward; and his Grace thereupon hired Kingston-Hall in Dorsetshire, whither he was carried from Badminton in a very ill state of health. In the summer he grew better; but a little before Midsummer was seized with a kind of ague, which held him to the last; he kept up his spirits however with great fortitude, and expressed much pleasure in seeing his great-grandson, the young Lord Thurles, then about two years old, play by his bedside. As he had always lived, so he died, a member of the Church of England, July 21, 1688, in the seventy-eighth year of his age; and his corps being removed to London, was on the fourth of August following interred in Westminster-Abbey (u). He was without doubt one of the best, as well as the greatest, men of his time; had all the virtues requisite to adorn a man of his rank, and very few foibles. In respect to his personal accomplishments, he was exceeded by none, and equalled but by few; he had the look and air of a man of Quality; a very graceful and easy behaviour, which at the same time was full of dignity, and created respect in all that saw him. He spoke extremely well, both in private conversation and upon publick occasions, in regard to which, he expressed himself with much facility and freedom (w). He had a very comprehensive genius, so that there were very few subjects that he was not master of; and, yet with all his parts and all his experience, he was extremely modest. His political principles were entirely agreeable to the constitution; he was loyal to his Prince in all circumstances, and without any regard to consequences. He understood the interest of the nation, and pursued it steadily. He thought that the law was to be the guide of Sovereigns as well as subjects, and therefore judged it his duty to assert it upon all occasions (x). He was descended from a very noble and fortunate family, and was himself the most fortunate of that family [Y]. He was extremely happy in domestick concerns, living with the Duchess in the most sincere friendship, as well as the most tender affection; regarding her death, which happened about four years before his own, as the greatest misfortune of his life (y). He was no less happy in his children, and in their numerous posterity, of which it will be necessary to give some account [Z]. To sum up all; he passed through a long life and variety of fortunes, with honour

(r) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 545.

(s) Ibid.

(t) Hist. of King James II, p. 131.

(u) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 487. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1074. Sir Richard Cox's Account of this noble Person, in his Preface to his second Volume of the History of Ireland.

(w) Burnet's Hist. of own Time, Vol. I. p. 95, 797. Life of Keeper North, p. 230.

(x) Memoirs of the Life of Dr Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charter-House.

(y) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 549.

foundation, and the Governors obliged to act according to the constitutions of the same; and because, likewise the act, 3 *Car.* expresly enacted, That every person elected and admitted into it, should, before he received benefit of any such place, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. This letter was signed by Archbishop Sancroft, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, the Bishop of London, and Dr Burnet. When it was read to the King, he gave it to the Lord Chancellor, with orders to find a way how he might have right done him in the case. But the persons concerned were of so great a character, so much considered by the nation, and so well able to defend their cause, that it was thought better to let the matter alone, till the prerogative claimed was established by the submission of the two Universities, who were encouraged to assert their rights and the obligation of their statutes by this example of the Governors of the Charter-house.

[Y] *And was himself the most fortunate of that family.*] We have already in the preceding article, sufficiently justified what is asserted in the text, as to the honours and fortune of this family; and shall only add, that from the 31st of Henry III, when Theobald Butler was made one of the Lord's Justices, to the 1st of James II, when the Duke of Ormond quitted the government of Ireland, there had been in the space of four hundred and thirty-seven years, ten of this family, who had been twenty-seven times Lords Justices, Lords Deputies, or Lords Lieutenants of that Kingdom (71). His Grace had seen three generations above him, his father, Thomas, Viscount Thurles; his grandfather, Walter, Earl of Ormond; and his great uncle, Thomas, Earl of Ormond; and he likewise saw three generations below him, his son, Thomas, Earl of Ossory; his grandson, James, who succeeded him as Duke of Ormond; and his great grandson, Thomas, Lord Thurles. He had been himself, at the time of his decease, fifty-seven years, in the service of the crown, under the reign of four Kings; and to three of them he had been Privy-Counsellor, and done most eminent services. He was four times Lord Lieutenant, and in that space held the supreme government for twenty-two years, which was more than any other subject had done (72). He lived always with great magnificence, and had rather too little care of his fortune. He bred several eminent men in his family, who came afterwards to be very considerable in the state; and there were three at least of his Chaplains, that came to be distinguished highly in the Church; Dr Hough, the late excellent Bishop of Worcester, Dr Hartstonge, Bishop of Londonderry (73), and Dr Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charter-house. Indeed, he was always esteemed a great patron of the Clergy, as well as a true friend to the Church; following, therein, the maxim of his old friend, the Earl of Strafford, who was in nothing more commendable, than in his care of the ecclesiastical state of Ireland, by which he kept up the credit of the Protestant Religion, and filled the several Sees with men of such learning, virtue, and piety, as drew the esteem, even of the Papists, at least, of all such as were not bigots to such a degree, as hindered them from seeing the good qualities and exemplary behaviour of Christian Priests, that were not of their own Church.

[Z] *Of which it will be necessary to give some account.*] The Duke of Ormond married but once, and that was his cousin, Lady Elizabeth Preston, the only daughter of the Earl of Desmond, by the only daughter

(71) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(72) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 557.

(73) See the English Translation of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 431.

honour and reputation; was esteemed and beloved by the good men of all parties; and died as much regretted as it was possible for man to be (z); and this, without courting popular applause; or pursuing any other rule in his conduct, than doing what was, in his own judgment, right.

(z) Compleat Hist. of Ireland, Vol. III. p. 487.

daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ormond. This Lady was born in 1615, and consequently, was five years younger than the Duke. She married at the age of fourteen; and after living fifty-four years in great harmony with her Lord, departed this life, July 21, 1684 (74). By this Lady the Duke had ten children, *viz.* eight sons and two daughters. 1. Thomas, born in 1632; and died before he was a year old (75). 2. Thomas, Earl of Ossory, of whom in the next article. 3. James, born in 1635; but died within the year. 4. James, who died a little above a year old (76). 5. Richard, born July 15, 1639; he was educated with great care, and taught every thing suitable to his birth; and the great affection that his parents had for him: As he grew up, he distinguished himself by a brave and excellent disposition, which determined him to a military life. When the Duke was first made Lord Lieutenant, after the Restoration, his Majesty was pleased, by his letter, dated April 23, 1662, to create Lord Richard, Baron Butler of Cloghgrenan, Viscount of Tullogh, in the county of Catherlogh, and Earl of Arran, with remainder to his brother (77). He was sworn of the Privy-Council in that kingdom, August 26, 1663. In the month of September, 1664, he married Lady Mary Stuart, only surviving daughter of James, Duke of Richmod and Lenox, by Mary, the only daughter of the great Duke of Buckingham, who died in July, 1667, at the age of eighten, and was interred at Kilkenny. The Earl of Arran commanding the guards in Ireland, and having, as we have shewn, distinguished himself in reducing the mutineers at Carrick-Fergus, and behaving with great courage in the famous sea fight with the Dutch, in 1673, he was on the 27th of August, the same year created Baron Butler of Weston, in the county of Huntingdon (78). He married in the month of June preceding, Dorothy, daughter of John Ferrers, of Tamworth-Castle, in Warwickshire, Esq; In May, 1682, he was constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland, upon his father's going over to England; and held that high office, till August, 1684 (79), when the Duke returned. In the beginning of the year 1686, he died at London, and was interred in the vault at the east end of Henry VIIth's chapel at Westminster; leaving an only daughter, Charlotte, who married to Charles, Lord Cornwallis (80). 6. Walter, born September 6, 1641, died at Dublin, in 1643, and was buried at Christ-Church (81). 7. John, born in 1643; he was Captain of the troop of Horse Guards in Ireland, and was created Baron of Aghrim, Viscount Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran, in that kingdom (82). He married in 1675, the Lady Anne Chichester, sole daughter and heiress of Arthur, Earl of Donnegal; and was a young nobleman of great parts and spirit, but too much given to his pleasures, by which he greatly impaired his health; and going for the recovery of it to Paris, died there, in August 1676, without issue (83). 8. James, born in 1645, who while an infant being carried to take the air in a coach, the horses running away down Phœnix-hill, near Dublin, the woman, who had the care of him, in her fright, threw him out of the window, and he was killed by the fall (84). 1. Lady Elizabeth, born June 29, 1640, who married Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, by whom she had one son, Henry, that died an infant, and a daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, who married Patrick Lyon, Earl of Strathmore, in the kingdom of Scotland (85). 2. Lady Mary, born in 1646; married to William, Lord Cavendish, afterwards Earl and Duke of Devonshire (86), by whom she had three sons, William, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, Lord Henry, and Lord James, and a daughter, Lady Elizabeth, married to Sir John Wentworth, of Broadsworth, in the county of York, Baronet (87). His Grace had also a natural son by the Lady Isabella Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, begotten before his marriage, and bred up at Paris, where he died a little before the Restoration. The Duke held a friendly correspondence with this Lady, during his exile, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, had like to have been fatal to his own Lady (88), who, notwithstanding had so little of jealousy in her nature, that when Lady Isabella, was on this very account obliged to fly out of England, she received her very kindly at Caen, where she lived with her two or three years (89). E

(74) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 60. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 536, 537, 538.

(75) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 551.

(76) Ibid. ubi supra.

(77) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 60.

(78) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(79) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(80) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 181.

(81) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 551.

(82) Catalogue of the Peers of Ireland, with the dates of their creation, and titles of their eldest sons, by R. L.

(83) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 450.

(84) Ibid. p. 551.

(85) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 269.

(86) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 85.

(87) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 156.

(88) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, note [E].

(89) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 538.

BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Ossory, whose shining qualities, great parts, and exemplary virtue, independent of his high birth and the honours to which he attained, rendered him the delight of the age in which he lived, and deserved that his memory should be transmitted with due praise to posterity. He was born when his father was Earl of Ormond and Ossory, in the Castle of Kilkenny, July 9, 1634 (a). He was educated in his father's house, with all imaginable care, and under the best masters, that, in those troublesome times, could be procured, till he was near thirteen; and then his father having signed a treaty with the Commissioners of the Parliament, for surrendering up Dublin, he came with him over into England (b). His stay was not long at that time, for the Marquis of Ormond, as we have shown in the foregoing article, being obliged to quit the kingdom in February 1648, took his son with him to France; and when, in September following, the Marquis went over again to Ireland, his Lordship and his brother Richard, were left at the house of a Protestant Minister, at Caen in Normandy, for about a year, and were then sent to a famous Academy at Paris, where the Earl distinguished himself by his dexterity in his exercises, and by a steady and manly behaviour much beyond his years (c). In December 1650, he came back to Caen, where the Marchioness of Ormond then was, and remained there till the summer of 1652, when he attended her Ladyship into England, from whence he went with her in the beginning of the next year to Ireland (d). He returned from thence in 1654, with his mother to London, and resided with her in Wild-House; but being now a man, and much courted and caressed by persons of all ranks, who were charmed with his easy and polite behaviour, and with the singular happiness of his temper, in which a boundless bravery was united with the greatest gentleness and modesty; he soon made a great figure, and his name was almost in every body's mouth. This excited the jealousy of Cromwell to a very high degree, and therefore he thought proper to secure him, which he accordingly did (e) in a very extraordinary manner [A]. He remained in the

(a) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(b) Historian's Guide, p. 31.

(c) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 629.

[A] *Which he accordingly did in a very extraordinary manner.*] It is certain, that at this time, Oliver Cromwell found himself in a very uneasy and perplexed situation, being surrounded on all sides with dangers and difficulties, and not knowing whom to trust (1). He had been obliged to dissolve his Parliament,

(1) Bates's Elenc. Motuum, p. 198, 199.

the Tower near eight months, and then falling ill of a fever which threatened his life, Cromwell, not without great difficulty, consented to his discharge. He went first with the Marchioness, his mother, to Acton in Gloucestershire; but the Physicians having certified, that a farther change of air was requisite to restore his constitution; a pass was obtained for him, and he went over to Flanders, and took with him his brother Lord Richard, who passed for his servant (f). He durst not remain long there, for fear Cromwell should make it a pretence for seizing his mother's estate, and therefore retired into Holland, where he remained about four years, and behaved with so much prudence and discretion, that he was admired and esteemed by the greatest men in the Republick, more especially by the Lord Beverweert, a nobleman of the first rank, and whose virtues were not at all inferior to his distinguished birth. His intimacy with that nobleman, gave him an opportunity of conversing with the Lady Emilia Nassau, his daughter, a Lady of very great beauty, and endowed with all the virtues of her sex; so that his Lordship became very much in love with her, and a treaty of marriage being set on foot, the Marquis of Ormond came to Holland on purpose to conclude it, which he did, though it was attended with some difficulties (g) [B]. Upon the Restoration, he attended the King to England, and by patent, dated February 8, 1661, was appointed Colonel of foot in Ireland; on the thirteenth of June following, he was made Colonel and Captain of horse; he was soon after appointed Lieutenant-General of horse, and, in the beginning of the year 1662, he succeeded the Earl of Montrath in the command of a regiment of foot and troop of horse (h). On the twenty-second of June the same year, he was called by writ to the House of Lords in Ireland, and had very extraordinary complements paid him on that occasion by both Houses of Parliament [C]. On the sixteenth of August, 1665, he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the army in that kingdom; but returning into England the year following, he was with his brother-in-law the Earl of Arlington at his seat at Euston in Norfolk, where, in the beginning of June, hearing the guns from sea, he, with Sir Thomas Clifford, found means, on the third of that month, to get from Harwich on board the English fleet under the command of the Duke of Albemarle, to whom he brought the first news of Prince Rupert's coming to join him, and had his share in that, and

(f) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(g) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(h) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 503.

Parliament, when he most needed their assistance; he had discovered a design of the Royalists to rise in different parts of the kingdom, which afterwards broke out; and in this state of affairs, considering that Lord Ossory was looked upon as one of the most promising young noblemen of the age, in all respects, he judged, it requisite, though he had no particular informations, to cause him to be secured (2). His Lordship then resided with his mother, the Marchioness at Wild-House, and thither an officer was sent with a guard to take him into custody. It happened that he was out at the time of their coming, but the Marchioness of Ormond told the officer who commanded, that he need not wait for his coming home since she would pawn her word, that he should wait upon the Protector the next morning (3). One Mr Stephen Ludlow, who had a respect for the family, gave his Lordship notice of what had happened, and offered to assist him in his escape, but the Marchioness was against that measure, and positively insisted, that he should comply with what she had undertaken on his behalf (4). He went therefore early the next morning to Whitehall, and desired an audience of the Protector, but in vain, for, after he had waited some time, a person came out, and told his Lordship he had orders to carry him to the Tower, which he accordingly did. The Marchioness during his confinement applied often to Cromwell, who treated her with singular respect, made her many complements, and gave her very civil answers, yet would not grant her son's discharge, till his confinement brought on a fit sickness. It may not be amiss to observe, that a little before his imprisonment, Lord Ossory had procured a pass from the Protector, allowing him to travel through Italy, and even as far as Jerusalem; and having been very courteously treated at an audience of leave upon this occasion, was the less apprehensive of the usage he afterwards met with (5).

(2) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(3) Idem, ibid.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Ibid. p. 162.

[B] *Which he did, though it was attended with some difficulties.*] This Dutch nobleman was the son of the famous Maurice Prince of Orange, by Madame de Beverweert; he was a man of great virtue and integrity, and not only assisted his country with his counsels, but had exposed his life also in her service, and might have succeeded Tromp in the chief command of the fleet, if, out of modesty, he had not declined it (6). He had three sons and five daughters, his eldest son, Maurice, was created Count of Nassau, by the Emperor Leopold, his second son, William Adrian, was so created likewise, but was commonly called, Lord Odike; Henry his third son, was Lord of Auverquerque, ancestor to the Earls of Grantham (7). The eldest of his daughters was this Lady Emilia, with whom he offered to give a fortune of ten thousand pounds, but insisted, that an estate of twelve hundred pounds a year should be immediately put into the possession of Lord Ossory. It was no easy matter to fix this, considering how large a part it made of what was in his mother's possession; and besides, some overtures had been made towards a more advantageous match with the daughter of the Earl of Southampton (8). But the Earl of Ossory looked upon his happiness as inconsistent with any marriage but this, so that at length he procured the settlement insisted upon to be made, and the wedding was celebrated, November 16, 1659. It was proposed, that part of the ten thousand pounds should have made the portion of his sister, Lady Elizabeth, who, about this time married the Earl of Chesterfield, and that the remainder should be employed in defraying the expences of the education of Lord John; but the King's necessities being very pressing, the Marquis of Ormond made no hesitation at sacrificing this, which, seemed to be his last stake, for his master's service (9).

(6) Histoire de Maison d'Orange, p. 395.

(7) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 570.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 385.

(9) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 183.

[C] *Had very extraordinary complements paid to him on that occasion, by both Houses of Parliament.*] His Lordship took leave of the Commons, in a short and handsome speech, on the 8th of August, 1662, upon which an order was made, that Sir Paul Davis and Sir Henry Tichburne, with the body of the house, should accompany him to the bar of the House of Lords (10). The Lords having notice of their coming, made an order, that, by the consent of the Earl's bench, the Earl of Ossory should be placed above all the Earls, but it should be no precedent for the future. His place being thus fixed, the house of Commons were called in, and the Speaker, in their name, returned thanks to the Lords for the honour they had been pleased to do the honourable person, he then presented to the house; and assured them, that nothing could do them greater pleasure, and the Commons doubted not, but as he had been a great help to their house, so he would be an honour to that of the Peers, and very useful to both. The Commons being withdrawn, the Earl of Ossory was introduced into the house, and complimented by the Chancellor, in a short and handsome speech, upon that occasion.

(10) Ibid. p. 247.

[D] The

and the next day's glorious action (*i*). He was soon after sworn of the Privy-Council in England, being then Lord of the Bed-Chamber to the King by his father's resignation; on the fourteenth of September 1666, he was summoned by writ to the English House of Lords (*k*), by the title of Lord Butler of Moore Park. He had not sat six weeks in the House before he called the Duke of Buckingham to an account, for saying, on the debate of the bill for prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle; that none were against it but such as had Irish estates or Irish understandings. The Duke was to have met him in Chelsea-fields the next day; but, in his stead, about three hours after the time, came an officer with a guard to secure him; and the Duke had shared the same fate, if he had not prudently kept out of the way. The next morning his Grace complained to the House of Lords of a breach of privilege, which produced a new quarrel with the Earl of Arlington. As soon as the King was informed of this complaint, he ordered the Earl of Ossory to be released, who went immediately to the House to make his defence, which did not hinder his being sent to the Tower, and the Duke was committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black-Rod; but, in two days, they were both released (*l*). In May 1670, he attended the King in his journey to Dover, to meet his sister the Duchess of Orleans; and in October following he was sent to Holland, to bring over the Prince of Orange (*m*). At the close of the same year, he thought himself obliged to resent, in a very extraordinary manner, the insult offered his father by Col. Blood, towards the Duke of Buckingham, who was thought to be the author of it [*D*]. In the month of February following, he attended the Prince of Orange back to the Hague, from whence he made a tour to the Court of France, returned by the way of Holland, and soon after he arrived in England, the Prince of Orange, as a mark of his high esteem and regard, sent him a bason and ewer of massy gold (*n*). In the summer of 1671, he went over again to Flanders and Holland, and, in the beginning of 1672, he had the command of the Resolution, a third rate man of war, having a little before received a very extraordinary mark of the King's sincere affection for him. It seems his Lordship, who loved play a little too much, had run in debt about eight thousand pounds, which made him extreamly uneasy, of which his Majesty being informed, he was so kind as to pay it for him, and the worthy Sir Stephen Fox contrived that it should be done in such a way, that no body at Court knew any thing of it. The Earl was on board the Resolution the fourteenth of March with Sir Robert Holmes, when he attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and gave signal marks of courage upon that occasion, with which, however, his father was highly offended, because, as that attempt was made before any declaration of war, he looked upon it as dishonourable to the English arms (*o*). In April he had the command of the Victory given him, which was a second rate. He was in the action off Southwould-Bay, which happened May 28, 1672, and acquired great reputation therein, as well as by relieving all the wounded seamen in St Thomas's Hospital; and on the thirtieth of September he was elected Knight of the Garter (*p*). In November following he was sent Envoy Extraordinary to France, with complements of condolance on the death of the Duke of Anjou. He was received there with extraordinary honours, and extreamly pressed to accept a command in the army, to induce him to which, he was offered twenty thousand pistoles for his equipage, and ten thousand pistoles a year, but he excused himself, though he could not avoid accepting, at his audience of leave, a jewel of the value of two thousand pounds (*q*). In May 1673, his Majesty honoured him with the command of the St Michael, a first rate, and appointed him Rear-Admiral of the Blue on the seventeenth of the same month, in which post he served in the ensuing battle against the Dutch, and covered the Prince, which was the ship wherein Sir Edward Spragge bore his Flag, as Admiral of the squadron after his death, and the vessel's being disabled; till towards night, and then brought her off in tow, and joined Prince Rupert's squadron (*r*). Upon this his Lordship was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Red, and on the tenth of September he displayed the Union Flag, as Commander in Chief of the whole fleet, in the absence of Prince Rupert (*s*), by the King's special command. It was towards the close of this year, that the Earl formed a very important project of revenging the disgrace the nation had sustained in the former war, by the burning of our ships at Chatham, in return for which, he would have burnt all the ships that were laid up at Helvoetsluys, and why this was not put in execution remains a secret to posterity (*t*) [*E*]. His Lordship had equally

(*i*) Memoirs of the Lord Clifford, p. 79. Compleat Hist. of England, p. 263.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(*l*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 834.

(*m*) Life of King William III. p. 14.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504.

(*o*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 880.

(*p*) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 288. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504. Historian's Guide, p. 87.

(*q*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504.

(*r*) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 295. Historian's Guide, p. 91.

(*s*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504. Historian's Guide, p. 91.

(*t*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

[*D*] *The Duke of Buckingham, who was thought to be the author of it.*] This very singular incident (11) happened, when Dr Turner, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was Chaplain in waiting; and in his presence, the Earl of Ossory coming by chance, not long after Blood's attempt, into the Royal presence; and seeing the Duke of Buckingham standing by the King, his colour rose, and he addressed him in the following words. 'My Lord, I know well, that you are at the bottom 'of this late attempt of Blood's upon my father; and 'therefore, I give you fair warning, if my father comes 'to a violent end, by sword or pistol; if he dies by 'the hand of a ruffian, or by the more secret way 'of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the first 'author of it; I shall consider you as the assassin; I 'shall treat you as such, and wherever I meet you, I 'shall pistol you, though you stood behind the King's 'chair; and I tell it you in his Majesty's presence, that 'you may be sure I shall keep my word.'

(11) This was related to Mr Carte by Robert Lesley of Glaslogh in the county of Monaghan, Esq; who had it from the Bishop of Ely. Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 425.

[*E*] *Remains a secret to posterity.*] The Earl of Ossory, in his several voyages to Holland, had heard, and at last had taken the pains to see, that the Royal Charles, was laid up in Helvoetsluys. This is an excellent harbour on the island of Voorn, in the province of Holland, about five miles south from the Briel, at that time little talked of, though since become well known to the world, from it's being the station of our packets (12). In the latter end of the summer, his Lordship

(12) Description of the Seven United Provinces, printed for Moses Pitt, p. 37.

equally the confidence of the Duke of York, and of the King his master, and this both in their publick and private concerns, as is evident from his being the only nobleman trusted with the secret of the Duke's first marriage (*u*), and the person who actually gave Mrs Anne Hyde away. When, therefore, it was thought requisite, in the winter of 1674, to offer the Lady Mary to the Prince of Orange, though the King made choice of Lord Ossory, yet his Royal Highness confirmed it with a very signal testimony of respect, declaring he would rather trust his concerns with his Lordship than with any other person, and when he embarked on the tenth of November with the Earl of Arlington his brother-in-law, it was universally understood at Court, that he was the Duke's Minister, as the other was the King's (*w*). How well he was received in Holland, and how grateful his person was to the Prince of Orange, appears from his Highness's conducting him on board his ship, which, though a great honour in itself, was much increased by the manner of doing it, for the Prince perceiving that the ship made little way, followed from shore the next morning in a long-boat, and accompanied his Lordship out to sea (*x*). What the real issue was of this negociation, and by whom it was conducted, has been shewn in another place (*y*), and need not therefore be repeated here. In 1675, he was, as a mark of their respect, chosen Master of the Brotherhood of Trinity-house, and, in August following, made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty (*z*). In November 1676, he became Lord Chamberlain to Queen Catherine (*a*). When M. Bentinck came over to England in the summer of the next year, to resume the treaty for the match beforementioned, he was particularly recommended by his Highness to the Earl of Ossory, and the Duke of Ormond, and by their advice it was, that he applied himself to the Lord Treasurer Danby, so that, by whatever means that negociation was happily terminated, his Lordship plainly had his share in it. One advantage he drew from thence was this, that he obtained leave, which had been often refused him before, to go over, and make the rest of the campaign with his Highness in Flanders, which he did, and, upon the appearance of a battle, he had the post of honour given him, with a command of six thousand men (*b*). In the beginning of the year following, he went over again, in order to take upon him the command of the British subjects in the pay of the States, and, at the close of the war, was continued in his command, with extraordinary marks of honour on the part of the States-General [*F*]. In the progress of that campaign he distinguished himself extreamly, more especially at the battle of Mons which was fought towards the close of it, and wherein he commanded the English troops, with whom he did so much, and contributed so far to the retreat which Marshal Luxemburg was obliged to make from the field of battle, that the States of Holland, the Duke of Villa Hermosa, Governor

(*u*) As appears by a Certificate under his Royal Highness's hand, produced at the Council-Table, when the marriage was enquired into.

(*w*) Supplement to Heath's Chronicle, p. 599. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 911.

(*x*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

(*y*) See the article of BENNET (HENRY) Earl of Arlington, note [*N*].

(*z*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

(*a*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 992.

(*b*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

Lordship was informed, that two and twenty of the largest ships of the Dutch fleet, were to be laid up there; and this induced him to consider more seriously a scheme he formerly had of burning the vessels in this port; and what contributed still more to excite him to this undertaking, was an account, that tho' the place was of such consequence and very capable of being defended, yet there was no better garrison in it than two companies of foot. In order to be perfectly satisfied, he sent over M. St Paul, his Master of the horse, to take a view of the place; which he did, and brought back an exact plan of it, though at the hazard of his life. He then proposed it to the King, desiring no more than eight men of war; the like number of large boats for landing men, with two thousand land troops; or if so many could not be spared, he was content to undertake it with fifteen hundred (13). The King was very well pleased with the project, but the Duke of Buckingham secretly opposed it, and raised some objections about getting ships into the port; but Sir John Narborough, who was to command under the Earl, being consulted by the King, offered to carry in the vessels, at half flood, or lose his head; to which the Earl added, that if he did not then fire the Dutch ships with a halfpenny candle, he would be content to have his fixed by Cromwell's, upon Westminster Hall. Upon this the necessary preparations were made with great dispatch; and about the middle of the month of December, when the Earl of Ossory was ready to take his leave, and to embark at Portsmouth, he suddenly received a countermand, the very night before his intended departure. Whether this proceeded purely from the pique and jealousy of that Duke, or from the King's unwillingness to strike such a stroke, when he was on the point of concluding the peace, tho' even in that he had been justified by the conduct of the Dutch, on the like occasion, remains, and perhaps ever will remain, a secret (14). This however is certain, that his Lordship afterwards examined the place, and was thoroughly satisfied from thence, that nothing could have hindered the success of his design, if he had been allowed to have put it in execution.

(13) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 443. Columna Rostrata, p. 249.

(14) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

[*F*] *With extraordinary marks of honour, on the part of the States-General.*] At the time the Earl went over to command the English forces in the service of the States; in February 1677, he had a commission from them to be Colonel and Captain of one of the six regiments, yet was made Major-General and commander in chief of the English brigade by the Prince of Orange's patent (15); but his waggon ordinances were appointed him in that rank and quality by the States. When the peace was made, the Earl declared, that he expected a commission from the States-General, according to the custom of that service, which the Prince of Orange sought to evade as well as he could, being very desirous, on the one hand, to keep his Lordship in the post, and very apprehensive, on the other, that the States would never be brought to create a new general officer at a time, when his service was not immediately necessary. The Earl remained firm in his sentiments, that he ought to be upon the regular and legal establishment; and therefore, in the beginning of the year 1680, he sent over an agent, with instructions to demand such commissions as he expected; or if these were refused, to deliver up the commissions that he had, of Colonel and Captain. The Prince interposed as far as he could, and gave the Earl's agent all the good words possible; but the gentleman told his Highness it was not in his power to negotiate or to listen to any proposals, but that he was barely charged with a message, and must return to his master with the answer of their High Mightinesses. When the Prince saw that there was nothing to be done in this way, he laid the matter before the Council of State, set forth the abilities and services of the Earl of Ossory, and showed how reasonable a thing it would be to grant him what he demanded; which the States did, and the whole affair was settled entirely to his Lordship's satisfaction, in April 1680, but in a manner so repuguant to their usual maxims, that the Prince of Orange himself was amazed at it, tho' at the same time highly satisfied and pleased (16).

(15) Life of Major Bernardi, p. 40, 41.

(16) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 506, 507.

[*G*] *Shall*

Governor of the Spanish Low-Countries, and even his Catholick Majesty himself, thought fit, in a letter under his hand, to acknowledge the great services (c) he performed in that action. His Lordship returned, in company with Mr Hyde who had been sent to execute a commission of importance to his Highness, September 13, 1678. His Majesty intended, soon after, to have given him the command of a squadron, destined to chastize the Algerine pirates, but the Lord Treasurer Danby interposing, and engaging Sir John Narborough should undertake that service with a smaller force, he was thereupon preferred (d). His Lordship was in like manner disappointed the next year, when the King had thought of him to have carried his compliments, and a jewel of the value of thirteen thousand pounds, for the new Queen of Spain. But the Nobleman then at the head of the Treasury, procured that design to be laid aside, from a spirit of œconomy, notwithstanding which, we are told, this jewel was, not long after, given to the Duchess of Portsmouth (e). It was in the course of this winter, that the enemies of the Duke of Ormond attacked his conduct warmly in the House of Lords, where it was most vigorously defended by the Earl of Ossory, who thought fit to carry the war into the enemies quarters, in a famous speech in answer to one of the Lord Shaftesbury's, which, as an instance of his Lordship's talents, shall be preserved in the notes [G]. As this did him very great credit at home, so it procured him from abroad an honour he very little expected. This speech of his being transmitted to Holland, was there translated into, and printed in, Dutch, upon which the Prince of Orange, as a mark of his sincere friendship, as well as a proof of his very high esteem, wrote his Lordship a letter, the contents of which render it extreamly worthy of notice (f) [H]. We draw now near the close of his days, and the last period of his honours. The King was a good deal embarrassed about the port of Tangier in Barbary, the possession of which he acquired by his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, and in fortifying of which he had spent immense sums of money (g). The place

(c) Life of King William III. p. 94. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 943. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 506.

(d) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 306.

(e) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 506.

(f) Appendix to the second Vol. of Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 30.

(g) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 335.

[G] *Shall be perserved in the notes.*] The Earl of Shaftesbury, had not very probable any personal dislike to the Duke of Ormond, but he saw clearly, that so long as he continued Lord Lieutenant, and in credit with the King, the progress of their party would be entirely stopped in Ireland, and much retarded in England (17). It was for this reason therefore, that he expatiated in the House of Lords, on the great danger the three kingdoms were in from Popery, and the little care that was taken to prosecute the Papists in Ireland, notwithstanding, that of the three, it was visibly the most exposed. As he was a very copious and witty speaker, he could not help throwing out some strokes as to persons allied to the Irish by blood, having a natural propensity to indulge Papists; and upon this occasion it was, that the Earl of Ossory thought proper to answer him in the following speech; the latter part of which is a succinct view of his antagonist's measures, when he acted with the Court. The Earl of Shaftesbury, instead of replying with heat, as soon as the Earl sat down, stood up again, and explained his first speech in such a manner, as that he seemed to take off those reflections, that were undoubtedly designed to fall upon the Duke of Ormond; and this concession in so great a man might well be esteemed a victory.

(17) See North's Examen of Kennet's Compleat History, p. 85, 86, 87.

'I am very sorry, and do much wonder, to find that noble Lord so apt to reflect upon my father, when he is pleased to mention the affairs of Ireland. It is very well known that he was the chief person that sustained the King's and the Protestant interest, when the Irish rebellion first broke out. His services were so acceptable to the long Parliament, that, after some successes he had against the Irish rebels, the Parliament voted him thanks, and sent him a rich jewel, as a mark of honour and their esteem. It is well known, that when he had made two peaces with the Irish, they both times perfidiously broke them, and endeavoured his murder, and sent out several excommunications against him, and those that adhered to him. When he was abroad, I believe many may remember how, when the Duke of Gloucester was taken into the hands of some that would have perverted him, the King commanded my father to bring him from Paris, which he did, notwithstanding the threatnings and animosity of that party against him. How he has been laid at, by that party, since the King's Restoration, I think is sufficiently notorious. I beg your Lordships pardon, if the nearness of my relation may have made me say any thing, which may look vain, being infinitely much concerned, that any suspicion should be raised against him, which may argue his being not sufficiently zealous in all things wherein the Protestant Religion and the King's service are concerned. Having spoke of what he has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your Lordships, what he has not done. He never advised the breaking of the triple league, he never advised the shutting up of the Exchequer, he never advised the declaration for a Toleration, he never advised the falling out with the Dutch and joining with France. He was not the author of that most excellent position of *Delenda est Carthago*, that Holland, a Protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your Lordships will be so just, as to judge of my father and of all men, according to their actions and counsels (18).

(18) Appendix to Carte's second Vol. of the Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 90.

[H] *The contents of which render it extremely worthy of notice.*] There is such a mixture of freedom and spirit in this letter of his Highness's, that, at the same time, we produce it to shew his regard for the Earl of Ossory, it cannot but raise a sentiment of esteem for his Highness himself, who could in so few lines paint the warmth of his satisfaction; his aversion to false patriots, his high opinion of the Duke of Ormond, his fears for this country, his foresight of what would happen to it, and his tenderness for his friend (19).

(19) Idem, ibid.

'J'Ay esté ravi d'apprendre, que vous avez si bien sceu faire faire ces bourgres d'Haranguers. Vostre harangue est icy imprimé, laquelle je vous envoyerai, si je la puis avoir, devant que cellecy part. Je n'aurois jamais crû, que l'on auroit esté si loin, d'attaquer Monsieur vostre pere, lequel je croirois estre au dessus de toutes suspons, surtout en fait de religion. Dieu sçait ce que cecy sera la fin de toutes vos brouilleries: je la crains extremement du mauvais costé. Le temps nous apprendra en peu. Croiez moy toujours sans reserve absolument a vous.

'De la Haye ce
2 de May 1679. G. H. Prince d'Orange.'

In English thus.

'I *Was overjoyed to learn, that you knew so well how to deal with these infamous Demagogues. Your speech is printed here, which I will send you, if I can get it before this goes away. I could never have believed, that they would have pushed things so far, in attacking your father, whom I looked on to be above all suspicions, in point of religion, more especially. God knows whether this will be the period of your disturbances: I am extremely apprehensive of the worst. Time will soon explain things. Believe me always, and without reserve, to be absolutely your's.*

'*William Henry Prince of Orange.*'

[I] In

place was certainly of great importance, as it lay very commodiously for protecting our trade, for keeping the Moors in awe, and for giving us weight in the Mediterranean; but more especially as we possessed it by an undisputed title, and were at liberty to make what acquisitions we could, without giving umbrage to any Christian Prince." The Parliament, however, had conceived a dislike to the manner in which this affair had been managed, grounded chiefly upon a rumour that the garrison was a nursery for Popish soldiers (*h*); to remove which fears, his Majesty made choice of the Earl of Ossory to go over thither in quality of Governor (*i*). He was preparing every thing for that purpose, when his Lordship was suddenly taken ill at Arlington-House, of a high and malignant fever, which disturbed his head almost from the time he was seized. The Physicians had for two days some hopes of his recovery, but he relapsed, and on July 30, 1680, expired, as universally lamented as he had been beloved (*k*). His Lordship died when he was just turned of the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving his disconsolate Countess and his children to the care of the Duke of Ormond his father, by whom they were educated and disposed of in the world, in a manner suitable to their high quality [*I*]. To venture at drawing a character of this excellent person, at such a distance of time, and from the scanty materials that we have been able to collect together, would be only amusing the reader with a rude and imperfect sketch of a picture that deserves to be drawn at full length. We shall content ourselves, therefore, barely with a few touches, and leave his pourtrait to be finished by the hand of some able master. The Earl of Ossory had a very graceful person, and without concerning himself much about dress, made, always as good a figure as any Nobleman at Court. He had a martial air, and that easiness in address, which is natural to those who perform their exercises well, and have been much used to them. He possessed, in a high degree, all polite accomplishments; he understood Musick well, spoke and wrote French and Italian perfectly, understood most of the modern languages, and, with all the qualities that recommend a man in a Court, had all the talents also of a man of business. His courage was truly heroick, and rose, upon all occasions, in proportion to the danger, but it was the effect of his high spirit and good sense, and not at all of a hasty disposition, for in his behaviour no man was more cautious or more modest; and tho', when he thought it necessary, he spoke with great warmth and freedom, yet he never did this unprovoked, and was very easily reconciled, provided he thought his antagonist sincere. His generosity was boundless, but at the same time was exerted to noble purposes and upon proper occasions. When he was Commander in Chief of the English brigade, and had the naming the officers of six regiments, he shewed his disinterestedness in preferring men of merit freely, and at the same time directed his Secretary, Mr Ellis of Pall-Mall, to take nothing for their commissions; and, as he was by this means deprived of a considerable perquisite, his Lordship thought himself obliged to make it up to him out of his own pocket. In a word, his virtue was unspotted in the centre of a luxurious Court; his integrity unblemished amidst all the vices of his times; his honour untainted through the course of his whole life; his reputation general with all parties at home, and so diffused abroad, that he received the strongest marks of confidence and esteem from persons of the highest rank in every nation in Europe; and had the honour of entertaining at his own house, all foreigners of distinction that visited the Court of England in his time. Neither has this just tribute to his high virtues, and many amiable qualities, been confined only to the short period of his life, the same felicity has attended his memory. Such as have written of Irish concerns, have commended his prudence in the government of that kingdom, of which he was twice Lord Deputy; those who have treated of maritime affairs, have extolled his courage and conduct on board the fleet; and foreign Historians have recorded the great services he performed in Flanders; nor even in these times, when men are too apt to take things in wrong lights, and to impose their own conceptions on posterity for History; has there yet appeared a writer so regardless of truth, or of his own character, as to venture a stroke of censure on that of Lord Ossory.

(*h*) Kennet's Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 376, 408.

(*i*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 507.

(*k*) Historian's Guide, p. 125. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1001. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 393.

[*I*] *In a manner suitable to their high quality.*] The Countess of Ossory was naturalized by Act of Parliament, passed September 13, 1660 (20); and she was considered throughout her whole life, as one of the best and most agreeable ladies of her rank, in the kingdom. She was certainly an excellent wife; and instead of reproaching the Earl with his single indiscretion, in point of play, she always consoled him with assurances, that she would labour by her oeconomy to prevent or repair any inconveniences it might otherwise occasion (21). By her, the Earl had eleven children, five sons and six daughters, of whom, the major part survived him. His eldest son, James, who, succeeded him in his title of Ossory, was born April 29, 1665, in the castle of Dublin (22); and on the demise of his grandfather, succeeded him also, in the title of Ormond. Charles the second son, was created by King William and Queen Mary, in the year 1693, Baron of Cloghgrenan, Viscount Tullogh, and Earl of Arran, in the kingdom of Ireland; as also Lord Butler of Weston, in the county of Huntingdon, by which he became a Peer of England (23). His Lordship is, at present, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Lord High-Steward of the city and liberty of Westminster. Of Lord Ossory's four surviving daughters, Lady Elizabeth, the eldest was married to William Stanley, Earl of Derby (24); Lady Emilia Butler lived a maid; Lady Henrietta, espoused Henry Nassau, d'Auverquerque, Earl of Grantham (25); and Lady Catherine Butler never married. Another James, who was elder than the deceased Duke of Ormond, and two other sons that were younger, dying in Ireland, were buried at Christ Church, Dublin, as were also two of his Lordship's daughters.

(20) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 255.

(21) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 501.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 60.

(23) Collin's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 229.

(24) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 124.

(25) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 572.

E

BUTLER (SAMUEL) a celebrated Poet of the last century, was born at Strensham in Worcestershire, and baptized there the thirteenth of February 1612 (a) [A]. His father Mr Samuel Butler, a reputable country farmer [B], perceiving in his son an early inclination to learning, sent him for education to the free-school of Worcester, under the care of Mr Henry Bright; where having laid the foundation of Grammar-learning, he was sent, for some time, to Cambridge [C], but was never matriculated in that University (b). After he had resided there six or seven years (c), he returned to his native country, and became clerk to one Mr Jefferys of Earl's-Croom, an eminent Justice of the Peace for that county, with whom he lived some years in an easy and reputable service (d); during which time, thro' the indulgence of a kind master, he had sufficient leisure to apply himself to his favourite studies, History and Poetry; to which, for his diversion, he added Musick and Painting [D]. He was afterwards recommended to that great encourager of learning, Elizabeth, Countess of Kent; under whose patronage, he had not only the opportunity of consulting all kinds of books, but of conversing likewise with that living library of learning, the great Mr Selden (e); who was very conversant in that Lady's family, and often employed our Poet to write letters beyond sea, and translate for him (f). He lived some time also with Sir Samuel Luke, a gentleman of an antient family in Bedfordshire, and a famous commander under Oliver Cromwell; about which time he wrote the celebrated HUDIBRAS [E]; under which character, it is generally supposed, he intended to ridicule that Knight [F]. After the Restoration of King Charles II, our Poet was made Secretary

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 452. And Butler's Life, prefixed to his *Hudibras*, edit. Lond. 1732, 12mo, p. 5.

(b) Life of Butler, ibid. p. 6.

(c) Wood, ubi supra.

(d) Anthony Wood does not mention this incident of Butler's Life.

(e) Life, &c. p. 6, 7.

(f) Wood, ibid.

[A] *He was born in the year 1612.*] This is contradicted by Charles Longueville, Esq; a gentleman now living (1), whose father was Butler's particular friend (2); and who has declared, that our Poet was born in the year 1600. The reader must choose, which authority he will rely upon.

[B] *His father —— a reputable country farmer.*] Anthony Wood tells us, that Butler's father had a competent estate of near three hundred pounds a year, but most of it in lease lands held of Sir Thomas Russel, grandfather of Sir Francis Russel, Baronet, Lord of the Manor of Strensham (3). The authority of the Oxford Antiquary, in what he says of our Poet, is the more to be depended upon, as he had his information from Butler's own brother, then living.

[C] *He was sent, for some time, to Cambridge.*] Some of the neighbourhood, Mr Wood informs us (4), pretended, that Butler went to Oxford; and he assures us, that one Samuel Butler was elected from Westminster-school, a student of Christ-church in 1623; but, making very little stay there, he was not matriculated, and consequently his age and place of nativity are not remaining on record in that University: otherwise, had he been a member of that body, we should have known whether he was afterwards the famed author of *Hudibras*. The reader should be told, that the gentleman mentioned above (5) affirms, that Mr Butler never resided at Oxford.

[D] *He applied himself to —— Painting.*] The anonymous author of his *Life* (6) tells us, he had seen some pictures, said to be of Mr Butler's drawing, which were preserved in Mr Jefferys's family: 'which I mention not (adds he) for the excellency of them, but to satisfy the reader of his early inclinations to that noble art; for which also he was afterwards entirely beloved by Mr Samuel Cooper, one of the most eminent Painters of his time.' The Oxford Antiquary (7) places our Poet's improvement in Musick and Painting to the time of his service under the Countess of Kent.

[E] *About which time he wrote the celebrated* HUDIBRAS.] 'Tho' Fate, (says the author of his Life) more than choice, seems to have placed him in the service of a Knight, so notorious both in person and politicks; yet, by the rule of contraries, one may observe throughout his whole poem, that he was most orthodox both in his religion and loyalty. And I am the more induced to believe he wrote it about that time, because he had the opportunity to converse with those living characters of rebellion, nonsense and hypocrisy, which he so livelily and emphatically exposes throughout the whole work (8).'

[F] *It is generally supposed, he intended to ridicule* Sir Samuel Luke *under the character of* Hudibras.] The principal reason of this conjecture is founded on the following passage of the poem:

'Tis sung there is a valiant Mamaluke,
In foreign land ycleped ———
To whom we have been oft compared,
For person, parts, address, and beard:
Both equally reputed stout;
And in the same cause both have fought.
He oft, in such attempts as these,
Came off with glory and success;
Nor will we fail i' th' execution
For want of equal resolution (9).

The name *Sir Samuel Luke* exactly supplies the deficiency in the second line, if you melt the two syllables of SAMUEL into one; and the comparison *Hudibras* makes between himself and that Knight, seems to justify the supposition. But what tends farther to confirm it, is a ballad intitled, *A Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, printed in *Butler's posthumous Works* (10); in which Sir Samuel Luke is thus characterized:

In Bedfordshire there dwelt a Knight,
Sir Samuel by name,
Who by his feats in civil broils
Obtained a mighty fame.

Nor was he much less wise than stout,
But fit in both respects
To humble sturdy Cavaliers,
And to support the sects.

This worthy Knight was one that swore
He wou'd not cut his beard,
Till this ungodly nation was
From Kings and Bishops clear'd.

Which holy vow he firmly kept,
And most devoutly wore
A griezly meteor on his face,
Till they were both no more.

His Worship was in short a man
Of such exceeding worth,
No pen or pencil can describe,
Or rhyming bard set forth.

Many and mighty things he did
Both sober and in liquor;
Witness the mortal fray between
The Cobler and the Vicar.

Then follows the tale, in which the Knight acts as a Justice of the Peace, and has a Clerk named *Ralph*:

RALPH, who was both his Squire and Clerk,
And Constable withal.

I shall not dispute whether this ballad be Butler's or not; but shall only observe from it, that as, in *Hudibras*, the Knight is supposed to be drawn in the character

(1) In 1746.

(2) See the *General Dictionary*, Article HUDIBRAS.

(3) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 452.

(4) Ibid.

(5) In the Remark [A].

(6) Prefixed to his *Hudibras*, edit. Lond. 1732, 12mo, page 6.

(7) Ubi supra.

(8) Life, &c. page 7.

(9) Hudibras, Part i. Canto i. ver. 904.

(10) Page 285. See the Remark [R].

Secretary to Richard Earl of Carbury, Lord President of the principality of Wales, who appointed him Steward of Ludlow-Castle, when the Court was revived there; and about this time he married one Mrs Herbert, a gentlewoman of a very good family [G]. The Oxford Antiquary pretends (g), that Butler was Secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, when that Lord was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and the life-writer assures us (h), the Duke had a great kindness for our Poet, and was often a benefactor to him [H]. But no one was a more generous friend to Mr Butler, than that Mecænas of all learned and witty men, Charles Lord Buckhurst, the late Earl of Dorset and Middlesex; who, being himself an excellent Poet, knew how to set a just value upon the ingenious performances of others (i); and we are told, he owed it to that nobleman, that the Court tasted his *Hudibras* (k). He had also promises of places and employments of great value and credit, from the Lord Clarendon, High Chancellor of England (l); but they proved meer Court promises. In short, Mr Butler affords a remarkable instance of that coldness and neglect, which great geniuses often experience from the Court and age in which they live [I]. The integrity of his life, the acuteness of his wit, and easiness of his

(g) Ibid.

(h) Page 8.

(i) Life, &c. ibid.

(k) See Prior's Poems. Dedication to the Duke of Dorset.

(l) Wood, ib.

racter of Sir Samuel Luke, so here Sir Samuel is evidently drawn in the character of Hudibras. For, besides what has been already quoted, he is armed with a *Basket-hilt*:

> Then up he took his *basket-hilt*,
> And out enraged he went.

In like manner as Hudibras:

> His puissant sword unto his side
> Near his undaunted heart was ty'd,
> With *Basket-hilt*, that wou'd hold broth,
> And serve for fight and dinner both (11).

(11) Hudibras, Part i. Canto i. ver. 351.

And whether we suppose this ballad to be written before, or after *Hudibras*, it will equally answer our purpose: for, in the first case, it will be evident, that Butler drew from this character; and, in the latter, it will shew, that, at that time, Sir Samuel Luke was generally understood to be meant under the character of Hudibras. The new editor of *Hudibras* (†) tells us, 'It has been suggested—that, notwithstanding Sir 'Samuel Luke of Wood-end, in the parish of Cople, 'in Bedfordshire, has generally been reputed the Hero of this poem, yet, from the circumstances of his 'being compared to Sir Samuel Luke, it is scarce probable, that he was intended, it being an uncommon 'thing to compare a person to himself: that the scene 'of action was in *Western Clime*; whereas Bedfordshire is north of London; and that he was credibly 'informed by a Bencher of Gray's-inn, who had it 'from an acquaintance of Mr Butler's, that the person 'intended, was Sir Henry Rosewell of Ford-abbey in 'Devonshire.—These, indeed (*adds our editor*) would 'be probable reasons, to deprive Bedfordshire of it's 'hero, did not Mr Butler, in his *Memoirs* of 1649, 'give the same description of Sir Samuel Luke; and, 'in his *Dunstable-Downs*, expresly styled *Sir Samuel Luke, Sir Hudibras*: And from the sham second part, 'published 1663, it appears, that the *Bear-bating* 'was at Brentford, which is *West* of London; and 'this might induce him to say,

> '*In Western Clime there is a Town*, &c.'

(†) Pref. p. 3, 4. See the text, at the end.

[G] *He married Mrs Herbert, a gentlewoman of a very good family.*] Anthony Wood says, she was a widow, and that Butler supported himself by her jointure: for tho', in his riper years, he had studied the Common-Law, yet he made no advantage by the practice of it (12). But the life-writer assures us, she was not a widow; and that, tho' she had a competent fortune, it was of little or no advantage to Butler, being most of it unfortunately lost by being put out on bad securities (13).

(12) Wood, ubi supra.

(13) Life, &c. page 8.

[H] *Wood pretends, he was Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham——and the life-writer assures us, the Duke had a great kindness for him*, &c.] 'The late ingenious Major Richardson Pack tells us a story; which, if it be true, overthrows the assertion both of the Antiquary and the Life-writer. We shall give it in his own words. 'Mr Wycherly had always laid hold of any opportunity, which offered, to represent to his Grace (*the Duke of Buckingham*) how well Mr Butler had de-'served of the Royal Family by writing his inimitable '*Hudibras*; and that it was a reproach to the Court, 'that a person of his loyalty and wit should suffer in 'obscurity, and under the wants he did. The Duke 'seemed always to hearken to him with attention 'enough, and, after some time, undertook to recommend his pretensions to his Majesty. Mr Wycherly, 'in hopes to keep him steady to his word, obtained of 'his Grace to name a day, when he might introduce 'that modest and unfortunate Poet to his new patron. 'At last an appointment was made, and the place 'of meeting was agreed to be the Roe-buck. Mr 'Butler and his friend attended accordingly; the Duke 'joined them. But, as the D—l would have it, the 'door of the room where they sat was open, and his 'Grace, who had seated himself near it, observing a 'pimp of his acquaintance (the creature too was a 'Knight) trip by with a brace of ladies, immediately 'quitted his engagement, to follow another kind of 'business, at which he was more ready, than in doing 'good offices to men of desert; tho' no one was better 'qualified than he, both in regard to his fortune and 'understanding, to protect them; and from that hour, 'to the day of his death, poor Butler never found the 'least effect of his promise (14).'

(14) Posthumous Works of W. Wycherly, Esq; published by Mr Theobald. In the Memoirs, &c. p. 6, 7.

[I] *He affords a remarkable instance of that coldness and neglect, which the greatest geniuses often experience from the court and age in which they live.*] We are told indeed, by the gentleman mentioned in the remark [A], that King Charles II. once ordered him a small gratuity of three hundred pounds; which had this compliment attending it, that it passed all the offices without any fee, at the sollicitation of Mr William Longueville of the Temple, Lord Danby being at that time High-Treasurer. But this seems to have been the only Court-favour he ever received. A strange instance of neglect, when we consider King Charles's excessive fondness for the poem of Hudibras. This is movingly related by our Poet himself (†), who thence takes occasion to do justice to his poem, by hinting it's excellencies in general, and paying a few modest compliments to himself; of which the following lines are worth transcribing.

(†) In his Hudibras at Court. See his Remains.

> Now you must know, Sir Hudibras
> With such perfections gifted was,
> And so peculiar in his manner,
> That all that saw him, did him honour.
> Among the rest, this Prince was one,
> Admired his conversation:
> This Prince, whose ready wit and parts
> Conquer'd both men and women's hearts,
> Was so o'ercome with Knight and Ralph,
> That he cou'd never claw it off:
> He never eat, nor drank, nor slept,
> But Hudibras still near him kept;
> Nor wou'd he go to church or so,
> But Hudibras must with him go;
> Nor yet to visit concubine,
> Or at a city-feast to dine,
> But Hudibras must still be there,
> Or all the fat was in the fire.

Now

his conversation, rendered him highly acceptable to all men: yet he was very delicate, as well as sparing, in the choice of his acquaintance. After having lived to a good old age [*K*], admired by all, tho' personally known to but few, he died [*L*] the twenty-fifth of September 1680, and was buried at the expence of his good friend Mr Longueville of the Temple [*M*], in the Church-yard of St Paul's Covent-Garden (*m*). He had no funeral monument for many years; till in 1721, Mr Barber, an Alderman of London, generously erected one to his memory, among the Poets, in Westminster-Abbey [*N*]. The Poem, intituled HUDIBRAS [*O*], by which he acquired that high reputation as a Poet, which he

(*m*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 453. and Life &c. p. 9.

Now after all, was it not hard,
That he shou'd meet with no reward,
That fitted out this Knight and Squire,
This monarch did so much admire?
That he shou'd never reimburse
The man for th' equipage, or horse,
Is sure a strange ungrateful thing,
In any body but a King.
But this good King, it seems, was told
By some that were with him too bold,
If e're you hope to gain your ends,
Caress your foes, and trust your friends.
Such were the doctrines that were taught,
Till this unthinking King was brought
To leave his friends to starve and die,
A poor reward for loyalty.

Our author's fate in this respect is justly and pathetically lamented by Mr Oldham in his *Satire against Poetry* (15), in which he introduces the ghost of Spenser dissuading him from Poetry, upon experience and example, that poverty and contempt were it's inseparable companions. After mentioning the cases of Homer and Cowley, he goes on:

(15) See Poems and Translations by J. Oldham. Lond. 1683. p. 173.

On Butler who can think without just rage,
The glory and the scandal of the age?
Fair stood his hopes, when first he came to town,
Met every where with welcomes of renown;
Courted and lov'd by all, with wonder read,
And promises of princely favour fed.
But what reward for all had he at last,
After a life in dull expectance past?
The wretch, at summing up his mispent days,
Found nothing left, but poverty and praise.
Of all his gains by verse he could not save
Enough to purchase flannel and a grave.
Reduc'd to want, he in due time fell sick,
Was fain to die, and be interr'd on tick;
And well might bless the fever that was sent
To rid him hence, and his worse fate prevent.

In like manner Mr Dryden, in his *Hind and Panther* (16), makes the *Hind* (or Church of Rome) object to the *Panther* (or Church of England) her hard-heartedness in neglecting a Poet, who had stood up in her defence.

(16) See Dryden's Miscellanies. Vol. IV. p. 213. edit. 1727. 12mo.

Unpitied *Hudibras*, your champion friend,
Has shewn how far your charities extend.
This lasting verse shall on his tomb be read,
He sham'd you living, and upbraids you dead.

[*K*] *He lived to a good old Age.*] According to Anthony Wood and the life-writer, he was sixty-eight years of age when he died: but, according to Mr Longueville, he was about fourscore.

[*L*] *His Death.*] The Oxford Antiquary, and the writer of his *Life*, tell us, he died of a consumption. Mr Oldham says, he was carried off by a fever:

And well might bless the fever that was sent, &c (17).

(17) See the Remark [*I*].

But Mr Longueville ascribes his death only to old age; which may well be, if he arrived to fourscore years. The same gentleman informs us, that Butler lived for some years in Rose-street, Covent-garden, and probably died there.

[*M*] *He was buried at the expence of Mr Longueville of the Temple.*] That Gentleman (as we learn from his son Mr Charles Longueville) would fain have buried him in Westminster-Abbey, and spoke, with that view, to several persons, who had been his admirers, offering to pay his part; but none of them would contribute: whereupon Mr Longueville buried him very privately at St Paul's Covent-garden; himself, and seven or eight more, following him to the grave.

[*N*] *Mr Alderman* Barber *erected a monument to* Butler—*in Westminster-abbey.*] The inscription thereon is as follows:

M. S.
Samuelis Butleri qui Strenshamiæ in agro Vigorniensi
Natus 1612 obiit Londini 1680.
Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer;
Operibus ingenii, non item præmiis felix; Satyrici apud
Nos carminis artifex egregius;
Qui simulatæ religioni larvam detraxit, et perduellium
Scelera liberrime exagitavit;
Scriptorum in suo genere primus et postremus.
Ne cui vivo deerant fere omnia
Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus,
Hoc tandem posito marmore, curavit
JOANNES BARBER Civis Londinensis. 1721.

[*O*] *His Poem, intituled,* HUDIBRAS.] This incomparable performance is so well known to all who are the least conversant in the *Belles Lettres*, that very little need to be said of it here. It is of the burlesque kind, being usually styled a *Mock-Heroic*, or *Mock-Epic*; and is pretty much of the nature of Homer's *Margites*; which, according to Aristotle, bore the same relation to Comedy, that the Iliad and Odyssey do to Tragedy. The hint of this poem is taken from the inimitable Don Quixote; but, in other repects, it is perfectly an original, being intended as a general satire on those times of anarchy and confusion, during which the poet lived. The Knight's name, and something of his character, are borrowed from Spenser's *Fairy Queen* (18):

(18) Canto 17.

He that made love unto the eldest dame,
Was hight Sir *Hudibras*, an hardy man;
Yet not so good of deeds, as great of name,
Which he by many rash adventures wan,
Since errant arms to sew he first began.
More huge in strength, than wise in works he was,
And reason with fool-hardise over-ran:
Stern melancholy did his courage pass;
And was (for terror more) all armed in shining brass.

As to the versification of this poem, I shall give the reader the sentiments of two great judges of Poetry, Mr Dryden and Mr Addison. 'The sort of verse, 'which is called *burlesque*, consisting of eight syllables, 'or four feet, is that which our excellent *Hudibras* 'has chosen. —— The worth of his poem is too well 'known to need any commendation. His satire is of 'the Varronian kind, tho' unmixed with prose. The 'choice of his numbers is suitable enough to his de-'sign, as he has managed it: but, in any other hand, 'the shortness of his verse, and the quick returns of 'rhyme, had debased the style. And besides, the 'double ryhme (a necessary companion of burlesque 'writing) is not so proper for manly satire; for it 'turns earnest too much into jest, and gives us a boyish 'kind of pleasure. It tickles awkwardly with a 'kind of pain to the best sort of readers: we are 'pleased ungratefully, and, if I may so say, against 'our

he continues to enjoy, was published at three different times. The first part came out in 1663, in octavo: afterwards came out the second part; and both were printed together with several additions and annotations. At length the third and last part was published, (n) Wood, ib. but without any annotations, as appears by the copy printed in 1678 (n). The great success of this poem occasioned several unsuccessful imitations of it [P]; and some vain attempts

'our liking; we thank him not for giving us that unseasonable delight, when we know he could have given us a better and more solid. He might have left that task to others, who, not being able to put in thought, can only make us grin with the excrescence of a word of two or three syllables in the close. It is indeed below so great a master to make use of such a little instrument. But his good sense is perpetually shining through all he writes: it affords us not the time of finding faults. We pass through the levity of the rhyme, and are immediately carried into some admirable useful thought. After all, he has chosen this kind of verse, and has written the best in it; and had he taken another, he would always have excelled. As we say of a court-favourite, that whatever his office be, he still makes it uppermost, and most beneficial to himself (19).' Mr Addison, speaking of the several kinds of false wit, says: *I must subjoin the double rhymes, which are used in doggrel poetry, and generally applauded by ignorant readers. If the thought of the couplet in such compositions is good, the rhymes add little to it; and if bad, it will not be in the power of the rhyme to recommend it. I am afraid, that great numbers of those, who admire the incomparable* Hudibras, *do it more on account of those doggrel rhymes, than of the parts that really deserve admiration. I am sure, I have heard the*

(19) Dryden's Juvenal, edit. 1735. Dedicat. p. 100, 101.

'——Pulpit, drum ecclesiastick,
'Was beat with fist instead of a stick,

And

'There was an ancient sage Philosopher,
'Who had read Alexander Ross over.

more frequently quoted than the finest pieces of wit in the whole poem (20). But, notwithstanding these censures, the shortness of our author's verse, and the quick returns of his rhymes, have been some of the principal means of raising and perpetuating the fame of this poem: for the turns of wit and satirical sayings, being short and pithy, are therefore more tenable by the memory; and this is one reason, why Hudibras is more frequently quoted in conversation, than the finest heroic poem. King Charles II, whom the judicious part of mankind will allow to have been a sovereign judge of wit, was so great an admirer of *Hudibras*, (tho' he shamefully neglected it's (†) author) that he would often pleasantly quote it in conversation (21). And most of our Poets have testified their high opinion of Butler's genius; but none in a manner so much to his advantage as Mr Prior in the following passage of his *Alma*:

(20) Spectator, Vol. I. No. lx.

(†) See the Remark [I].

(21) Life, &c. p. 3.

But shall we take the Muse abroad,
To drop her idly on the road,
And leave her subject in the middle,
As Butler did his bear and fiddle?
Yet he, *consummate Master*, knew
When to recede, and where pursue:
His *noble negligences* teach
What others toils despair to reach.
He, *perfect dancer*, climbs the rope,
And balances your fear and hope:
If, after some distinguish'd leap,
He drops his pole, and seems to slip;
Strait gathering all his active strength,
He rises higher half his length.
With wonder you approve his flight,
And owe your pleasure to your fright.
But, like poor Andrew, I advance,
False mimic of my master's dance;
Around the cord awhile I sprawl,
And thence, tho' low, in earnest fall (24).

(22) Canto ii, init.

Nor has Hudibras wanted encomium from foreigners; among whom the French author of *Dissertation sur la Poësie Angloise* (‡), expresses himself thus: 'The English have a Poet, whose reputation is equal to that of Scarron in French: I mean the author of Hudibras, a comical History in verse, written in the time of Oliver Cromwell. It is said to be a delicate satire on that kind of *Interregnum*; and that it is levelled particularly at the conduct of the Presbyterians, whom the author represents as a senseless sort of people, promoters of anarchy, and compleat hypocrites. Hudibras, the heroe of this poem, is a holy Don Quixote of that sect, and a redresser of imaginary wrongs, that are done to his Dulcinea. The Knight has his Rozinante, his Burlesque Adventures, and his Sancho. But the Squire of the English Poet is of an opposite character to that of the Spanish Sancho; for, whereas the latter is a plain unaffected peasant, the English Squire is a Taylor by trade; a Tartuff, or finished hypocrite, by birth; and so deep a dogmatick Divine, that

(‡) Gen. Dict. Vol. IV. p. 296.

He cou'd deep mysteries unriddle,
As easily as thread a needle,

'as it is said in the poem. The author of Hudibras is preferable to Scarron, because he has one fixed mark or object; and that, by a surprizing effort of imagination, he has found the art of leading his readers to it, by diverting them.' M. de Voltaire highly extols this poem, and at the same time accounts for it's never having been translated into foreign languages. 'There is one English poem —— the title whereof is Hudibras —— it is Don Quixote, it is our *Satire Menippeé*, blended together. I never met with so much wit in one single book as in this; which at the same time is the most difficult to be translated. —— Who would believe, that a work, which paints in such lively and natural colours the several foibles of mankind, and where we meet with more sentiments than words, should baffle the endeavours of the ablest translators? But the reason of it is this; almost every part of it alludes to particular incidents (†).' I shall only add, that some verses in the poem of *Hudibras* were omitted, for reasons of State, in the first impression; such as these following:

(†) Letters concerning the English nation, p. 212, 213. Lond. 1733, 8vo.

Did not the learned Glynn and Maynard,
To make good subjects traitors, strain hard?
Was not the King, by proclamation,
Declared a traitor thro' the nation?

[P] *There have been several unsuccessful imitations of* Hudibras.] Such as, *The Second Part of Hudibras*; the *Dutch* and *Scotch Hudibras*; *Butler's Ghost*; the *Occasional Hypocrite*; and some others. The author of the first of these pieces, we are told, is ridiculed by Butler under the character of *Whachum*, towards the latter-end of the Second part (23). I conjecture it must be that part of Whachum's character, which celebrates his skill in poetry. The verses are admirable, and may serve as a specimen of our author's wit and humour.

(23) Life, &c. p. 13.

Besides all this, he serv'd his master
In quality of Poetaster,
And rhymes appropriate cou'd make
To ev'ry month i'th' *Almanack*;
When terms begin and end, cou'd tell,
With their returns, in doggrel——
He wou'd an elegy compose
On maggots squeez'd out of his nose;
In Lyrick numbers write an ode on
His mistress eating a black-pudding;
And when imprison'd air escap'd her,
It puff'd him with poetick rapture.

His

tempts have been made to translate some parts of it into Latin [Q]. The Oxford Antiquarian ascribes to our author two pamphlets, supposed falsely (he says) to be William Prynne's: the one intituled *Mola Asinaria*; or, *The unreasonable and insupportable Burthen, pressed upon the Shoulders of this groaning Nation*, Lond. 1659, in one sheet in quarto; the other, *Two Letters*, one from *John Audland* a Quaker to *William Prynne*, the other *Prynne's Answer*, in three sheets in folio 1672 (o). The *Life-writer* mentions a small poem, of one sheet in quarto, on *Du Val* a notorious highway-man, said to be written by Butler (p). These pieces, with a great many others, (most, if not all, of them falsly ascribed to our author) are published together, under the title of, *The Posthumous Works of Mr Samuel Butler* [R]. The *Life-writer* has preserved a fragment of Mr Butler's, given him by one, whom

(o) Ubi supra.

(p) Life, &c. p. 14.

His sonnets charm'd th' attentive croud,
By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,
That, circl'd with the long-ear'd guests,
Like Orpheus look'd among the beasts.
A Carman's horse cou'd not pass by,
But stood ty'd up to poetry;
Nor Porter's burthen pass'd along,
But serv'd for burthen of his song.
Each window, like the pill'ry, appears,
With heads thrust thro' nail'd by the ears.
All trades run in, as to the sight
Of monsters, or their dear delight
The gallows-tree, when cutting purse
Breeds bus'ness for heroick verse;
Which none does hear, but wou'd have hung,
T'have been the theme of such a song (24).

(24) Hudibras, Part ii. Canto iii. ver. 358.

[Q] *Some parts of it have been translated into Latin.*] The following similies, we are told (25), were done by the learned Dr Harmer, some time Greek Professor at Oxford.

(25) Life, &c. p. 12, 13.

So learned Taliacotius, from
The brawny part of Porter's bum,
Cut supplemental noses, which
Lasted as long as parent breech;
But when the date of Nock was out,
Off dropt the sympathetick snout (26).

(26) Part i. Canto i. ver. 281.

Sic adscititios nasos de clune torosi
Vectoris docta secuit Taliacotius arte,
Qui potuere parem durando æquare parentem.
At postquam fato clunis computruit, ipsum
Unà sympathicum cœpit tabescere Rostrum.

As wind i'th' Hypocondries pent
Is but a blast, if downward sent;
But if it upward chance to fly,
Becomes new light and prophecy (27).

(27) Part ii. Canto iii. ver. 772.

Sic Hypocondriacis inclusa meatibus aura
Desinet in crepitum, si fertur prona per alvum;
Sed si summa petat, mentisque invaserit arcem,
Divinus furor est, et conscia flamma futuri.

So Lawyers, lest the Bear Defendant,
And Plaintiff Dog shou'd make an end on't,
Do stave and tail with Writs of Error,
Reverse of Judgment and Demurrer;
To let them breathe a while, and then
Cry whoop, and set them on again (28).

(28) Part i. Canto ii. ver. 161.

Sic Legum mystæ, ne forsan pax foret Ursam
Inter tutantem sese actoremque Molossum,
Faucibus injiciunt clavos, dentesque refigunt,
Luctantesque canes coxis femorique revellunt;
Errores jurisque moras obtendere certi,
Judiciumque prius revocare ut prorsus iniquum.
Tandem post aliquod breve respiramen utrinque,
Ut pugnas iterent, crebris hortatibus urgent;
Eia, agite, O Cives, iterumque in prælia trudunt.

These last Latin verses, which, in *Butler's Life*, are so incorrectly printed, as to be rendered almost nonsense, are here (it is hoped) restored to their genuine reading.

[R] The Posthumous Works of Mr Samuel Butler.] They are distributed into three volumes, in *duodecimo*, consisting of a great variety of pieces. The editor assures us, they are 'the remains of that great and 'celebrated Genius Mr Butler, author of *Hudibras*,' and 'that a very great expence, and almost incredible 'industry, had been laid out in collecting these pieces, 'which had been scattered thro' an infinite number of 'hands, and could not have been recovered but by the 'most intense application.' He adds, that 'they were 'written, as may be collected from the general arguments, partly during the rebellion, and partly at the 'latter-end of King Charles the Second's reign, about 'which time the inimitable author died.' We shall take notice here only of those pieces in this collection, of which the publisher has given some account. The *Fable of the Lion and the Fox*, he tells us, was obtained by the interest of an eminent Clergyman in Buckinghamshire, who had been Chaplain to the old Earl of Caernarvan; who informed him, that Mr Butler used to make long and frequent visits to Asket, the name of that Lord's seat; and that, at intervals, when he was disingaged from my Lord's company, he wrote this piece, and several others. The Clergyman added, he believed the Fable of the Lion and the Fox was Mr Butler's first essay in this kind of poetry, and that, after he had finished it, he disliked it, and threw it by, till Mr Dichfield, who was then domestick Chaplain to the family, happened to get a copy, which he shewed to the clergy, and other gentlemen, that came to visit my Lord, who generally took copies of it also, some of which are to be met with in their families at this time; and that the applause and credit Mr Butler gained by this fable, induced him soon after to begin his *Hudibras*. With regard to the *Memoirs of the years* 49 and 50, the editor assures us, he had seen several of Mr Butler's Letters to his friends, in which was a part of them, together with the verses, as they are now interspersed and printed with them. The *Earl of Pembroke's Speeches* were intended as a burlesque on that nobleman's speeches in the House of Lords; which, we are told, were the common talk and sport of the kingdom; and that many of the Wits, at that time, turned them into lampoons and ridicule; amongst whom Mr Butler was one, who put them into the dress we now see them in, and sent them inclosed in letters to his particular friends and acquaintance, from whose copies they were afterwards printed, without Mr Butler's knowledge, and very much against his inclination. The *Speeches of Alderman Atkins* and *Hugh Peters* (the editor tells us) were written by Butler, at the command of the Lord Carbury, to expose the intolerable profaneness and stupidity of the faction. The Poem intitled *Hudibras at Court*, was communicated by the same hand as the Fable of the Lion and the Fox. The editor says, it was doubtless intended as a *Fourth Part* of Hudibras, as is obvious to any person that compares it with the other three. How the author came to drop the design, and to conclude the First Canto with a severe Satire on the Court, is differently reported: but the most general and probable conjecture (he tells us) is, that, after a long and fruitless dependance on the promises of the King and the great Courtiers, full of resentment, he resolved to leave the Court, to which he could never again be reconciled to the day of his death. The pieces contained in the third volume of this collection, the publisher assures us, were most of them written in Mr Butler's own hand, as will appear by the originals in the custody of the Printer. The Poem called *Dunstable-Downs, or the Inchanted Cave*, and *The Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, were given to the editor by a gentleman, whose father was an intimate of Mr Butler's, at the time he was Clerk to Sir Samuel Luke;

whom he calls the ingenious Mr Aubrey [S], who assured him he had it from the Poet himself (q). A new edition of Mr Butler's *Hudibras* was published in 1744, by Zachary Grey, LLD, with large annotations, and a preface, in two volumes 8vo.

(q) Ibid.

Luke; and who assured him, the facts of both were true; and that Butler, who was then very young, wrote them whilst he was with Sir Samuel, and, when he left that service, gave his father the copies. The rest of the pieces in this volume, excepting the *Coffin for the good old Cause*, which is generally supposed to be Sir Samuel's own, and published just before the expiration of the Rump, were collected from the papers of Sir Roger L'Estrange, Dr Midgley, Mr Charles Booth, *Amanuensis* to the late Duke of Buckingham, Lord Rochester, and Captain Julian the famous Satire-monger of that time.

[S] *A fragment of Butler's, communicated by Mr Aubrey.*] It is as follows:

No Jesuit e're took in hand
To plant a Church in barren land;
Nor ever thought it worth the while
A Swede or Russ to reconcile.
For where there is no store of wealth,
Souls are not worth the charge of health.
Spain in America had two designs,
To sell their Gospel for their mines:
For had the Mexicans been poor,
No Spaniard twice had landed on their shore.
'Twas gold the Catholick Religion planted,
Which, had they wanted gold, they still had wanted.

T

BYNG (George) Lord Viscount Torrington, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, was descended from an antient family in the county of Kent; an account whereof see in the note [A]. He was born in the year 1663, and in 1678, at the age of fifteen, went a volunteer at sea, with the King's warrant, given him at the recommendation of the Duke of York (a). In 1681, he quitted the sea-service, upon the invitation of General Kirk, Governor of Tangier, and served as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garrison, till on a vacancy that quickly happened, the General, who always patronized him with great friendship, made him Ensign of his own company, and soon after a Lieutenant. In 1684, after the demolition of Tangier, the Earl of Dartmouth, General of the sea and land forces, appointed him Lieutenant of the Orford, from which time he constantly kept to the sea-service, remaining likewise an officer in the army several years after. In 1685, he went Lieutenant of His Majesty's ship the Phœnix, to the East-Indies, where engaging and boarding a Zinganian pirate, who maintained a desperate fight, most of those that entered with him were slain, himself greatly wounded, and the pirate sinking, he was taken out of the sea, with scarce any remains of life. In 1688, being First-Lieutenant to Sir John Ashby, in the fleet commanded by the Earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppose the designs of the Prince of Orange, he was in a particular manner entrusted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on, amongst the most considerable officers of the fleet in favour of that Prince, and was the person confided in by them, to carry their secret assurances of obedience to His Highness, to whom he was privately introduced at Sherburn, by Admiral Russel, afterwards Earl of Orford. After his return to the fleet, the Earl of Dartmouth sent him with Capt. Aylmer and Capt. Hastings, to carry a message of submission to the Prince at Windsor, and made him Captain of the Constant Warwick, a fourth rate man of war. In 1690, he commanded the Hope, a third rate, and was second to

(a) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 96.

[A] *An account whereof see in the note.*] It appears on record, that this family was a long time seated in Kent, and as the visitation of that country, in the office of Arms, shews. John Byng, Esq; (son and heir of Thomas Byng, who was living in the reign of King Henry VII.) in the year 1535 (1), 28th of Henry VIII, having married Agnes, daughter to —— Spencer, of the county of Essex, had issue, two sons and three daughters. Robert, the eldest son, the direct ancestor of the present Lord Viscount Torrington, was seated at Wrotham in Kent; and Thomas, the youngest, was of St Peter's College in Cambridge, Master of Clare-hall, and Doctor of the Civil Laws: in 1572, the 14th of Elizabeth, he was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, as also in 1578. In 18 Eliz. he was in commission with William, Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treasurer of England, Richard, Bishop of Ely, and others, to visit St John's College in Cambridge. In 36 Eliz. 1594, he was constituted Regius Professor of the Civil Law in the same University: he was seated at Grandchester in Cambridgeshire, and in 1571 was married to Catherine, daughter of —— Randall, Esq; by whom he had several sons, of which, Andrew the second was Archdeacon of Norwich, the King's Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and was particularly recommended by King James I, to be Master of Corpus-Christi-College in that University, by his letter of the 26th of March, 1618, as knowing personally (he says) his great worth, and as he would be an honour and ornament to the University, if they made choice of him. Henry, the eldest son of Thomas, was Serjeant at Law, and Counsel to the University of Cambridge, as was also his son after him.

(1) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 94.

But to return to Robert Byng, Esq; of Wrotham, ancestor of Admiral Byng; he served for the Borough of Abingdon, in the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1559, and in the 34th year of her reign, was Sheriff, of the county of Kent (2). He married to his first wife, Frances, daughter and heiress of Richard Hill, Esq; by whom he had issue three sons, George, John, and Francis, whereof the two last died without issue; and by his second wife, Mary, daughter of William Maynard, Esq; he had issue three sons, of which, William was Governor of Deal-Castle, and a daughter, Anne, married to David Polhill of Orford in Kent, Esq; The said Robert Byng, Esq; of Wrotham, died on the second of September, 1595, (as appears by Inquisition of the Court of Wards) seized of the manors of Wrotham, Charlton Rusthale, in Spelhurst by Tunbridge; Stodmer-hill and Stock-hill, manors in Yalding; and Stanstead manor, with Leybone Wood in Leybone, leaving issue, George Byng, his son and heir, who was chosen Member of Parliament for Rochester in Kent, 27 Eliz. and for the port of Dover, in the first year of King James I. He died in 1616, and was succeeded by George Byng his son and heir, born at Wrotham in 1594, who in 1617, married Catherine, daughter of Sir John Hewett of Headly Hall, in the county of York, by whom he had issue, a son John, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to —— Man, of the county of Kent, Esq; John Byng, Esq; his son and heir, conveying away Wrotham, was the last of this family there. He married Philadelphia, the daughter of —— Johnson of Loans in Surry, by whom he had several children, of which, George, the Lord Viscount Torrington, was the eldest.

(2) Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 93. in Com. Kent.

[B] Answered

to Sir George Rooke in the battle of Beachy. In the years 1691, and 1692, he was Captain of the Royal Oak, and served under Admiral Russel, who commanded in chief His Majesty's fleet. In 1693, that great officer distinguished him in a particular manner, by promoting him to the rank of his first Captain, in which station he served in the years 1694 and 1695, in the Mediterranean, where the designs of the French against Barcelona were prevented; and also the next year 1696, in the channel, to oppose the intended invasion of King James, with a French army from the coast of France, which upon the appearance of the fleet was laid aside. In 1702, a war breaking out, he accepted the command of the Nassau, a third rate, and was at the taking and burning the French fleet at Vigo. In the year 1703, he was made Rear-Admiral of the Red, and served in the fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesly Shovel in the Mediterranean, who detached him with a squadron of five men of war (*b*), to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home he was in danger of being lost, in the great storm which he met with in the Channel. In 1704, he served in the grand fleet sent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, in search of the French fleet; and it was he who commanded the squadron that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar (*c*); and by landing the seamen, whose valour was very remarkably distinguished on this occasion, they capitulated the third day. He was in the battle of Malaga, which followed soon after, and for his behaviour in that action, Queen Anne conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*d*). Towards the latter end of this year, the French having had two strong squadrons in the Soundings, besides great numbers of privateers, which very much annoyed our trade. Sir George Byng sailed the latter end of January from Plymouth, with a squadron of twelve men of war, and a great fleet of rich outward bound merchant ships, which after he had seen in safety out of their soundings, he directed the squadron as he judged best for (*e*) annoying the enemies privateers, in which he was so successful, by his well stationing his cruizers, that he took twelve of their largest privateers in about two months time, with the Thetis, a French man of war of forty-four guns, and also seven French merchant ships, most of them richly laden from the West-Indies (*f*). The number of men taken on board was 2070, and of guns 334. This remarkable success made a great noise at that time, and was published by partitular directions from the Court. It gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they scarce ventured into the Channel all the year after. In 1705, he was made Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and upon the election of a new Parliament, was returned a Burgess for Plymouth, which place he represented in every succeeding Parliament, to the year 1721, when he was created a Peer; and one of his sons has since been constantly chosen there. During this summer he commanded in chief a squadron in the Channel, and blocked up the French fleet in Brest, with a much inferior strength (*g*). In 1706, the Emperor being closely besieged in Barcelona by sea and land, by the Duke of Anjou, and the place reduced to great extremity, and our fleet in the Mediterranean being too weak to relieve it, he was appointed to command a squadron of twenty ships (*h*) from England, to go to it's relief; in which service he used such diligence and activity, and joined our fleet with such unexpected dispatch, that the saving that important place, was entirely owing to it, the French having in three days afterwards raised the siege. He assisted at the other enterprizes of that campaign, and commanded the ships detached for the reduction of Carthagena and Alicant, which he accomplished, although at this last place there were above 160 guns facing the sea, many of which our Admiral with only five ships dismounted, and drove the enemy from them (*i*). After this, he was appointed to command a winter squadron, of eighteen men of war and two fire-ships, to guard the coast of Portugal, according to the treaty with that Prince, and to cruize in the properest stations for annoying the enemy. In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered with a squadron to Alicant, with necessaries for the army in Spain; and having accordingly sailed the thirtieth of March, when he arrived off Cape St Vincent, he had the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the command of the Earl of Galway, who sent to the Admiral, to acquaint him with the distress he was in, and desired, that whatever he brought for the use of the army, might be carried to Tortosa in Catalonia, to which place his Lordship designed to retreat; and that if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended every thing that could be got together, should be got on board (*k*). This service the Admiral performed, and having sent the sick and wounded to Tortosa, and being soon after joined by Sir Cloudesly Shovel from Lisbon, proceeded together to the coast of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war and fifty transports (*l*), to second Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy in the siege of Thoulon, at which Sir George Byng served in the second post under Sir Cloudesly Shovel (*m*), and narrowly escaped shipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was lost; for the *Royal Anne*, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was within a ship's length of the Rocks called the *Bishop and his Clerks*, upon which the Admiral struck; yet he was providentially saved by his own and his officers presence of mind, who in a minute's time set the ship's top-sails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains (*n*). In 1708, he was made Admiral of the Blue, and commanded the squadron that was fitted out to oppose the invasion designed against Scotland by the Pretender, with a French army from Dunkirk; this squadron consisted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George Byng and Lord Dursley, sailed from Deal for the French coast,

(*b*) Burchet's Naval Hist. p. 655.

(*c*) Burchet, p. 677.

(*d*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 98.

(*e*) Burchet, p. 685.

(*f*) London Gazette, April 22, 1705.

(*g*) Peerage of England, ubi sup.

(*h*) Burchet, p. 692.

(*i*) Burchet, p. 694, 695.

(*k*) Burchet, p. 731.

(*l*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 22.

(*m*) Peerage of England, ut supra.

(*n*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 32. Burchet, p. 733.

coast, on the twenty-seventh of February, and having anchored in Gravelin pits, Sir George went into a small frigate, and sailed within two miles of the Flemish Road, and there learnt the strength and number of the enemies ships (*o*). On the Admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aside their embarkation, but upon express orders from Court, were obliged to resume it; and on the sixth of March actually sailed out of Dunkirk, but being taken short by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage. Sir George Byng, at the time the French fleet set sail, had been obliged for security, to go to an anchor under Dungeness; and in his return to Dunkirk, was informed the French were sailed, but could get no account where; tho' he was strongly inclined to believe they were designed for Scotland. Whereupon it was resolved in a Council of War, to pursue the enemy to the road of Edinburgh; and accordingly having first detached Rear-Admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to convoy the troops that were sent from Ostend; the Admiral prosecuted his expedition with the rest (*p*). On the thirteenth of March, the French were discovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a N. E. course, as if they intended to have gone to St Andrews; Sir George Byng pursued them, and took the Salisbury, an English prize then in their service, with several persons of great quality on board, many land and sea officers in the French service, of very great distinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ship's company, consisting of 300 men (*q*); after this, Sir George Byng finding it impossible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of the French getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, pursuant to the orders he received from the Ministry. Before the Admiral left Leith Road (*r*), the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, to shew the grateful sense they had of the important service that he had done them, by thus drawing off the enemy before they had time to land their forces, and thereby preserving not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invasion, resolved to present him with the freedom of their city, by sending, in their name, Sir Patrick Johnston, their late Representative in Parliament, with an instrument called a burgess ticket, inclosed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the side, and these words engraved upon the cover; 'The Lord Provost, Baillies, and Town-Council of Edinburgh, did present these letters of Burgeoise, to Sir George Byng, Admiral of the Blue, in gratitude to him for *delivering this island from a foreign invasion*, and defeating the designs of a French fleet, at the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh, the thirteenth of March 1708.' This present was accompanied with a letter from the Lord Provost, wherein he desired the Admiral to accept it as a mark of their high respect to him, who had delivered them from such great fear and apprehensions of danger, for which his memory should be honoured by them (*r*). When Sir George Byng was afterwards created Lord Torrington, this action of his is particularly mentioned in the preamble to his patent of creation, much to his honour, as the reader will see hereafter. Upon Sir George Byng's arrival in London, he was most graciously received by the Queen his Sovereign, and by His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, Lord High-Admiral; and the Queen was pleased to offer him the place of one of the Prince's Council in the Admiralty, which however he then declined (*s*). One would have imagined, that this surprizing success must have satisfied every body; and that after defeating so extraordinary a scheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and restoring publick credit, as it were in an instant, there should have been an universal tribute of applause paid to the Admiral, by all ranks and degrees of people. Yet this was so far from being the case, that Sir George Byng had scarce set his foot in London, before it was whispered that the Parliament would enquire into his conduct; which took rise from a very foolish persuasion, that having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might if he pleased, have taken every ship of them as well as the Salisbury. The truth of the matter was, that the French having amused the Jacobites in Scotland, with a proposal about the besieging the Castle of Edinburgh; Sir George Byng was particularly instructed, by all means to prevent that, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and by doing it, answered the end for which he was sent (*t*) [*B*]. But the

(*o*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 68, 69. Burchet, p. 740, &c.

of Europe for 1708, p. 130. Scott's Hist. of Scotland, p. 741. Oldmixon, Vol. II. p. 404.

(*q*) Lives of the Admirals, ubi supra. Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 1, &c.

(*r*) Scott's Hist. of Scotland, p. 742.

(*s*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(*t*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 70. Hist. of Europe for 1708.

[*B*] *Answered the end for which he was sent.*] To give a more particular and circumstantial account of this important affair, we must have recourse to Sir George Byng's own account, contained in two letters wrote to the Ministry by him from on board the Medway, dated the 13th and 15th of March, and which, together with a letter wrote by the French General to the King his master, shew the real designs of the French, and the great judgment and foresight of our Admiral in disappointing them, and will make a compleat journal of this famous expedition. We shall do this in as few words as possible. 'On the 13th of March, in the morning, the French fleet was discovered in the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh, off of which place Sir George Byng anchored the night before, and sent a boat on shore to the Isle of May, from whence he had an account that they came to an anchor the 12th in the afternoon, and had sent a ship up to Leith with a flag at main-top-mast-head, but by that time she could get before the town, they heard guns fired in the manner of salutes, which were ours, for coming to an anchor. This ship, judged to be about sixty guns, came down in the morning, and was within two leagues of our squadron; that the French squadron standing from Sir George Byng, he pursued them with all the sail he could, sometimes with hopes of coming up with them, but they were lighter ships than ours; two of our ships indeed, the Ludlow-Castle and Dover, being cleaner and better sailors than the rest, came up with part of the enemy's squadron, passing by some of their smaller, to reach bigger ships, in hopes of stopping them till they could be strengthned. They engaged two or three of the French, one of which was the Salisbury,

the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another, *viz.* that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet, by his ships being foul; which actually produced an enquiry in the House of Commons, and an address to the Queen, to direct that an account might be laid before them, of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the same were cleaned; which at last however ended in a resolution, that the thanks of the House should be given to the Prince, as Lord High-Admiral; for his great care in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng, was enabled, so happily, to prevent the intended invasion (*u*). This was a very wise and well concerted measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falshood of these reports, and, at the same time, gave great satisfaction to the Queen and her Royal Consort, the Prince of Denmark, who both conceived that his Royal Highness's character was affected, as Lord High-Admiral. In the middle of the summer of the year 1708, a resolution was taken, to make a descent on, or at least to alarm, the coast of France, by way of retaliation for the affront so lately offered us; and Sir George Byng as Admiral, and Lord-Dursley as Vice-Admiral of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet destined for that purpose [*C*]. The same year, Sir George Byng, had the honour

(*u*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 71. Hist. of Europe for 1708.

'Salisbury, of fifty guns, formerly taken from us; these they endeavoured to cut off from the rest of the fleet; but a very dark night coming on, they lost sight of all but the Salisbury, and she falling in amongst the headmost of ours, was taken. The Admiral learned from the officers of this ship, that there were twelve batallions on board their squadron, commanded by the Count de Gace, and that the Pretender, the Lord Middleton, Lord Perth, the Mac-donalds, Captain Trevannion, and several other officers and gentlemen, were on board the Mars, in which ship was Monsieur Fourbin, who commanded the squadron. The morning after this chase there were but eighteen of the enemy's ships seen, and they as far off as they could be discovered from the mast-head; so that the Admiral having no prospect of coming up with them, he lay off and on near Buchaness, all the day, to gather his ships together. The next morning it blew hard north-easterly, which made a great sea, and he judging the French could not seize the shore to make any attempt, bore up for Leith, which was thought most reasonable, not only to secure, but to give countenance and spirit to, her Majesty's faithful subjects, and discourage those who might have a design to join the enemy. The 16th, a Council of War was held in the road of Leith, when it was considered where the French might probably attempt to land, or which way our squadron might proceed, with most probability of preventing any design they might have; it was thought, that if our squadron should go northward, and the wind come up strong westerly, it might hinder their gaining the Frith of Forth, and that since the enemy were probably driven to the southward of it (which they thought was of the greatest consequence to secure) and were at first found at anchor in the Frith, it was reasonable to believe they intended for Edinburgh, the metropolis; so it was determined to remain in Leith road, until there should be advice of their returning on the coast, or that an answer could be received to the express dispatched to the Lord High-Admiral, but that in the mean while, scouts should be kept out between the Frith and Aberdeen, and all possible means used to gain intelligence from the shore, for which purpose the Admiral desired the Earl of Leven to send some trusty persons northwards towards the Frith of Murray. The 23d of March he received orders to send five ships and the prisoners taken in the Salisbury, into the river Humber, and the Downs, and with the squadron to proceed to sea and guard the coast of Scotland; whereupon it was resolved, that as soon as the prisoners could be removed, the squadron should proceed off Buchaness, and that there the Admiral should send on shore for intelligence of the enemy, and that if he could not get any, he should ply it up again towards the Frith of Edinburgh. Not being able to get any advice, either by sea or land, of the French squadron, and provisions growing short in his own, he received orders in the beginning of April, to return to the Downs, but to leave three ships to cruize on the coast of Scotland, to prevent correspondence between disaffected persons of that kingdom, and France. Accordingly the Admiral appointed the ships for that service, and arrived in the Downs the 16th of April with three third rates, thirteen fourths, of which the Salisbury prize was one, two fifths, a sixth, and fire ship, having appointed some frigates to convoy recruits from Scotland to Holland (3).'

The account which the French General, Monsieur de Gace, wrote the King his master, agrees pretty well with the above (4). He says, they sailed from Dunkirk the 19th of March in the evening, and cast anchor in the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh the 23d in the afternoon, N. S. The next day as they were ready to enter the Frith, they discovered our squadron; upon which the Admiral, M. Fourbin, resolved to bear off by the favour of a land breeze, which, (says he) 'Very luckily carried us from the enemy.' That we pursued them pretty close all that day, and that four of our best sailors (we say only two) attacked some of their sternmost ships, and took the Salisbury, after a stout resistance. That their fleet being dispersed, and we near them, M. Fourbin steered false during the night, which had a good effect, for the next day they found themselves with twenty sail, at a good distance from us, whereupon it was proposed that since they had been prevented landing in the Frith of Forth, they should try if they could reach Inverness and land there, to which the Pretender readily agreed, and they actually set sail, and steered a whole day northwards, with a favourable wind, but at night there arose a strong contrary wind, which continued all the next day, with great violence, and they having no pilots to guide them, and fearing many other inconveniences, they resolved to return to Dunkirk, where they arrived the 7th of April, N. S. Thus ended this affair of the invasion, which made so great a noise at that time, and which has been handed down in so many different lights to posterity; and tho' happily put an end to in time, yet had begun to have very bad effects, by sinking our publick securities, occasioning a prodigious run upon the Bank, and disturbing our foreign remittances so much, that all thinking people were convinced of the great risk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while loaded with debts at home.

(3) Burchet's Naval History, p. 747, 748.

(4) Appendix to Scott's Hist. of Scotland, p. 743.

[*C*] *Sir George Byng was appointed to command the fleet destined for that purpose.*] Our Admiral sailed on the 27th of July, from Spithead, with the fleet, and transports having the troops on board, intended for the descent, commanded by Lieutenant-General Erle; and came the next day to anchor off Deal. The 29th, they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm, as to amuse the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The first of August the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they stood in pretty nigh the shoar, to observe the condition of the enemy. The fourth, they weighed, but anchored again about noon in the bay of Estaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have seconded, being laid aside, an express brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The seventh, they stood over-again to the coast of England, and being joined by more transports in Dover road, arrived the eleventh in the bay of La-Hogue. The twelfth, they designed to have landed; but upon viewing the coast, they found so many troops brought together, to oppose a descent,

honour of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Lisbon [*D*], where a commission was sent him, appointing him to be Admiral of the White (*w*); and her Portuguese Majesty presented him with her picture set in diamonds, to a very great value (*x*). In the Year 1709, he commanded in chief, Her Majesty's squadron in the Mediterranean, during which, he attempted the relief of the city and castle of Alicant, and, which was a greater enterprize, had a design upon Cadiz; in both which, it was very far from being his own fault, that he did not succeed, having himself done all that could be expected from him, or he had power to do, to render those important designs successful [*E*]. After his return home from this command,

(*w*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(*x*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 90. Hist. of Europe for 1708.

descent, and so many forts and batteries on shore, that it was deemed impracticable. The fourteenth, the fleet set sail again for the westward, but the wind coming about the next day, they altered their course, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no prospect of doing any thing there. The same day the Lord Dursley, in the Oxford, with six other men of war, and marines, failed to the westward to cruize in the Soundings. The seventeenth, the rest of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue, but the men growing sickly, and provisions falling short, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead, on the 28th (5). — After thus alarming the French coasts, and creating the enemy inexpressible trouble, the Duke of Marlborough desired that the troops on board this squadron, might be landed at Ostend, which was accordingly performed on the 23d of September, at so critical a juncture, that it is thought if they had not arrived, the city of Lisle could scarce have been taken (6). Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true design of which, was to disturb the French naval armaments on their coasts, and to oblige the French Court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which necessarily occasioned the diminishing their army in Flanders. The French Historians however, magnify the great advantage they obtained, by repelling this invasion.

(5) London Gazette, No. 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, &c. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 86, 87.

(6) Lives of the Admirals, ut sup.

[*D*] *Sir George Byng had the honour of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Lisbon.*] Her Majesty was stiled, before her marriage, the Arch-dutchess Mary-Anne of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and sister to the Emperor Joseph. Her marriage with the King of Portugal was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cause, and was therefore very grateful to our Court, who readily offered to send her Majesty to Lisbon, on board a British squadron, after having been first espoused by proxy, at Vienna (*). In the beginning of the month of September, she set out for Holland, where Rear-Admiral Baker attended, with a small squadron, in order to bring her over; which he accordingly did, on the 25th of that Month, and landed her at Portsmouth, where she staid some days at the house of Thomas Ridge, Esq; and the Queen being then at Windsor, sent instantly the Duke of Grafton to compliment her Majesty, on her part; as his Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark did the Lord Delawar, on his. Colonel Godfrey, who had married the Duke of Marlborough's sister, was sent to Portsmouth, to defray the expences of the Queen of Portugal's houshold, while she continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all the time; and her Majesty, in testimony of her grateful sense of the honours paid her by our Court, besides her present to Admiral Byng, made one to the Duke of Grafton of a diamond ring worth twelve thousand Crowns. On the 6th of October, about three in the afternoon, the Queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her Majesty was received by Sir George Byng, and on her going off, the Governor saluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning at seven o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to sea, when all the cannon of the town were again discharged. Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a very quick and easy passage, brought her Majesty safely into the river of Lisbon, on the 16th of the same month. The King of Portugal, with several magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne, to welcome the Queen; and returning from thence, their Majesties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal-arch, from whence they proceeded through a vast crowd of people, to the Royal-Chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction. The Queen having generously expressed her great satisfaction as to the entertainment she had received, during her stay in England, undoubtedly the King was very liberal in his magnificent presents to the Admiral, and others, who conducted her (7). Sir George Byng, the very next day after his arrival at Lisbon, had intelligence that some French ships of considerable force had been seen upon the coast, which were supposed to be waiting for some of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, which were then missing. Upon this, he immediately sailed in quest of them, though without success, except that the news of his being at sea, forced them to retire, and thereby secured the safe return of thirty-four ships, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port-Mahon, in order to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Lisbon, with a small squadron; but before he left that place, he received the Queen's orders to wear the Union-Flag in the Mediterranean, the Prince of Denmark (through whose hands it should otherwise have gone as Lord High-Admiral) being dead (8). He sailed on the 27th of December with six Ships of the Line, two fire-ships, and three other attendants; and having sent five ships to Alicant, to assure the Governor of the castle there, of his assistance, he arrived himself about Cape Palos the 3d of January, when standing in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land so fresh, that he could not fetch the bay, so that he bore away to Port-Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the 5th, a storm arose, which separated most of the squadron, forcing him almost as high as Sardinia; but on the 12th he got into Port-Mahon, where he found most of the squadron (9).

(*) Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 243.

(7) Hist. of Europe for 1708, p. 313.

(8) Burchet's Naval History, p. 737.

(9) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 91. Hist. of Europe for 1708.

[*E*] *Having done all in his power to render those designs successful.*] There were many accidents occurred to frustrate our Admiral's great designs, as will appear from a short view of his proceedings during his command in the Mediterranean. In our last note, we left him in the harbour of Port-Mahon, where he was extremely distressed for want of naval stores, which were on board the Arrogant, a ship that had been missing from his arrival in that harbour, in quest of which he detached ships to Majorca and Cagliari; and at the same time dispatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was on the coast of Italy, to join him with his squadron, in case the Emperor's troops, that were designed for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February 1709, was spent in tedious expectations; but at last, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with about 3500 men (10), to the great joy of Sir George Byng and General Stanhope, who had long waited for these forces, in order to attempt something for the relief of Alicant, then besieged by an army of 12000 men; and for the safety of which, King Charles had expressed unusual concern (11). Accordingly the squadron, consisting of eleven ships of the line of battle (12), having put to sea, arrived before Alicant, on the 5th of April in the morning, and stood into the bay, anchoring against the batteries and lines which the enemy had thrown up along the coast; and while the cannon were playing against those works, General Stanhope intended to push on shore, but the wind blowing very strong, occasioned a great sea, which rendered it impracticable; and the large ships being in less than four fathom water, were obliged to weigh their anchors, and make out of cannon-shot. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known what extremities the garrison might be under, and the enemy increasing considerably in strength, the General sent a flag of truce on shore, with proposals for surrendering the castle, to which the garrison had before retired; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, Sir George Byng proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached some ships to cruize for the Turky fleet, others with transports for corn to Barbary, and three ships he left to clean at Port-Mahon. In his

(10) Burchet's Naval History, p. 754.

(11) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 115.

(12) Burchet, ut supra.

command, he was made one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral (y); in which post he continued till some time before the Queen's death, when not falling in with the measures of those times, he was removed; but on the accession of his late Majesty King George, he was restored to that employment (z). In July 1711, he was made Admiral of the White; and, in the year 1715, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he was appointed to command a squadron in the Downs, in that critical juncture, with which he kept such a watchful eye along the French coast, by examining ships, even in their ports, and obtaining orders from the Court of France, for the putting on shore at Havre de Grace, great quantities of arms and ammunition which he had detected, were shipped there for the Pretender's service (a); that in reward of his services, the King created him a Baronet November 14, 1715 (b); gave him a ring of great value, and other marks of his royal favour (c). In the year 1717, a discovery having been made, of an invasion intended against this kingdom, by Charles XII, King of Sweden [F]: orders were

(y) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(z) Peerage of England, ut sup.

(a) Peerage of England, ubi sup.

(b) Salmon's Chronological Historian, p. 375.

(c) Peerage of England, ut supra.

his way to Barcelona, he landed General Stanhope with the troops at Tarragona, and returned, with the garrison of the castle of Alicant, to Port-Mahon (13). The whole squadron having joined at Barcelona, in June, a Council of War was held, in which it was determined, that since the King of Spain, as the posture of affairs then were, could not come to any resolution as to the fleet's assisting in the reduction of those parts of Spain still in the possession of the enemy, to sail to a station ten leagues off Cape Thoulon, not only for intercepting their trade, but to alarm them all that might be; and it being necessary a squadron should be on the coast of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was sent with thirteen ships to Lisbon (14). Sir George Byng arrived before Thoulon the 24th of June, in which harbour he saw only eight ships rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the rest being disarmed. After thus insulting Thoulon, he returned to Barcelona road, where he found most of the ships arrived from the services upon which he had sent them; and some of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been so fortunate as to take a great many prizes. The Admiral, upon his arrival at Barcelona, found the Court of Spain, at the instance of Cardinal Grimani, very desirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by General Stanhope, that it was her Majesty's pleasure, part of the fleet should assist in the design upon Cadiz; but the Dutch ships having been separated in bad weather, and ours being too few to answer these and other services the Court proposed, he suspended, for some time, the coming to any resolution, being every day in expectation of the ships of the States-General; but at length he formed a disposition of her Majesty's ships, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the service of Sicily, while he himself designed to proceed on the other with General Stanhope. The 26th of July, the Court of Spain having notice of the enemy's penetrating into the Lampourdan, with intention, as was apprehended, to besiege Gironne; and there being a want of ships to protect the coasts of Catalonia, and hinder the enemy having supplies by sea, as also a squadron to bring over the prizes with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of, and some ships to go to Italy for money to subsist the troops; the Court seemed to lay aside the design on Sicily, and Sir George Byng sent five ships for the aforesaid vessels with corn (15). Thus the warmth, impatience, and irresolution of the Court of Spain, obliged the Admiral to drop his great designs; for, without regard to what had been resolved, or even for what themselves had demanded before, they were continually desiring something new to be done for them, without considering that it was impossible our ships could perform one service, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehension that the enemy would attack Gironne, the English ships were desired to intercept their provisions. Soon after they were distressed for want of provisions themselves, and then the most necessary thing that could be done, was to send for the prizes, laden with corn, from Port Farina. By that time this was resolved on, money grew scarce, and then his Catholick Majesty hoped that the English ships would go and fetch it immediately from Italy. The manner in which these demands were made, and the apprehensions the officers were under, of complaints being sent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; so that, of necessity, the expedition against Sicily was laid aside. Our Admirals, however, still flattered themselves, that something might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were besides, highly discontented with the French government (16).—On the 27th of July, the Dutch squadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a Council of War, and laid before them the Queen's orders, the desires of his Catholick Majesty, and the project formed by themselves for attempting Cadiz; but the Commander in Chief of the Dutch Ships, excused himself, declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of August, which disabled him from undertaking any service beyond the 20th of that month. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng should proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch be employed in other services, as the King of Spain might have for them. Sir George arriving at Gibraltar, expected to have found there Rear-Admiral Baker's squadron, and the troops designed for the attempt on Cadiz; but not gaining any intelligence of him, or of Sir John Jennings, and finding that important enterprize could not be executed, he resolved to return to England, where he safely arrived on the 25th of September, leaving Sir Edward Whitaker with a squadron of sixteen ships in the Mediterranean, to protect the coasts of Catalonia, and cruize off the coast of Roses, to prevent the carrying to the enemy, any supplies of provisions or ammunition, and to intercept their vessels of corn from the Levant, and the coast of Barbary. This wise disposition of the Admiral's had the desired effect; for in the bay of Roses, our fleet discovered the grand convoy intended for the French service in the Lampourdan, consisting of forty large vessels laden with corn and other provisions, of which we took thirty, and hindered the rest from putting to sea; by which the enemy was greatly distressed, and King Charles's army so happily supplied with provisions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwise they could not have done (17). Some Dutch accounts say, Sir Edward Whitaker actually went into the bay of Roses, and took fifty corn vessels, and offered King Charles to assist in reducing that port, but his advice was not followed.

(13) Burchet's Naval History, p. 758. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 122.

(14) Burchet, ut supra. Histoire Militaire, Tom. VI. p. 253.

(15) Burchet, p. 759, 760. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 123.

(16) Burchet, &c. ubi supra.

(17) Burchet, ut supra. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 125.

[F] *It having been discovered that an invasion was intended against this kingdom.*] This design was chiefly carried on between Baron Gortz, Minister and favourite of the King of Sweden, and Count Gyllemberg, the Swedish Minister in England, who had lived here some years, and married an English lady. They had for some time carried on a correspondence together, and concerted measures with the English rebels in France, and several persons in England, for raising a rebellion, in favour of the Pretender, to be supported by foreign force. It is not certainly known how this conspiracy came to be discovered; but on the 29th of January, Mr Secretary Stanhope, by the King's command, communicated to the Privy-Council, the information his Majesty had received concerning this plot; upon which several persons were secured, and amongst the rest, Count Gyllemberg, with all his papers; and Baron Gortz was, at his Britannick Majesty's request, arrested in Holland, where he acted as Minister from the King of Sweden. Mr Secretary Stanhope laid before the House of Commons, copies of letters that passed between Gyllemberg, Gortz, Baron Sparr, the Swedish Ambassador at Paris, and others, by which it appeared, that their intention was to transport 12,000 men, a sufficient train of artillery, arms for 10 or 12,000 men more, with requisite stores of ammunition: that there had been remitted to them, several sums

(d) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 398.

(e) Chandler's Debates. Votes of the House of Commons. Political State of England. Salmon's Chronological Historian, p. 390.

(f) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 400.

(g) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 401.

were issued for forming a grand squadron, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line (d), besides frigates, for the Baltick, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two Admirals under him, with an additional force; but before those ships were ready, the Ministry altered their design; and Sir George, in obedience to his fresh orders, sailed on the thirtieth of March for Copenhagen (e), and on the eleventh of April arrived in the road of that place. The next day he had an audience of the King, and assisted at several conferences which were held the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case the several squadrons should join (f). Sir George next detached five ships of the line to cruize in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the Point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swedish privateers. The Danish cruizers being likewise employed for the same purpose, the passage was so effectually secured, that no ships could pass out of that port. Sir George himself only waited for a fair wind to sail with the rest of the British squadron into the Baltick, where the Swedes, however, had absolutely laid aside whatever design they had formed, either to our prejudice, or against the general peace of Europe. On the seventh of May, however, our Admiral sailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ships, bound for several ports of the Baltick, and being joined by the Danish fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral Gabel, they sailed together towards Carlscroon, but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the season began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of returning home with the fleet; and accordingly on the second of November he passed the Sound, with nine English men of war, three frigates, and three vessels of small burthen, leaving behind him six men of war to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet; and on the fifteenth of the same month, arrived safe at the mouth of the Thames: there leaving his squadron, he came up to London, and was graciously received by His Majesty (g). We are now to enter upon the most important scene of action, our Admiral was ever engaged in; and which he conducted with equal honour and reputation to himself, and the British Flag. This was the famous expedition of the English fleet to Sicily, in the year 1718, for the protection of the Neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the Emperor's possessions (according to the obligations England was under by treaty) against the invasion of the Spaniards, who had the year before surprized Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily. It comes not within our province to enquire into the policy of the Councils which produced these measures; it is sufficient for us to relate plain matters of fact, by which it will appear, that Sir George Byng performed, upon this occasion, all that could be expected from the wisdom and skill of an English Admiral; and that this expedition effectually answered it's end, which ought to be considered as an honour to his memory; whether that end shall be thought right or wrong, which is mere political dispute, and neither can or ought to affect the character of the Admiral, in the least. It was about the middle of March, in the year 1717-18, that Sir George Byng was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of the squadron intended for the Mediterranean; in May following he received his instructions, which see in the note [G]. The ships

sums of money from persons in the design; that amongst others, the Duke of Ormond was concerned, and had wrote to Gortz, that the King his master (meaning the Pretender) had ordered him to let Gortz know, that he expected shortly a supply of money, and would remit sixty thousand pounds to his Swedish Majesty, and begs him to look upon it only as a token of what was to come after, &c. The pretence for this invasion, was, to maintain the English liberties, and support the Church of England. In order to satisfy the world of the truth of this affair, the letters and papers relating thereto, were made publick; and the Parliament soon after, shewed the warmest resentment and indignation at the insolence of this attempt. It was indeed amazing, that a Prince, who was already overwhelmed by so many and so powerful enemies, should think of adding to their number, by an attempt of this kind. But whoever considers the genius and spirit of the late Charles XII. will easily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient which seemed to promise the dissolving that confederacy by which he was distressed. But his design was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected discovery, which put it absolutely out of his power to carry it into execution, but it likewise brought upon him new difficulties, in consequence of our King's resentment of such behaviour, which presently discovered itself, by the vigorous resolutions taken here; for a bill was brought to prohibit commerce with Sweden (18), during such time as his Majesty should think it necessary, for the safety and peace of his kingdom (19), which passed both Houses, and had the Royal Assent; and soon after a proclamation was published to the same end; and a formidable squadron sent into the Baltick under the command of Admiral Byng, which effectually removed all apprehensions the nation was under from the Swedes.

(18) Chandler's Debates. Votes of the House of Commons. Historical Register for 1717.

(19) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 398.

[G] *He received his instructions, which see in the note.*] They were dated the 26th of May, and are to the following purpose (20): 'That he should, upon his 'arrival in the Mediterranean, acquaint the Court of 'Spain, and likewise the Viceroy of Naples, and the 'Governor of Milan, that he was sent into that sea in 'order to promote all measures that might best contri'bute to the composing the differences arisen be'tween the two Crowns, and for preventing any fur'ther violation of the Neutrality of Italy, which he was 'to see preserved. That he was to make instances with 'both parties, to forbear all acts of hostility, in order 'to the setting on foot, and concluding, the proper 'negotiations of peace: But, in case the Spaniards 'should still insist to attack the Emperor's territory in 'Italy, or to land in any part of Italy for that pur'pose, or should endeavour to make themselves masters 'of the island of Sicily, which must be with a design 'to invade the kingdom of Naples, he was then, with 'all his power, to hinder and obstruct the same. But 'if they were already landed, he was to endeavour 'amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such 'an attempt, and to offer them his assistance to with'draw their troops, and put an end to further acts of 'hostility. But if his friendly endeavours should prove 'ineffectual, he was then to defend the territories at'tacked, by keeping company with, or intercepting 'their ships or convoys, or (if necessary) by opposing 'them openly.' It is evident that these instructions were not of the clearest kind; but it seems, that they were explained to the Admiral before-hand, by those who had then the direction of affairs, as appears by a letter wrote by Mr Secretary Craggs to Sir George Byng, immediately before his embarkation; it is preserved by the accurate Historian of this expedition, above-cited, in his appendix, of his original edition; from whence we have transcribed it, as a full proof, that

(20) See the Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, in the Appendix.

ships being got to their rendezvous at Spithead, Sir George Byng repaired down to Portsmouth, to take them under his command; and on the fifteenth of June 1718, sailed from thence with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship. Being got into the ocean, he sent the Rupert to Lisbon for intelligence; and arriving the thirtieth off Cape St Vincent, he dispatched the Superbe to Cadiz, with a gentleman who carried a letter from him to Colonel Stanhope, (the present Earl of Harrington) the King's Envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that Minister to acquaint the King of Spain with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he was to act under with his squadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter [*H*]. The Admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the eighth of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet sailing from thence the eighteenth of June to the eastward. In passing by Gibraltar, Vice-Admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the Argyle man of war and Charles galley. The squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having compleated their watering, in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the Admiral was to land four regiments of foot which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the soldiers there in garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the squadron (*b*). On the twenty-third of July, he anchored with the squadron off Port Mahon; here he received advice, that the Spanish fleet had been seen the thirtieth of June, within forty leagus of Naples, steering S. E. upon which he dispatched away expresses to the Governor of Milan, and the Viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; from whence he sailed the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived the first of August in the Bay of Naples (*i*), into which the fleet sailing with a gentle gale, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line of battle, most of them great ships, and three of them bearing flags, afforded such a spectacle as had never been seen in those parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The shore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and such an infinite number of boats came off, some with provisions and refreshments, others out of curiosity

(*b*) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 15, 16. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 418. Hist. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 521.

(*i*) Annals of King George. Historical Register for 1718.

that Sir George acted according to the verbal explication of his written orders by the Ministers.

Cockpit, May 27, O. S. 1718.

'SIR,

'I Inclose to you His Majesty's instructions, as well 'with relation to your conduct in the Mediterra-'nean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

'*After what* passed *yesterday* between my Lord 'Sunderland, *my* Lord *Stanhope, you*, and me, when 'we were together at *Lord Stanhope's lodgings, there* 'remains nothing for me, but to wish you a good 'voyage, and good success in your undertakings: I 'do it very heartily, and am, with great truth,

'SIR,

'Your most obedient

'Humble servant,

'J. CRAGGS.'

[*H*] *Of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.*] This letter of Admiral Byng's, Mr Stanhope shewed to the Cardinal Alberoni, who upon reading it told him with some warmth, 'That his master 'would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to 'be driven out of Spain, rather than re-call his troops, 'or consent to any suspension of arms;' adding, 'That the Spaniards were not to be frighted, and 'that he was so well convinced of their fleet's doing 'their duty, that if the Admiral should think fit to 'to attack them, he should be in no pain for the 'success.' Mr Stanhope, having in his hand, a list of the British squadron, desired his Eminence to peruse it, and to compare it's strength with that of their own squadron; which the Cardinal took and threw on the ground with much passion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, intreated him, 'To consider the sincere at-'tention the King his master had always had to the 'honour and interests of his Catholick Majesty, which 'it was impossible for him to give greater proofs of 'than he had done, by his unwearied endeavours 'through the whole course of the present negotiation, 'to procure the most advantagious conditions possible 'for Spain, in which he had succeeded even beyond 'what any unprejudiced person could have hoped for; 'and that, tho' by the treaty of Utrecht for preserving 'the Neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the 'request of the King of Spain himself; as also by that 'of Westminster, the 25th of May, 1716, His Ma-'jesty found himself obliged to defend the Emperor's 'dominions when attacked, he had hitherto acted 'only as a mediator, though even since the enter-'prize against Sardinia, by his treaties, he became a 'party in the war, and for this year last past, had 'been strongly called upon by the Emperor, to com-'ply with his engagements; and that, even now, 'when it was impossible for him to delay any longer 'the sending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it 'plainly appeared by the Admiral's instructions, which 'he communicated to his Eminence, and by the or-'ders he had himself received, that His Majesty had 'nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be 'employed in promoting the interests of the King of 'Spain, and hoped his Catholick Majesty would not, 'by refusing to re-call his troops, or consent to a cessa-'tion of arms, put it out of his power to give all the 'proofs of sincere friendship he always designed to 'cultivate with his Catholick Majesty.' All that the Cardinal could be brought to promise, was, to lay the Admiral's letter before the King, and to let the Envoy know his resolution upon it in two days; but it was nine before he could obtain and send it away; the Cardinal probably hoping, that the Admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in some of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces, to secure a good footing in Sicily. The answer was wrote under the Admiral's letter, in these words. 'His Catholick Majesty has done me the honour to 'tell me, that the Chevalier Byng may execute the 'orders which he has from the King his master.' 'Escurial, July 15th, 1718.' 'The Cardinal Alberoni.' Mr Stanhope seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the English Consuls, and Merchants, settled in the Spanish sea-ports, advising them to secure their effects against the dangers that might arise from a breach between the two crowns; and set out himself for Madrid, in order to make new propositions to his Catholick Majesty, to prevent things coming to extremities; in which negotiation he actually laboured till very near the time that hostilities were begun; but to no purpose; for Cardinal Alberoni was so bent on executing his own scheme (21), that he rejected all proposals that were made him, with great firmness (22), and resolution.

(21) Hist. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 519.

(22) Mercures Historiques & Politiques. Memoires de III. L. C. Alberoni, &c. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 417.

curioſity and admiration, that the ſea between the fleet at anchor and the ſhore, was literally covered. The Viceroy, Count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having ſent his compliments to the Admiral, he went on ſhore, attended by the Flag-officers and Captains, in their boats, and was ſaluted at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and caſtles, and was conducted to Court, through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a Viceroy [*I*]. Here the Admiral entered into a conference with Count Daun, from whom he learnt that the Spaniſh army, conſiſting of about 30,000 men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, had landed the ſecond of July in Sicily, and had ſoon made themſelves maſters of the city and caſtles of Palermo, and of great part of the iſland; that they had taken the town of Meſſina, and were then carrying on the ſiege of the citadel, *&c.* After the conference, the Admiral was ſplendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the Duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The next morning they had another conference, on the meaſures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the Viceroy ſhould ſend 2000 German foot, in tartans, to Meſſina, to relieve the citadel, and Fort St Salvador, under the protection of Sir George Byng (*k*), who accordingly ſailed with them the ſixth of Auguſt from Naples, and arrived the ninth in view of the Fare of Meſſina. Here the Admiral, deſirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremy of his orders, diſpatched his firſt Captain to Meſſina, with a letter to the Marquis de Lede, wherein, after acquainting him upon what account he was ſent there, he propoſed a ceſſation of arms in Sicily, for two months, in order to give time to the ſeveral Courts, to conclude on ſuch reſolutions as might reſtore a laſting peace; but added, that if he was not ſo happy to ſucceed in this offer of his ſervice, he ſhould then be obliged to uſe all his force, to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions his Maſter ſtood engaged to defend. The General returned for anſwer, that he had no Powers to treat, and conſequently could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, but muſt follow his orders, which directed him to ſeize upon Sicily for his Maſter the King of Spain. According to the beſt accounts the Admiral could receive, he was led to conclude, that the Spaniſh fleet was failed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore upon receiving the Marquis's anſwer, he immediately weighed, with intention to come with his ſquadron before Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel; but, as he ſtood about the Point of the Fare towards Meſſina, he ſaw two Spaniſh ſcouts in the Fare; and being informed at the ſame time by a felucca, which came off from the Calabrian ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills, the Spaniſh fleet lying by; the Admiral altered his deſign, and ſending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of War, he ſtood thro' the Fare with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to theirs, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a fair view of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the Admiral Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, and under him four Rear-Admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock; on the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but in good order of battle. The Admiral followed them all the reſt of that day, and the ſucceeding night, with calm and fair weather; the next morning early, (the eleventh) the Engliſh being got pretty near up with them, the Marquis de Mari, Rear-Admiral, with ſix Spaniſh men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the *Sicilian* ſhore; upon which the Admiral detached Capt. Walton, of the Canterbury, with five more ſhips after them; and the Argyle and Canterbury, getting within gun-ſhot of the headmoſt ſhip, about ſix in the morning, the Argyle fired a ſhot to bring her to, which ſhe not minding, the Argyle fired another, and the Canterbury being ſomewhat nearer, fired another, upon which the Spaniſh ſhip fired her ſtern chaſe guns at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began. The Admiral purſuing the main body of the Spaniſh fleet; the Orford, Capt. Falkingham, and the Grafton, Capt. Haddock, came up firſt with them about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their ſtern chaſe guns. The Admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the Spaniards repeated their firing; which they doing, the Orford attacked the Santa Roſa, of ſixty guns, and took her. The St Carlos, of ſixty guns, ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, to the Kent, Capt. Mathews. The Grafton attacked warmly the

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 521.

[*I*] *He was conducted to Court through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, &c.*] The imperial Viceroy of Naples, preſented Sir George with a ſword ſet with diamonds, and a very rich ſtaff of command; and to the Admiral's ſon he alſo made a preſent of a very fine ſword; and likewiſe ſent refreſhments to the fleet, conſiſting of a hundred oxen, three hundred ſheep, ſix hundred pounds of ſugar, ſeventy hogſheads of wine, forty hogſheads of brandy, and ſeveral other things (23). We need not wonder, that the German government was extremely well pleaſed at the Admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, ſince it is very certain, that his coming ſo luckily, preſerved that kingdom for the houſe of Auſtria, that had otherwiſe, in all probability, ſhared the fate of Sicily, which the Marquis De Lede had conquered, almoſt as ſoon as he landed (24); or rather his landing gave the people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, tho' it had loſt it's ſovereignty over them, had ſtill preſerved their affection. And at Naples, though the the common people were generally in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, there was a ſtrong party, among the Sicilian Nobility, for Spain; and the whole country was ill provided for defence.

(23) Lives of the Admirals, p. 418.

(24) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 529.

[*K*] *See*

the Prince of Asturias, of seventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was Rear-Admiral Chacon, but the Breda and Captain coming up, Capt. Haddock left her much shattered, for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of sixty guns, which had kept firing on his starboard bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. About one of the clock, the Kent, and soon after the Superbe, Capt. Master, came up with, and engaged the Spanish Admiral, of seventy-four guns, who, with two more ships, fired on them, and made a running fight, till about three, and then the Kent bearing down upon him, and under his stern, gave him her broadside, and fell to leeward; afterwards the Superbe putting for it to lay the Admiral aboard, fell on his weather quarter, upon which the Spanish Admiral shifting his helm, the Superbe ranged up under his lee quarter, on which he struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur, in which was the Admiral, being a-stern of the Spanish Admiral within shot, and inclining on his weather quarter, Rear-Admiral Guevara and another sixty gun ship, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapt upon a wind, standing in for the land; Admiral Byng immediately tacked and stood after them, until it was almost night, but it being little wind, and they galing away out of his reach, he left pursuing them, and stood into the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The Essex took the Juno of thirty-six guns, the Mountague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns, and Rear-Admiral Delaval in the Dorsetshire, took the Isabella of sixty guns. This action happened off Cape Passaro, at about six leagues distance from the shore. The English received but little damage. The ship that suffered most was the Grafton, which being a good sailor, her Captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships he had disabled or damaged, to be taken by those that followed him. The Admiral lay by some days at sea, to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages the prizes had sustained; and, the eighteenth, received a letter from Capt. Walton, who had been sent in pursuit of the Spanish ships that escaped. The Captain was one whose natural talents were fitter for atchieving a gallant action, than describing one, and his letter on this occasion, is singular enough in it's kind to deserve notice. It runs thus:

S I R,

'WE have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon 'the coast, the number as per margin.

I am, &c.

Canterbury, off Syracusa,
August 16, 1718.

G. WALTON.

These ships that Capt. Walton thrust into his margin, would have furnished matter for some pages, in a French relation; for, from the account they referred to, it appeared that he had taken four Spanish men of war; one of sixty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral Mari; one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel. He was knighted for this action, and made a flag officer some time after. Such is the account of this famous action, by our Admiral *(l)*. The Spaniards published likewise an account on their side, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great industry throughout all Europe, in order to make such impressions as might serve their purpose, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly, but had been surprized and destroyed, without that kind of notice, which the laws of nature and nations require, to distinguish force of arms from pyratical violence. It is but just in any case, to hear both parties; and as the Spanish relation, contains many particulars that are wanting in the Admiral's, which is indeed too general, and as the Historian of this expedition, has not taken notice of the account given by the Spaniards, it is therefore requisite to give it a place here, for by a comparison hereof with our Admiral's account, many particulars come to be explained, which otherwise might have been buried in obscurity. See therefore the notes, where it comes more properly [*K*]. As soon as Admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole

(l) This Account is taken from the several Letters written by the Admiral, or published with his authority.

[*K*] *See therefore the notes, where it comes more properly*]. The account itself being very long, we shall shorten it as much as we can, by curtailing it of some particulars which are the same with the Admiral's. The substance therefore is as follows. 'The Spanish 'Admirals not knowing the intentions of the English, 'whether they came as friends or enemies, endea-'voured to penetrate into their designs, and sent two 'light frigates to get intelligence of them; and when 'the English squadron advanced into the Faro, it was 'saluted by all the Spanish ships and vessels which were 'there. That the officer sent by Admiral Byng to 'the Marquis de Lede, with proposals for a cessation 'of arms, affirming, that his fleet was not to commit 'any act of hostility, but only to secure the transports 'under the Admiral's protection, from insults; yet, 'though it was believed that a courier was sent by the 'Marquis, to Madrid, with the Admiral's proposals; 'the English squadron took the opportunity of night, 'to surprize the Spanish squadron, which had retired 'towards Cape Passaro, but did not make much sail, 'that it might not be thought they suspected any ho-'stilities. During this, a calm happened, by which 'the ships of both squadrons fell in one among ano-'ther; and the Spanish Admiral perceiving this acci-'dent, caused the ships of the line to be towed, in order

whole transaction, he dispatched away his eldest son to England; who arriving at Hampton-Court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what publick

'order to separate them from the English, and join them in one body, without permitting the gallies to begin any act of hostility, which they might have done to advantage, during the calm. The weather changed, when the Marquis de Mari was near land, and consequently separated from the rest, making the rear-guard, with several frigates and other transport vessels, which made up his division, and endeavoured, though in vain, to join the main body of the Spanish squadron, while the English filled their sails to gain the wind, and cut off the division of the Marquis de Mari; and having at last succeeded in it, they attacked him with six ships, and obliged him to separate from the rest of the squadron, and to make towards the coast, where they stood it against seven ships of the line, as long as the situation permitted; and being no longer able to resist, the Marquis de Mari saved his men, by running his ships a-ground, some of which were burnt by his own order, and others taken by the enemy.—Seventeen ships of the line, the remainder of the English squadron, attacked ten Spanish ships, which continued making towards Cape Passaro; and as they retired in a line, because of the inequality of their strength, the English attacked those that composed the rear-guard, with four or five ships, and took them; this happened successively to others, which being attacked separately by five, six, or seven of the enemy's, were taken after a bloody and obstinate fight. Thus the Royal St Philip, Admiral Castaneta, was attacked by the whole division of the English Admiral, consisting of seven ships of the line, and a fire-ship; the fight began at two in the afternoon, by a ship of seventy guns, and another of sixty, which gave him two broadsides, but he defended himself so well that they retired, and two other ships, one of eighty, the other of seventy guns, renewed the attack; and the eighty gun ship retired very much shattered, without going into the line; but the others making towards the Spanish Admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impossible for him to hurt them, and shot away all his rigging, without leaving him one entire sail, while two others, one of sixty, the other of thirty guns, attacked the starboard of his ship, to oblige him to surrender, and the English Admiral carried a fire-ship, to reduce him by the flames, which, however, the Spanish Commander prevented, and maintained the fight till towards night, having lost two hundred men, and himself received a shot which pierced his left leg, and wounded his right heel: Yet he continued to defend himself till a cannon-bullet having cut a mast in two, the pieces of which fell upon upon him and left him half dead, he was forced to surrender. While the Royal Philip was engaged with the English, Rear-Admiral Guevara came up, and attacked Admiral Byng's ships, and very much damaged them. The Prince of Asturias, Rear-Admiral Chacon, was attacked at the same time, by three ships of equal force, against which he defended himself valiantly, avoiding being boarded, till being wounded, and having lost most of his men, he was obliged to surrender his ship, which was all shot through and through, after having shot down the masts of an English ship that retired out of the fight. The St Rosa frigate defended herself above three hours, against five English ships, who did not take her till they had broke all her sails and masts. The Volante fought three hours and an half, against three English ships, and having lost her sails, and put up others that were in store, was just going to board one of the enemy's ships, but being shot through by six cannon-bullets, and the water coming in, the Captain was obliged to surrender, because the ship's crew forced him. The Juno was engaged also by three English ships; yet maintained the fight above three hours, not surrendering till most of her men were killed, and the ship just falling in pieces. The Pearl fought three hours against three ships, and after having shot down the masts of one of them, which immediately retired, was rescued by Rear-Admiral Guevara. The Isabella was pursued all night by several English ships, and after a defence of four hours, surrendered the next day. The Surprize frigate fought three hours against three English ships, when most of her men being killed, her Captain wounded, and all her rigging spoiled, she was forced to surrender. The other light ships and frigates retired to Malta and Sardinia, as did also Admiral Guevara. The marines in every ship, who were composed of the nobility of Spain, signalized and distinguished themselves with great valour. The seven gallies having done all that was possible to join the Spanish ships, having a fresh gale of wind retired to Palermo. Besides the above ships which the English took out of the main body of the Spanish squadron, they also took the Royal, the St Isidore and the Eagle, two frigates. This is the account of the sea-fight between the Spanish and English squadrons, the last of which by ill faith, and the superiority of their strength, had the advantage to beat the Spanish ships singly, one by one; and it is to be believed, by the defence the Spaniards made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have ended more happily for them. Immediately after the fight, a Captain of the English squadron came, in the name of Admiral Byng, to make a compliment of excuse to the Marquis de Lede, giving him to understand, that the Spaniards had been the aggressors, and that this action ought not to be looked upon as a rupture, because the English did not take it as such. To which it was answered, That Spain will reckon it as a formal rupture, and that they would do the English all the damages and hostilities imaginable.'

There are many things in this relation more agreeable to Spanish humour than to truth; and there is no question to be made, but that both accounts retain some tincture of the passions and prejudices of those who drew them up; and it is no less certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was but indifferently founded: For the truth is, that their fleet, though strong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ships being old, their artillery none of the best, and in number of guns, one hundred and sixteen short of ours, and their seamen most of them not to be depended upon (25). Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their Admirals defended themselves very gallantly; and, indeed, their defeat may, in a great measure, be charged upon their irresolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them, we mean that of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was (to speak impartially) a much better seaman than any who bore command in the Spanish fleet (26). He knew perfectly well, the strength of both parties, and saw plainly that nothing could save the Spaniards, but a wise disposition; and therefore, in the last Council of War held before the battle, he proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea; which measure would certainly have given the Admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coast there is so bold, that their biggest ships could ride with a cable a shore; and farther out, the currents are so various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor, or lye by them in order of battle. Besides, they lay so near the shore, and could have received such assistance of Soldiers from the army, to man and defend them; and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given them from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships, seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents, which would have been a very hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the English Admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear (27). But the Spanish Admirals were too much persuaded of their own strength, and the courage of their seamen, or else they foolishly depended upon their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they slighted this salutary counsel, and were thereby undone.

(25) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 438.

(26) Page 439.

(27) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 36, 37.

publick fame had before reported, and upon which, the King had already written a letter to the Admiral with his own hand, which the reader may see in note [*L*]. Mr Byng met with a most gracious reception from His Majesty, who made him an handsome present, and sent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negotiate with the several Princes and States of Italy, as there should be occasion; and with his royal grant to the officers and seamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards. The Admiral, in the mean time, prosecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the Emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily, sailed afterwards to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies, under the command of the Marquis de Rivaroles, and a ship belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by Rear-Admiral Cammock, with a few ships which he had saved after the late engagement, and then sailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the second of November; and soon after received a gracious letter from the Emperor, written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of His Imperial Majesty, set round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful sense he had of the services rendered by his Excellency to the House of Austria. See the letter in note [*M*]. As for the prizes that had been taken, they were sent to Port-Mahon, where, by some unlucky accident, the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with most of the crew on board; but the Spanish Admiral had been before set on shore in Sicily, with some other prisoners of distinction, where he soon after died of his Wounds. The Spanish Court, excessively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had, in a manner, totally destroyed the naval force they had been at so much pains to raise, were not slow in expressing their resentments. On the first of September, Rear-Admiral Guevara, with some ships, entered the Port of Cadiz, and made himself master of all the English ships that were there; and at the same time, all the effects of the English Merchants were seized in Malaga, and other ports of Spain, which, as soon as it was known here, produced reprizals on our part; and in December following, a declaration of war against Spain [*N*]. Sir George Byng staid

[*L*] *Which the reader may see in the note.*]

'Monsieur le Chevalier Byng.

'QUOY que je n'ay pas encore reçeu de vos 'novelles en droiture, j'ay appris la victorie que 'la flotte a remportee sous vos ordres, & je n'ay pas 'voulu vous differer le contentment que mon approba-'tion de votre conduit vous pourroit donner. Je vous 'en remercie, & je souhait que vous en temoigniez 'dans cette occasion. Le Secretaire d'Etat Craggs a 'ordre de vous informer plus au long de mes inten-'tions; mais je voulu vous assurer moy même que je 'suis, Monsieur le Chevalier Byng,

'*A Hampton Court, ce 23 d'Aout, 1718.* *Votre bon amy,*

'GEORGE R.'

In English thus.

'Sir George Byng.

'ALthough I have received no news from you 'directly, I am informed of the victory obtain-'ed by the fleet under your command; and would 'not therefore defer giving you that satisfaction which 'must result from my approbation of your conduct. 'I give you my thanks, and desire you will testify 'my satisfaction to all the brave men who have di-'stinguished themselves on this occasion. Mr Secre-'tary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of 'my intentions; but I was willing myself to assure 'you, that I am,

'Hampton Court, August 23, 1718. Your very good friend,

'GEORGE R.'

[*M*] *See the letter in the note.*]

'Monsieur Amiral & Chevalier Byng,

'J'AY reçu avec beaucoup de satisfaction & de joye, 'par le porteur de celle cy la votre du 18me 'd'Aout. Quand je sceus que vous etiez nomme de 'sa Majeste le Roy votre maitre pour commandez sa 'flotte dans la Mediterranee je conceus d'abord toutes 'les bonnes esperances. Le glorieux succes pourtant 'les a en quelque maniere surpasse. Vous avez en 'cette occasion donne des preuves d'une valeur, con-'duit, & zele pour la commune cause tres singulier; la 'gloire que vous en resulte est bien grande, mais aussi 'en rien moindre ma reconnoissance, comme vous 'l'expliquera plus le Comte de Hamilton. Comptez 'toujours sur la continuation de ma reconnoissance & 'de mon affection envers vous, priant Dieu qu'il vous 'ait en sa sainte garde.

'A Vienne, ce 22me Octobre, 1718. 'CHARLES.'

In English thus.

'Admiral Sir George Byng,

'I Have received with a great deal of joy and satis-'faction by the bearer of this, your's, of the 18th 'of August. As soon as I knew you were named by 'the King your master, to command a fleet in the 'Mediterranean, I conceived the greatest hopes ima-'ginable from that very circumstance. The glorious suc-'cess you have had, surpasses however my expectations. 'You have given, upon this occasion, very singular 'proofs of your courage, conduct, and zeal for the 'common cause, the glory you obtain from thence, is 'indeed great, and yet my gratitude falls nothing 'short thereof, as Count Hamilton will fully inform 'you. You may always depend upon the continuance 'of my thankfulness and affection towards you; may 'God have you always in his holy keeping.

'Vienna, September 22, O. S. 1718. 'CHARLES.'

The Admiral was also honoured with a letter of congratulation upon his victory, from the Queen of Denmark, wrote by her Majesty's great Master of the houshold, September 26, 1718.

[*N*] *And in December following, a declaration of war against Spain.*] As to the expediency of this measure, as well as of the Sicilian expedition, there were very warm debates in Parliament; and this last engrossed all conversation, from the time of the stroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean, some looking upon that as one of the noblest exploits since the Revolution, but the generality of people considered it in quite another light; and when an address was moved for, to justify that measure, it was warmly opposed in both Houses of Parliament, but without effect. Perhaps, there never was a measure more maliciously aspersed, and misrepresented, than this of the attacking the Spanish fleet; it was confidently, and generally reported, and for many years believed, that Sir George Byng attacked and destroyed that fleet, without any orders

staid at Naples, advising and assisting the Viceroy, in concerting the necessary measures to be taken against the enemy, till the third of February following, and then sailed to Port-Mahon, to refit his ships and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign, leaving his eldest son at Naples, to manage his correspondence with the Viceroy, and to inform the Court of England of all occurrences in those parts; and left Capt. Mathews with a squadron, at Pentemelia, to observe Rear-Admiral Cammock, and hinder his escaping out of Messina to the southward [O]. The Admiral having refitted most of his squadron at Port-Mahon, sailed early in the spring from thence to Naples [P], where

orders or instructions for his so doing; and without giving the least intimation to the Court of Spain: and under this heavy imputation did the Admiral lie, for several years, till the affair was cleared up, by publishing an authentick account of the whole, and the Admiral's orders and instructions, and the steps he took for giving notice of them to the Court of Spain; from whence it appears, that he had express orders for what he did, and that all his measures were in pursuance of those orders: as to the action itself, off Passaro, the following letter may be alone sufficient to justify the Admiral. It was wrote by the Earl Stanhope, then Secretary, to Sir George Byng, and is as follows:

'Bayonne, September 2, 1718.

'BEING arrived here last night, in six days from 'Madrid, I do, in pursuance of the commands 'I have from His Majesty, take this first opportunity 'of acquainting you, that nothing has passed at Madrid, which should divert you from pursuing the instructions you have.

'If the news which I learn at Bayonne, that the 'Citadel of Messina is taken, be not true, or if, notwithstanding the Spaniards have that port, their 'fleet, by contrary winds, or any other accident, 'should not have got into the harbour, and that you 'have an opportunity of attacking them, I am persuaded you will not let such an occasion slip; and I 'agree perfectly in opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr Secretary Craggs, that the first 'blow you give, should, if possible, be decisive.'

[O] *To observe Rear-Admiral Cammock, and hinder his escaping out of Messina to the southward.*] Captain Mathews succeeded in this command, for he had the good fortune to run one of Cammock's ships a-shore, of sixty-four guns, called the St Rosella; and another called the St Pedre of sixty guns, was cast away in Tarento Bay. Admiral Cammock himself, endeavouring to get away to Spain in a small frigate of twenty-two guns, was chased the 6th of February by a ship of Captain Mathew's squadron; and escaped with much difficulty in his boat to Catalonia, but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, amongst which was a commission from the Pretender, appointing him Admiral of the white squadron.

This unhappy man, was a native of Ireland, and being bred at sea, had raised himself to the post of a Captain, and served in our navy in Queen Anne's war, with a good character: but associating himself with those who where enemies to the house of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the government, on the accession of that family to the crown, he abandoned his country, and entered into the service of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of a Rear-Admiral, and served in that post in the expedition against Sicily. He was a man of a bold, enterprizing genius, of which he gave a remarkable instance or two, in the course of this expedition, which, as they are not at all foreign to our purpose, we shall relate, especially as they were the actions of a native of this kingdom, tho' a degenerate one. The Germans being besieged in Melazzo, a town in Sicily, and having no provisions but what came by sea from Calabria and other ports of Naples, Admiral Byng appointed Captain Walton to cruize with a squadron, upon that station, to hinder Rear-Admiral Cammock, from coming out of the Fare, and to secure the passage of the vessels with provisions for the German camp, to which none had then arrived in a month, and Captain Walton being blown off his station, Cammock took hold of this opportunity to get out of Messina, as the weather abated, and appearing before Tropea, with English colours, sent a letter on shore to the Governor, under a fictitious name of one of the English Captains, acquainting him that he was come there by Admiral's Byng's orders, to convoy the embarkations with provisions to Melazzo, and pressed him to dispatch them away, the place being in the utmost distress. Had this stratagem succeeded, it would have entirely ruined the Emperor's affairs in Sicily; but the Governor happening to be a wary man, and observing the letter to be written on Genoa paper, from that single circumstance conceived a suspicion, which made him refuse to send the embarkations out to him. In the mean time, Admiral Byng, then at Naples, being made sensible of the extremities the Germans were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war with provisions, directing their Captains to attempt at all hazards to get to Melazzo, which three of them did, with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being disabled by bad weather) and came providentially to the relief of the garrison, at a time they must have otherwise surrendered to the enemy, or perished by famine. A few days after, Captain Walton recovered his station, upon the sight of whom, Admiral Cammock retired into Messina.

The other project of Admiral Cammock's seemed less likely to succeed than the other; for after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, he assured Don Joseph Patinho, who had the absolute direction and management of the Spanish expedition, except the military part, that he could put most of the English fleet into his hands, in lieu of that he had lost; in confidence of which, he wrote a letter to Sir George Byng, to let him know, that he had the Pretender's commands to assure him, if he would bring over the greatest part of his fleet to Messina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him Duke of Albermarle, with a royal bounty of one hundred thousand pounds to support the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every Captain should have ten thousand pounds, and the seamen a gratuity of two month's wages; that Signor Patinho would satisfy him of the King of Spain's security for the performance of this agreement, and that no body else but the Dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the secret.— Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deserved. —— He likewise sent another letter to Captain Walton, with the promise of a reward of ten thousand pounds, a commission of Admiral of the Blue, and to be made an English Peer, if he would bring his ships into Messina, which the honest Captain brought to the Admiral, with vehement expressions of abhorrence and indignation.

[P] *The Admiral sailed early in the spring to Naples*] During the Admiral's stay at Naples, an accident happened, singular enough to deserve notice. The Viceroy of Naples, who studied every way to make the place agreeable to the Admiral, on the the festival of St Januarius, had appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued a long time without liquifying, at the approach of the head of that saint. The vast concourse of people began to shew signs of concern: they fell first to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and at length such a confused murmuring and uneasiness was perceived among them, that the Viceroy being apprehensive of some bad consequences, sent Count Hamilton to the Admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he desired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they should take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the saint's being displeased at his presence: the Admiral had no sooner quitted his box, and was stepping into the Viceroy's coach, but he heard a prodigious shout of, *è falto, è falto, it is done, it is done*, and such joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from some terrible calamity.

where he adjusted every thing with the Viceroy, and the German General, for the reduction of Sicily, in which, he acted with such zeal, and with such success, that the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all things necessary, from our fleet, (which at the same time attended the motions of the enemy's army so closely) that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition, was as much owing to the English Admiral, as to the German General; and that the English fleet did no less service than the army. It was entirely owing to the Admiral's advice, and to his assistance, and supplies of cannon, powder, and ball, from his own ships, that the Germans re-took the city of Messina, in the summer of the year 1719; after which the Admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the Tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free passage for their ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise-Road; this was a step of great consequence, for the officers of the Spanish men of war, which were in the Mole, perceiving this, began to despair of getting out to sea, and unbent their sails, unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel; which gave the Admiral great satisfaction, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other services, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port. But while things were in this prosperous condition, a dispute arose among the Allies, about the disposition of the Spanish ships, when, after the citadel's being taken, they should of course fall into their hands. This dispute was happily ended [Q], by the Admiral's proposing to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the bason, which was done accordingly, and thereby, the ruin of the naval power of Spain compleated. The Imperial Court, had formed a design of conquering Sardinia, out of which they had been driven by the Spaniards; but our Admiral judged it more for the service of the House of Austria, that the army should be immediately transported into Sicily, which might expedite the conquest of both islands; and according to his advice, the expedition against Sardinia was laid aside, and the reduction of Sicily first attempted. At Messina, the Admiral received another most gracious letter from the Emperor, wherein he signified to him, 'his approbation of a project, that 'was the effect of his zeal and activity; the satisfaction he had in his wise conduct, and 'for his love and attachment to his imperial person and august house; and on all occasions 'he should give him marks of his affection and esteem, and of his good remembrance of 'the services he had done him.' The Admiral, in order to succeed in his scheme, and at the same time to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, went over to Naples in August, and finding that the government was absolutely unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he very generously granted the cannon out of the British prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own risk, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily, which was made sooner than could have been expected, meerly by his incredible labour and diligence, and in spite of the delays affected by the Count, now Bashaw, Bonneval, who was appointed to command them. At Genoa also, the Admiral received great honours and respect. At his arrival, the town saluted his flag with twenty-one guns, and his person with ten guns and twenty chambers, and the Republick sent off six Deputies, three of the old, and three of the new nobility, to compliment him upon his arrival. After a stay of about three weeks, he sailed with all the transports for Sicily, and arrived before Messina October the eighth, which so elevated the spirits of the army then besieging the citadel, that upon the first sight of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon a half-moon, and carried it. The Admiral repairing a-shore to the General's quarters, was embraced by him and all the general officers, with the most tender

[Q] *This dispute was happily ended, &c.*] Signor Scarampi began the dispute, and first started the question, claiming the two best, of sixty and sixty-four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his master, the King of Sardinia, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the Convention made at Vienna, 29th of December, 1718, in which it was said, 'That as to the ships belonging to the King of 'Sardinia, if they had been taken in port, they shall be 'restored him; but that this shall be referred to Admiral 'Byng to answer.' To this the Admiral replied, 'That this Convention having been only a ground-'work for another to be made at Naples, he could be 'directed by none, but that which had been made, 'in consequence thereof, in April 1719, between the 'Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis de Breille, Minister 'of Sardinia, and himself, in which no mention is 'made of those ships; and as for the reference to his 'opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think 'the King of Sardinia had any shadow of title to 'them; that they had been taken by the enemy, 'were now fitted, and armed at their expence, and 'under their colours; that they would put out to sea, if 'he did not hinder them, and attack all the English 'ships they met with, and, if stronger, take them; 'so that they could not consider them in any light than 'that which they were, the ships of an enemy.' Count de Mercy, next put in his claim for the Emperor, alledging, 'That as those ships would be found with-'in the port of a town taken by his master's arms, 'according to the right of nations, they belonged to 'him.' The Admiral replied, 'That it was owning 'to his keeping two squadrons on purpose, and at a great 'hazard, to watch and observe those ships; that they 'were now confined within the port, which, if he 'was to withdraw, they would still be able to get to 'sea, and he should have a chance of meeting with, 'and taking them.' But, reflecting afterwards with himself, that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into Spain, which he was determined never to suffer: that, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute among the Princes concerned; and if it should prove, that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to no body; he purposed to Count Mercy, to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the bason; who urged, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to Vienna for instructions about it. The Admiral replied, with some warmth, that he could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with so much firmness, that the General being concerned in interest, not to carry matters to a disagreement, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestation of Signor Scarampi, which in a little time sunk and destroyed them.

[R] *And*

tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to see a man who always brought them relief and success, and every good that attended them. In ten days after the Admiral's arrival at Messina, the citadel surrendered to the Germans; after which, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island [*R*], by which means they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the Marquis de Lede, commander of the Spanish forces, proposed to evacuate the island; to which, the Germans were very well inclined, and sent to Vienna for instructions; but the Admiral protested against it, and declared, that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded; and sent his eldest son to Vienna, with instructions, that if the Imperial Court listened to the proposals of the Spanish General, to declare, that his father could never suffer any part of the Spanish army to depart out of the island, till the King of Spain had acceeded to the Quadruple Alliance, or till he received positive instructions from England for doing so. In this, Sir George Byng certainly acted as became a British Admiral; who, after having done so many services for the Imperialists, might surely insist on their doing what was just with respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the Court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. The Admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, since the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and our demands on the Court of Spain, were as much for the interest of the common cause as for our own, so that tho' the steadiness of Admiral Byng deserves commendation, yet there seemed to be no great praises due to the German complaisance. After this, the Spanish General laid a snare to separate the Admiral from the Germans, by proposing an agreement with him, for a separate cessation of hostilities, but without effect [*S*]. But soon afterwards, when the Germans, with the assistance of the Admiral, had begun the siege of Palermo, before which the Spaniards lay encamped, and just as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky instant, from Spain, with full powers for the Spanish General to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in consequence of the King of Spain's accession to the Quadruple Alliance; upon which the two armies were drawn off, a suspension of arms agreed on, the Germans put into the possession of Palermo, and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona; and the Admiral, after he had settled all affairs in Sicily, sailed in August 1720, to Cagliari in Sardinia, where he assisted at the conferences, with the Ministers and Generals of the several powers concerned, wherein was regulated the manner of surrendring the island by the Spanish Viceroy to the Emperor, and the cession of the same from the Emperor to

[*R*] *And landed them upon another of the island.*] Here the Admiral once more saved the imperial army, by his admirable foresight, judgment, and thought, in which he shewed a great superiority over the Generals of the allies, who, even after the reduction of Messina, finding they could not subsist their army, nor undertake any action where they were, went to the Admiral, their old deliverer, and told him in a very desponding manner, that they had resolved to transport the army to Calabria and Syracusa, for subsistance during the winter, and prayed his assistance. The Admiral replied, 'He hoped their affairs were not so desperate 'as they apprehended, that he had been employing 'his thoughts for their service, and believed he should 'be able to extricate them out of their present circumstances; that he was for transporting their army 'to Trapani, which would be turning the difficulty 'upon the Spaniards, by obliging the Spaniards to 'make uneasy marches, and to keep the field in the 'the winter; that they should thereby be able to enlarge their quarters, the granaries of corn would fall 'into their hands, and they would keep the city of 'Palermo in awe, till the season would permit their 'attempting to reduce it, which would bring the war 'to a speedy issue. That as the whole army could not 'be transported at once, he would send his Secretary 'to Tunis, the nearest African port to Trapani, and 'employ him and the English Consul there, to buy 'up whatever corn was necessary for subsisting one 'part of the army at Trapani, till the rest was arrived, 'for which service, as he knew they had no money, 'he would employ his own cash and credit, depending 'upon their honour for repayment.' Count de Mercy penetrating immediately unto the facility and advantageous consequences of this scheme, rose up and embracing the Admiral, in a kind of transport acknowledged, 'That he had hit upon the only method practicable, not only for the preservation of 'the army, but even for pushing on the war with 'success.' And the scheme was accordingly executed successfully.

[*S*] *Proposing an agreement for a separate cessation of hostilities, but without effect.*] The affair was this. The Marquis de Lede sent to the Admiral, a Spanish Gazette, wherein was published a treaty of *suspension of arms at sea*, concluded at the Hague, *between the* Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain; and therefore he proposed a separate cessations of arms, and protested against any violences *the Admiral* should commit, contrary to the plain *instructions of* their sovereign; but the Admiral replied, that he could pay no regard to a pretended Convention published in a foreign news-paper, and even in which there was a clause, that nothing in it should derogate from what should be agreed between him and the Marquis, for what concerns the Mediterranean-sea. That as the Spanish Minister had signed the Quadruple Alliance ever since the 17th of February last, it was strange the Marquis had received no orders for treating about the evacuation of the island, which was the necessary consequence of it; and that as the time for doing this was elapsed, till he had security that the Marquis really intended it, he could not agree to a suspension of arms. This was an adventurous proceeding in the Admiral; for his instructions from England directed him to come to a suspension of arms with Spain, without staying for settling the terms of evacuation, which might take up time. But his penetration shewed him, that if a suspension took place at sea, the Spaniards might introduce what succours and troops they pleased into the island, which would unravel all they had been doing, and if any interruption happened in the negotiations on foot, put the Spaniards in a better state of prosecuting the war, and perhaps protracting it another year. He was jealous of their artifices, and found they took every advantage to evade the evacuation of the island; and therefore, as the convention for a cessation of arms at sea, signed at the Hague, February 29th, left him at liberty of treating as he thought proper, he determined to remain united with the Germans, which he prudently saw was the quickest way to bring the Spaniards to a compliance, and to come into real measures for evacuating the island. The event justified his precaution, and his conduct received at home the approbation it deserved.

[*T*] By

to the Duke of Savoy; and at the instance of this Prince, the Admiral did not depart, till he had seen the whole fully executed, the Spanish troops returned into Spain, and the Duke of Savoy put into quiet possession of his new kingdom of Sardinia, in exchange for Sicily, according to the Quadruple Alliance; in all which affairs, the Admiral arbitrated so equally between them, that even the King of Spain expressed his great satisfaction in his conduct, to the British Court; and his behaviour was so acceptable to the Duke of Savoy, that his acknowledgments to him, were accompanied with his picture set in diamonds. Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the fleet of Great Britain bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the island was wholly governed by it's operations, both competitors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been subdued, without it. Never was any service conducted in all it's parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment, nor was ever the British Flag in so high reputation and respect in those distant parts of Europe. The late King, who had named the Admiral for that expedition and knew his abilities, used to say to his Ministers, when they applied for instructions to be sent to him for his guidance on certain important occasions, That he would send him none, for he knew how to act without any; and indeed all the measures which he took abroad, were so exact and just, as to square with the councils and plan of policy at home. In our relation of this expedition, we have entirely followed the account of it published in 1739, and have, by a bare recital of facts, without further enquiries, shewn how well Sir George Byng executed his instructions; for in this consists the merit of an Admiral, and for which alone he is answerable, and not at all for the rectitude of those instructions. If this be not granted, we must never expect to be well served at sea; since the Admiral who takes upon him to interpret his instructions, will never want excuses for his conduct be it what it will; and if this be once granted, Sir George Byng must be allowed to have done his duty as well as any Admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing that Sicily was subdued, and his Catholick Majesty forced to accept the terms prescribed him by the Quadruple Alliance. He it was, who first enabled the Germans to set foot in that island; by him they were supported in all they did; and by his counsels they were directed, or otherwise had been expelled the island, even after the taking of Messina, as we have shewn above (*m*). The cause of the Emperor being become the cause of his Master, he served the interest of that Prince, with a zeal and fidelity that stood a pattern to his own subjects. He lived in such harmony with the Imperial Viceroys and Generals, as has been seldom seen among fellow-subjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner, and when any service was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it; nor could any fatigue or indisposition of body, ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required present dispatch. To this it might be in a great measure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miscarried in any service that was entrusted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards to the springs and causes of publick or private events, shall find (except where the immediate finger of Providence is visible) that what is usually called ill-luck, is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon solid principles, and left nothing to Fortune that could be accomplished by foresight and application. His firmness and plain dealing were so apparent to the foreigners who treated with him upon business, that it contributed much to the dispatch and success of his transactions with them; for they could depend upon what he said, and as they saw he used no arts or chicanes himself, and had too discerning a spirit to suffer them to pass unobserved in others, they often found it their best policy to leave their interests in his hands and management, being very sure of a most impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was so thoroughly established in this particular, that in the frequent disputes and altercations which arose between the Savoyards and Germans in the course of the war, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the conclusion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promises or asseverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always shunning and opposing any extravagant or unjust demands (which the over-bearing temper of the German General was very apt to suggest, where he had the superior hand) and reconciling, as much as possible, the violences of war with the rules of honour and justice (*n*). After the performing so many signal services, when the Admiral departed from Italy to attend his late Majesty, by his own command, at Hanover, the King, among many most gracious expressions of favour and satisfaction, told him, That he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the Court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgment, his fair and friendly behaviour, in the provision of transports and other necessaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppressions that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with such talents, and such a disposition, left behind him in Italy and other foreign parts, the character of a great Soldier, an able Statesman, and an honest man. During his Majesty's stay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent services of Sir George Byng, by making him Treasurer of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain; and, on his return to England, one of his Most Honourable Privy-Council (*o*); and soon after, in 1721, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Torrington, and Baron

(*m*) See note [S]. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 462.

(*n*) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 195, 196.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 200.

(*p*) Peerage of England, ut supra.

Byng of Southill in Bedfordshire (*p*) [*T*]; and, in 1725, he was made one of the Knights of the Bath, upon the revival of that Most Antient and Honourable Order. When his present Majesty came to the Crown, he was pleased to place him at the head of his naval affairs, as First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, in which high station he died at his house in the Admiralty, of an asthma, in January 1733, in the seventieth year of his age, and lies buried at Southill in Bedfordshire. His Lordship was but of a tender constitution, though well supplied with spirits, which did not display themselves so much in gaiety of conversation (for he was modest in his nature) as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or business, in which he was indefatigable, and by a continued habit of industry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally strong, to patience under any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in school learning (which the early age of going to sea seldom admits of) but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a just sense of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negociations and commissions, with proper dignity and address. During the time he presided in the Admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval force of this kingdom, in procuring encouragement for sailors, who, in him, lost a true friend; and in promoting the scheme for establishing a corporation for relief of widows and children of commission and warrant officers in the Royal Navy; and in every other service to his country that he was capable of. His Lordship married, in 1691, Margaret, daughter of James Master, of East Langden in the county of Kent, Esq; by whom he had eleven sons and four daughters, of which there survived him, Pattee, George, Robert, John (now an Admiral), Edward, and Sarah, married to the eldest son of Sir John Osborne of Chicksand in Bedfordshire, Bart. and mother of the present Sir Danvers Osborne. The Lord Torrington was succeeded by his eldest son Pattee, who was abroad with his father in the expedition to Sicily; and after his death was continued Treasurer of the Navy, and one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council; was afterwards made Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards: and dying in 1746 without issue, was succeeded by his brother the Honourable Brigadier George Byng, the present Lord Viscount Torrington.

[*T*] *By the title of Viscount Torrington, &c.*] The preamble to his Lordship's patent, is as follows, greatly to the honour of his memory. 'As the grandeur and stability of the British empire depend chiefly upon knowledge and experience in maritime affairs, we esteem those worthy of the highest honours, who, acting under our influence, exert themselves in maintaining our dominion over the sea. It is for this reason that we have determined to advance to the dignity of Peerage, our trusty and well beloved, Counsellor, Sir George Byng, Knight and Baronet, who being descended from an ancient family in Kent, and educated from his youth in the sea service, hath through several posts arrived at the highest station and command in our navy, by the strength of his own abilities, and a merit distinguished by our predecessors and ourselves in the many important services, which he has performed with remarkable fidelity, courage, and success. In the late vigorous wars, which raged so many years in Europe. Wars fruitful of naval combats and expeditions, there was scarce an action of any consequence wherein he did not bear a principal part, nor were any dangers or difficulties so great, but he surmounted them by his exquisite conduct, and a good fortune that never failed him. Particularly, when a storm was gathering in France, and it was uncertain upon what part of the coast it should fall, with the greatest sagacity and diligence, he flew to the very place of danger, rescuing our capital city of Scotland, from the threatned attack of a French squadron, which had many rebels and numerous forces on board; and by his very appearance, defeated the vain hopes of the enemy, compelling them to relinquish their enterprize, and to seek their safety by a flight towards their own ports, not without loss. With no less vigilance he repressed not long since the like machinations of the same traytors in the ports of France, who were so disconcerted at his presence, as to abandon the schemes they had projected, for which service we conferred on him the dignity of a Baronet, the first mark of our royal favour. Moreover, lately, when new contentions were springing up in Italy, and the discord of Princes was on the point of embroiling Europe again in a war, he did, with singular felicity and conduct, interpose with our squadron, crushing at one blow the laboured efforts of Spain, to set up a power at sea, and advanced the reputation of our arms in the Mediterranean to such a pitch, that our flag gave law to the contending parties, and enabled us to resettle the tranquillity, that had been disturbed. It is just therefore we should distinguish with higher titles, a subject who has so eminently served us and his country, both as monuments of his own merit; and to influence others to a love and pursuit of virtue. *Know ye therefore, &c.*' H

CÆSAR

C.

CÆSAR (JULIUS) a learned Civilian in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born near Tottenham in Middlesex (*a*), in the year 1557 [*A*]. His father was Cæsar Adelmar, (*b*), Phyſician to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; lineally deſcended from Adelmar Count of Genoa, and Admiral of France, in the year of Chriſt 806, in the reign of Charles the Great. This Cæſar Adelmar's mother was daughter to the Duke *de Ceſarini*, from whom he had the name of Cæſar (*c*), which name, Mary I, Queen of England, ordered to be continued to his poſterity [*B*]: and his father was Peter Maria Dalmarius, of the city of Trevigio in Italy, Doctor of Laws, ſprung from thoſe of his name living at Cividad del Friuli (*d*). Julius, who is the ſubject of this article, had his education in the univerſity of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 17, 1575, as a Member of Magdalen-Hall (*e*). Afterwards he went and ſtudied in the Univerſity of Paris; where, in the beginning of 1581, he was created Doctor of the Civil Law, and had letters teſtimonial for it, under the ſeal of that Univerſity (*f*), dated the 22d of April, 1581 [*C*]. He was admitted to the ſame degree at Oxford, March the 5th, 1583; and alſo became Doctor of the Canon-Law (*g*). In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was Maſter of Requeſts, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Maſter of St Catherine's Hoſpital near the Tower (*h*). On the 22d of January 1595, he was preſent at the confirmation of Richard Vaughan Biſhop of Bangor, in the church of St Mary le Bow, London (*i*). Upon King James's acceſſion to the throne, having before diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his merit and abilities, he was knighted by that Prince, at Greenwich, May 20, 1603 (*k*). He was alſo conſtituted, Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer (*l*); and on the 5th of July 1607, ſworn of His Majeſty's Privy-Council (*m*). January 16th, in the eighth of King James I, he obtained a reverſionary grant of the of the office of Maſter of the Rolls after Sir Edward Phillips, Knight (*n*); who departing this life, September 11, 1614 (*o*), was ſucceeded accordingly by Sir Julius, on the 1ſt of October following (*p*). And he thereupon reſigning his place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had for ſucceſſor in it, Sir Fulk Greville, Knight (*q*). In 1613, he was one of the Commiſſioners, or Delegates, employed in the buſineſs of the divorce, between the Earl of Eſſex and his Counteſs (*r*); and gave ſentence for that divorce. About the ſame time, he built a chapel at his houſe, on the north ſide of the Strand in London, which was conſecrated, May 8, 1614 (*s*). As he had been Privy-Counſellor to King James I, ſo was he alſo to his ſon, King Charles I (*t*); and appears, moreover, to have been *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the county of Hertford (*u*). We are likewiſe informed by one author (*w*), that he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter. After having thus paſſed through many honourable employments; and continued, in particular, Maſter of the Rolls for above twenty years; he departed this life, April 28, 1639, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age (*x*). He lies buried in the Church of Great St Helen's within Biſhopſgate, London (*y*), under

(*a*) J. Norden, in Deſcript. of Middleſex: and T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Middleſex, p. 179. edit. 1662. His father had a houſe near Tottenham.

(*b*) Or *Dalmarius*, Dalmare, or Athelmer.

(*c*) From the inſcription under his picture at Benington in Hertfordſhire. Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, edit. 1728, fol. p. 367.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. edit, 1721, col. 111.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. col. 125.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) From an inſcription under his picture at Benington. See Salmon, as above, p. 367. See alſo his epitaph below.

(*i*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 487.

(*k*) Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, fol. p. 824. Sir Hen. Chauncy ſays, it was the 11th. Hiſt of Hertfordſhire, p. 309.

(*l*) See the inſcription under his picture, as above. Chauncy calls him only Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter.

(*m*) Stow, ubi ſupra, p. 890.

(*n*) See Mr Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum, &c. Vol. I. p. 341.

(*o*) Camden's Annals of King James I.

(*p*) Pat. 12 Jac. p. 5.

(*q*) Camden, ibid.

(*r*) Truth brought to light by Time, &c. Lond. 1651, 4to, p. 79, 107. and *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, &c. Lond. 1650, 8vo, p. 115, &c.

(*s*) Stow's Annals, as above, p. 999.

(*t*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 125.

(*u*) From the inſcription under his picture, as above.

(*w*) Fuller, in his Hiſt. of the Worthies of England, in Middleſex, p. 179: it ſhould be 185, for it is wrong paged.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 186, and Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 935. Wood ſays in one place, that it was April 12 (Athen. Vol. I. col. 619), and in another that it was the 16th (Faſti, as above). (*y*) Ibid. and Stow's Survey of London with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720. B. ii. p. 104. In p. 102, he ſays he died April 18, aged 75.

[*A*] *Was born* ——— *in the year* 1557.] As is evident from his age, at the time of his death. For we are informed (1), that he was in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age, in 1636, when he died. —— His father died in 1569, and was buried in the Church of Great St Helen's, in Biſhopgate-ſtreet, of which Queen Elizabeth had granted him a leaſe, on the 27th of May, 1564, together with the Rectory, tithes, &c. for twenty-one years (2).

[*B*] *Which name, Mary I, Queen of England ordered to be continued to his poſterity.* This is atteſted by a memorandum, in the laſt page of one of Sir Julius Cæſar's manuſcripts at Benington, written with his own hand; and containing the ſame in ſubſtance as is related above. Julius Adelmarius *filius* Cæſaris Adelmarii, *qui ſemper durante vita cognitus publice &* *appellatus* Cæſar, *per illuſtriſſimas Reginas* Mariam & Elizabetham, *tranſmiſit eandem Appellationem, idemque nomen ad Poſteritatem ſuam, quæ tamen Poſteritas* Adelmarii *nomen non dereliquit; cum illud ab illuſtri Comite* Genuæ *in* Italia, *Dno Admirallio* Galliæ *tempore* Caroli M. *Imperatoris* Germaniæ *in continua ſtirpe maſculina ad illam deſcenderit; idque jure hæreditario.* Jul. Adelmarius, *alias* Cæſar, *ætatis ſuæ* an. 77, 1634 (3).

[*C*] *And had letters teſtimonial for it, under the Seal of that Univerſity.*] Wherein he was ſtiled, Julius Cæſar, *alias* Dalmarius, *Dioc.* London, *in* Anglia, *filius excellentiſſimi in Art. & Med. Doctoris,* Cæſaris Dalmarii, *in Univerſitate* Paris, &c. *i. e.* 'Julius Cæſar, &c. of the dioceſe of London, in 'England, ſon of the moſt excellent Doctor Cæſar 'Dalmarius, &c. of the Univerſity of Paris, &c.'

(1) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 186.

(2) See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. London, 1720, Vol. I. Book iii. p. 100, 104. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 125.

(3) Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, &c.

[*D*] *He*

under a fair but uncommon monument, designed by himself; being in form of a Deed, and made to resemble ruffled parchment (z), in allusion to his office, as Master of the Rolls [D]. With regard to his character; he was a man of great gravity and integrity, and remarkable for his extensive bounty and charity to all persons of worth, or that were in want (a): so that he might seem to be Almoner-General of the nation [E]. He entertained for some time in his house the most illustrious Francis, Lord Bacon, Viscount St Albans [F]. He made his grants to all persons double kindnesses by expedition, and cloathed (as one expresses it) (b), his very denials in such robes of courtship, that it was not obviously discernable, whether the request or denial were most decent. He had also this peculiar to himself, That he was very cautious of promises, lest falling to an incapacity of performance, he might forfeit his reputation, and multiply his certain enemies, by his design of creating uncertain friends. Besides, he observed a sure principle of rising, namely, That great persons esteem better of such they have done great courtesies to, than those they have received great civilities from; looking upon this as their disparagement, the other as their glory. Sir Julius Cæsar's manuscripts, bound up in several volumes, are preserved at Benington in Hertfordshire, the seat of his posterity (c). The Lord Clarendon mentions a story that has a relation to him (d), which the reader may not perhaps be displeased to see in the note [G]. Besides Sir Julius, Cæsar Adelmare had

(z) Fuller, ubi supra.

(a) Fuller, ibid.

(b) Lloyd, in State-Worthies, ubi supra, p. 937.

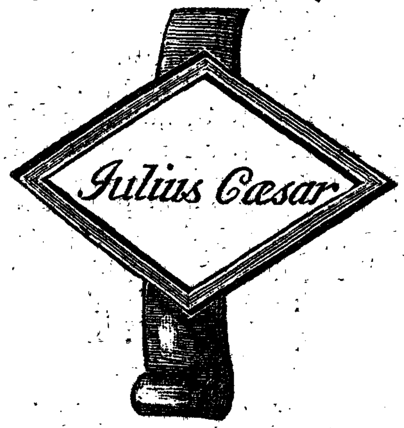
(c) Hist. of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, p. 367. He printed 'A Catalogue of the Books, Parchments, and Papers, belonging to the Court of Requests,' 4to, now very scarce.

(d) Hist. of the Rebellion, in 6 Volumes, 8vo, Oxford, 1732, Vol. I. p. 52, 53.

[D] *He lies buried ——— under a fair but uncommon monument ——— in form of a deed,* &c.] The contents of which deed, or epitaph, are as follows:

To all Christian people to whom this present writing shall come; Know ye, that I Julius Dalmare, alias Cæsar, Knight, Doctor of Laws; Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and one of the Masters of Requests to Queen Elizabeth; Privy-Counsellor to King James, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, have confirmed or granted by this my present writing, That I will, with the Divine Assistance, willingly pay my debt to nature, whenever it shall please God. In witness whereof, I have set my hand and seal. Dated the 27th of February, 1635.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit; Sciatis, me Julium Dalmare, alias Cæsarem, Militem, utriusque Legis Doctorem; Elizabethæ *Reginæ Supremæ Curiæ Admiralitatis Judicem, & unum è Magistris Libellorum;* Jacobo *Regi à Privatis Conciliis, Cancellarium Scaccarii, Scriniorum Magistrum, hac præsenti Charta mea confirmasse, Me annuente Divino Numine, naturæ debitum libenter solviturum, quam primum Deo placuerit. In cujus rei memoriam, Manum meam, & Sigillum apposui. Datum 27 Februarii,* 1635.



Here his Seal, or Coat of Arms, is affixed, and beneath is written.

It is enrolled in Heaven. *Irrotulatur Coelo* (4).

(4) Fuller's Worthies, p. 185, 186. and Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 936.

[E] *So that he might seem to be Almoner-General of the nation.*] Dr Fuller gives the following instance of his uncommon charity. 'A gentleman once borrowing his coach (which was as well known to poor people as any hospital in England) was so rendezvouzed about with beggars in London, that it cost him all the money in his purse to satisfy their importunity, so that he might have hired twenty coaches on the same terms (5).'

[F] *He entertained for some time in his house the Lord Francis Bacon,* &c.] We are told by an ill-natured writer (6), That the Lord Bacon, 'after he was out of his place, pinned himself for very scraps on that noble gentleman, Sir Julius Cæsar's hospitality, so that at last he was forced to get the King's warrant to remove him out of his house; yet in his prosperity, the one being Chancellor, and the other Master of the Rolls, did so scorne and abuse him, as he would alter any thing the other did.' But Mr Stephens assures us (7), That the Lord Bacon was not reduced to such low circumstances, as is commonly imagined, but had something considerable even at the time of his death.

[G] *The Lord Clarendon mentions a story that has a relation to him,* &c.] It is as follows: "Sir *Julius Cæsar* was then Master of the Rolls (in the reign of King Charles I.) and had inherent in his office the indubitable right and disposition of the Six Clarks places, all which he had for many years, upon any vacancy, bestowed to such persons as he thought fit. One of those places was become void, and designed by the old man to his son *Robert Cæsar*, a Lawyer of a good name, and exceedingly beloved. The Lord Treasurer * (as he was vigilant in such cases) had notice of the Clark's expiration so soon, that he procured the King to send a message to the Master of the Rolls, expresly forbidding him to dispose of that Six Clark's place, till his Majesty's pleasure should be further made known to him. It was the first command of that kind that had been heard of, and was felt by the old man very sensibly. He was indeed very old, and had out-lived most of his friends; so that his age was an objection against him; many persons of quality being dead, who had, for recompence of services, procured the reversion of his office. The Treasurer found it no hard matter so far to terrify him, that (for the King's service, as was pretended) he admitted for a Six Clark a person recommended by him (Mr *Fern*, a dependant upon him) who paid six thousand pounds ready money; which, poor man! he lived to repent in a jayl. This work being done at the charge of the poor old man, who had

(5) Worthies of England, ubi supra.

(6) Sir Anthony Weldon, Court and Character of King James, Lond. 1650, 8vo, p. 133, 134.

(7) Account of the Life of the Lord Bacon, in his *Letters and Remains*, Lond. 1734, 4to, p. 25, 26, 29. and Introd. p. 58.

(*) Weston, Earl of Portland.

had two sons, that were eminent in their way. His second son, Sir THOMAS CÆSAR, was one of the Barons of the Exchequer (e). And his third son, HENRY CÆSAR, educated in Baliol College, and St Edmund Hall, Oxon, became Prebendary of Westminster in the second stall, in September 1609, [which he resigned the latter end of the year 1625] (f); and Dean of Ely, in 1614. He died at Ely the 27th of June 1636, aged seventy-two, and was buried on the north side of the Presbytery of the Cathedral there. He gave to Jesus College in Cambridge two Fellowships of twelve pounds a year a piece, and five Scholarships of five pounds a year each; upon condition, that the Fellows and Scholars should be elected from the King's Free-School at Ely (g).

(e) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 150.

(f) Newcourt, Repertor. Eccles. &c. Vol. I. p. 924.

(g) Wood, as above.

" had been a Privy-Counsellor from the entrance of " King *James*, had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, " and served in other offices; the depriving him of " his right made a great noise: and the condition of " his son (his father being not likely to live to have " the disposal of another office in his power) who, " as was said before, was generally beloved, and " esteemed, was argument of great compassion; and " was lively, and successfully represented to the King " himself; who was graciously pleased to promise, " that," ' If the old man chanced to die before ' any other of the six Clarks, that office, when it should ' fall, should be conferred on his son, whosoever ' should succeed him as Master of the Rolls; which ' might well be provided for:' " And the Lord " Treasurer obliged himself (to expiate the injury) to " procure some declaration to that purpose, under " his Majesty's sign manual; which, however easy to " be done, he long forgot, or neglected. One day, " the Earl of *Tullibardin*, who was nearly allied to " Mr Cæsar, and much his friend, being with the " Treasurer, passionately asked him, Whether he had " done that business? To whom he answered with a " seeming trouble," ' That he had forgotten it, for ' which he was heartily sorry; and if he would give ' him a little note in writing, for a memorial, he ' would put it amongst those which he would dispatch ' with the King that afternoon.' " The Earl presently " writ in a little paper, *Remember Cæsar*; and gave it " to him; and he put it into that little pocket, " where, he said, he kept all his memorials which " were first to be transacted. Many days passed, and " *Cæsar* never thought of. At length, when he " changed his cloaths, and he who waited on him in " his chamber, according to custom, brought him all " the notes and papers found in those he had left off, " which he then commonly perused; when he found " this little billet, in which was only written, *Remember Cæsar*, and which he had never read before, " he was exceedingly confounded, and knew not what " to make, or think of it. He sent for his bosom-friends, —— and after a serious and melancholick " deliberation, it was agreed, that it was the advertisement of some friend, who durst not own the " discovery; that it could not signify nothing, but " that there was a conspiracy against his life, by his " many and mighty enemies: and they all knew " *Cæsar's* fate, by contemning or neglecting such " animadversions." Therefore they advised him to pretend to be indisposed, that he might not stir abroad all that day, and that none might be admitted to him, but persons of undoubted affection: and that at night some servants should watch with the Porter —— " Shortly after, the Earl of Tullibardine asking " him, Whether he had remembered *Cæsar*? The " Treasurer quickly recollected the ground of his " perturbation, and could not forbear imparting it " to his friends, and so the whole jest came to be " discovered." C

CALAMY (EDMUND) an eminent Nonconformist Divine, in the XVII Century. He was the son of a Citizen of London, and born there in February 1600. July 4, 1616, he was admitted of Pembroke Hall, in the University of Cambridge (a). In 1619, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1632, that of Bachelor of Divinity (b). He shewed himself pretty early no friend to the Arminian party, which was the reason, that he could not obtain a fellowship in that society, even when he seemed to be entitled to it from his standing, as well as from his learning and unblemished character. At last however, he so far conquered all prejudices, that he was elected Tanquam Socius of that Hall (c) [A]. Dr Felton, the pious and learned Bishop of Ely, had so great a regard to his diligence in study, and unaffected zeal for religion, that he made him his Chaplain (d), and paid him, during his residence in his family, uncommon marks of respect [B]. His Lordship gave him likewise as a mark of his favour, the Vicarage of St Mary's in Swaffham-Prior in Cambridgeshire, in which capacity of Vicar he did much good, tho' he did not reside on his cure by reason of it's small distance from the Episcopal place (e). But after the death of the Bishop, in 1626, Mr Calamy being

(a) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 4.

(b) From the University Register.

(c) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, ubi supra.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 8.

[A] *Elected Tanquam Socius of that Hall.*] This was peculiar to Pembroke Hall. The reader may see the occasion of erecting it in another place (1). Besides the Society of the Fellows, the *Tanquam Socius* had *Poma*, *i. e.* his dividend in the garden; *Pupilli*, *i. e.* Leave to take Pupils; and *Pileus*, *i. e.* the honour of the cap; together with a certain stipend, but no share in the government of the house. Yet take it altogether, tho' there was less profit, there was at least as much honour in being *Tanquam Socius*, as in being Fellow; for it was an evident sign, that, tho' the college conferred only this, they thought him on whom they conferred it worthy of the other, since they might otherwise have saved themselves this expence. The *Tanquam Socius* held his office but for three years, unless he was rechosen (2). As for our author, he was within that space, better provided for.

[B] *Uncommon marks of respect.*] The Bishop gave directions, that Mr Calamy should not be called down to family prayers, or upon any other occasion, without half an hour's notice, that his studies might not be abruptly interrupted. That there was good reason for this, the reader must admit, when he is told, that during the whole time Mr Calamy lived with this Prelate, he studied at the rate of sixteen hours a day. He read over the controversies of Bellarmine entirely, and all the answers written by Chamier, Whitaker, Raynolds, and others, who, by parts, undertook the refuting his voluminous work. Mr Calamy likewise perused many of the School-men, particularly Thomas Aquinas, whose sums he had read with diligence and thoroughly mastered; he went through the works of St Augustine five times, besides perusing many other eminent writers, ancient and modern, and exclusive of the daily study of the Holy Scriptures and the commentators upon them. This laborious course acquired him a large fund of solid and useful learning, and enabled him to discharge with great ability, the several offices to which he was afterwards called, and yet he never affected quotations, but contented himself with a plain and familiar manner of speaking, which savoured not at all of the schools. He was always extremely grateful towards his patron while living, and spoke with the utmost reverence of his memory after his decease (3).

(1) See the article ANDREWS (LANCELOT) note [B].

(2) Extract from Sampson's Hist. of the Nonconformists, MS.

(3) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 4.

being chosen one of the Lecturers of St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, he resigned his Vicarage and applied himself wholly to the discharge of his function at Bury (f). He continued there ten years, and, as some writers say, was during the greatest part of that time a strict Conformist (g). Others, and indeed himself, say the contrary [C]. The truth seems to be, that he was unwilling to oppose ceremonies, or to create a disturbance in the Church about them, so long as this might be avoided with a safe conscience (h); but when Bishop Wren's articles, and the reading of the book of Sports, came to be insisted on, he thought himself obliged to alter his conduct, and not only avoid conforming for the future, but also to apologize publickly for his former behaviour, which he did with equal modesty and freedom (i) [D]. He came now to be considered as an active Nonconformist, and being in great favour with the Earl of Essex, he presented him to the living of Rochford in Essex, a Rectory of considerable value, and yet it proved a fatal present to Mr Calamy, for removing from one of the best and wholsomest airs in England, that of St Edmund's-Bury, into the hundreds of Essex, he contracted such an illness as broke his constitution, and left behind it a dizzyness in his head, which he complained of as long as he lived (k). Upon the death of Dr Stoughton, he was chosen minister of St Mary Aldermanbury, which brought him up to London, in 1639 (l). The controversy concerning Church-Government was then at it's greatest height, in which Mr Calamy had a very large share. In the month of July 1639, he was incorporated of the University of Oxford, which, however, did not take him off from the party in which he was engaged (m). In 1640, he was concerned in writing that famous book called, Smectymnuus, which himself says, gave the first deadly blow to Episcopacy (n). It was indeed, tho' a warm, a very well written piece, and therefore we find frequent references thereto in all the defences and apologies for Nonconformity, which have been since published [E]. In 1641, he was appointed by the House of Lords a member of the

(f) Wood's Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(g) Idem, ibid.

(h) See his just and necessary Apology, &c. Lond. 1646, 4to.

(i) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 8.

(k) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

(l) Newcourt's Repert. Eccles. Vol. I. p. 918.

(m) Wood's Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(n) Just and necessary Apology, p. 13.

[C] *And indeed himself, say the contrary.*] The famous Anthony Wood has taken pains to shew, that our author altered his opinion as to Church-government and ceremonies (4); and Mr Walker hints, that he was once as high in his opinions as Archbishop Laud (5): their testimonies however, will not affect his character much, if the authorities they produce be fairly answered. The author of a quarto pamphlet, printed at Oxford, in 1643, intituled, *Sober Sadness; or Historical Observations upon the Pretences, Proceedings, and Designs of a prevailing Party, in both Houses of Parliament*, &c. says, 'That Mr Calamy complied 'with Bishop Wren, his Diocesan, preached in his 'surplice and hood, read prayers at the rails, bowed 'at the name of JESUS, and undertook to satisfy 'and reduce such as scrupled those ceremonies (6).' One Mr Henry Burton, in a quarto pamphlet, printed at London, in 1646, asserts pretty nearly the same. The title of his pamphlet was, *Truth still Truth, tho' shut out of doors*; in answer to which, Mr Calamy published, *A just and necessary Apology against an unjust Invective, published by Mr Burton, in a late book of his, entituled*, &c. wherein he affirms, 'That during 'the time he was at St Edmund's-Bury, he never 'bowed to or towards the Altar, to or towards the 'East, never read that wicked book of Sports upon 'the Lord's day, never read prayers at the high altar, 'at the upper end of the church where the people 'could not hear. I have often, continued he, preach'ed against innovations; and once I did it at a pub'lick visitation, and was called in question for my 'labour; I never justified the oath *ex officio*, nor 'ever prosecuted any man or woman at the high 'commission; I never to my best remembrance preach'ed at any time for the justification of any innovations. 'In some few things, I did, I confess, conform, according 'to the light I then had, out of the uprightness of 'my heart, &c (7).' Whoever considers this, and that Mr Calamy was only Lecturer at St Edmund's-Bury, will readily incline to think, that these writers were mistaken as to his Conformity, or might perhaps be misled by representations made in his favour to Bishop Wren by some kind friends, who were willing to preserve him in his diocesan's good graces.

[D] *With equal modesty and freedom.*] With this view he tells us himself, he made a recantation and retractation sermon at Bury, in the hearing of thousands; and afterwards speaking of the countenance he gave to the legal applications, against what was esteemed tyranny in the Bishops of those times, he says, 'My house 'was the retreat of godly ministers in the worst of 'times. Here was the Remonstrance framed against the 'Prelates; here were all meetings; I was the first 'that openly before a Committee of Parliament, did 'defend, that Bishops were not only not an order di'stinct from Presbyters, but that in Scripture, a Bishop 'and Presbyter were all one (8).' In the same piece he takes abundance of pains to shew, that all this was from conscientious motives, not from any picque to particular persons, or prejudice arising from his own disappointments, or despair of preferment. He likewise asserts, that it was before the turn of the times, and consequently flowed not from a spirit of popularity. Others, however, have not scrupled to affirm the contrary, and that Robert, Earl of Essex, said he would be lost, if he was not taken off, and therefore gave him the Rectory of Rochford (9). Yet Mr Calamy must be allowed to know himself as well as his patron; but it is our business to report all things fairly.

[E] *Which have been since published.*] The title of the book, at length, runs thus: *An Answer to a book, entituled,* AN HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE; *in which the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is discussed, and Queries propounded concerning both: The Parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated, the Occasion of their Imparities in Antiquity discovered; the Disparity of the ancient and our modern Bishops manifested; the Antiquity of ruling Elders in the Church vindicated: The Prelatical Church bounded. Written by* SMECTYMNUUS. *London* 1641. *4to.* containing with the Appendix ninty-four pages. The word Smectymnuus is composed of the initial letters of it's authors names, which were Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Mathew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. This piece, which is certainly written with great fierceness of spirit, and much asperity in language, contains eighteen sections, in the last of which, the differences between the Prelatists and Puritans, are aggravated with great bitterness. Then follow sixteen queries, the last of which runs thus. 'Whether, having 'proved, that God never set such a government in 'his Church as our Episcopal government is, we may 'lawfully any longer be subject to it, be present at 'their courts, obey their injunctions, and especially 'be instruments in publishing and executing their Ex'communications and Absolutions (10).' The book is shut up by an Appendix, wherein is contained an Historical Narration of those bitter fruits, Pride, Rebellion, Treason, Unthankfulness, &c. which have issued from Episcopacy, while it hath stood under the continual influences of sovereign goodness. The whole ends thus: 'The inhuman butcheries, bloodsheddings, 'and cruelties of Gardiner, Bonner, and the rest of 'the Bishops in Queen Mary's days are so fresh in 'every man's memory, as that we conceive it a thing 'altogether unnecessary to make mention of them. 'Only we fear lest the guilt of the blood then shed 'should

(4) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(5) Walker's Attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 255.

(6) Page 5.

(7) Page 8.

(8) Page 9.

(9) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(10) Smectymnuus, p. 82.

(o) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. cent. XVII. p. 174.

(p) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

(q) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281. Echard's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 178.

the Sub-Committee for Religion (o), which conſiſted of very eminent Divines, whoſe conduct however has been differently cenſured [F]. He made a great figure in the Aſſembly of Divines, tho' he is not mentioned in Fuller's catalogue (p), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf therein, both by his learning and moderation. He likewiſe preached ſeveral times before the Houſe of Commons, for which his memory has been very ſeverely treated (q) [G]. He was at the ſame time one of the Cornhill Lecturers, and no man had a greater intereſt

'ſhould yet remain to be required at the hands of this 'nation, becauſe it hath not publickly endeavoured 'to appeaſe the wrath of God, by a ſolemn and general 'humiliation for it. What the practices of the Prelates 'have been ever ſince, from the beginning of Queen 'Elizabeth to this very day, would fill a volume like 'Ezekiel's roll, with lamentation, mourning, and woe 'to record. For it hath been their great deſign to 'hinder all further Reformation: to bring in doctrines 'of Popery, Arminianiſm, and Libertiniſm, to maintain, propagate, and much increaſe the burden of 'human ceremonies, to keep out and beat down the 'preaching of the word, to ſilence the faithful preachers 'of it, to oppoſe and perſecute the moſt zealous profeſſors, and to turn all religion into a pompous outſide: and to tread down the power of godlineſs. 'Inſomuch, as it is come to an ordinary proverb, that 'when any thing is ſpoiled, we uſe to ſay, *The Biſhop's 'foot is in it*. And in all this, and much more which 'might be ſaid, fulfilling Biſhop Bonner's prophecy, 'who, when he ſaw, that in King Edward's Reformation, there was a reſervation of Ceremonies and 'Hierarchy, is credibly reported to have uſed theſe 'words; *Since they have begun to taſte our broth, it 'will not be long e'er they will eat of our beef* (11).' Dr Joſeph Hall, Biſhop of Exeter, who wrote the Humble Remonſtrance, publiſhed a Vidication of it in anſwer to this book, and to this the Smectymneans replied. Now to ſhew the credit of this work, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Dr Wilkins, afterwards the famous Biſhop of Cheſter, in his Eccleſiaſtes, or a Diſcourſe concerning the Gift of Preaching, ſets down this as a capital work againſt Epiſcopacy (12). As ſuch it is mentioned by Dr Calamy, in his Poſtſcript to the Preface of his Abridgment of Baxter's Life, in which Poſtſcript, he profeſſes to inſtruct the inquiſitive reader as to the books moſt proper to be read, in order to have a true notion of the merits of Nonconformity; and in the ſame light we find this work conſidered by Mr Neale, in his Hiſtory of the Puritans (13).

(11) Ibid. p. 93.

(12) Page 51.

(13) Vol. II. p. 398.

[F] *Has been differently cenſured.*] Dr Calamy gives this account of the matter. 'He was, ſays he, one 'of thoſe Divines, who, *anno* 1641, met by order 'of Parliament in the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, with ſeveral 'Biſhops and Doctors, in order to the *accommodating 'Eccleſiaſtical matters*; in which meeting, by mutual 'conceſſions, things were brought into a very hopeful 'poſture; but the whole deſign was ſpoiled by the 'bringing into the Houſe the bill againſt Biſhops (14).' In this he agrees with the Church Hiſtorian, Fuller (15), and other writers of thoſe times. What Archbiſhop Laud thought of this project may be gathered from this remark in his Diary. 'A Committee for Religion 'ſettled in the Upper Houſe of Parliament. Ten 'Earls, ten Biſhops, ten Barons. So the lay votes will 'be double to the Clergy. This Committee will 'meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and 'will call ſome Divines to them to conſider of the 'buſineſs, as appears by a letter hereto annexed, ſent 'by the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln to ſome Divines, to 'attend this ſervice. Upon the whole matter, I believe 'this Committee will prove the national ſynod of 'England, to the great diſhonour of the Church. And 'what elſe may follow upon it, God knows (16).' Dr Heylyn gives us a further account of this matter (17). 'Though a Convocation were at that time ſitting, yet 'to increaſe to the miſeries of a falling Church, it is permitted, that a private meeting ſhould be held in the 'Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, to which ſome orthodox and 'conformable Divines were called, as a foil to the reſt, 'which generally were of *Preſbyterian* or *Puritan* principles. By them it was propoſed, that many paſſages in 'the Liturgy ſhould be expunged, and others altered for 'the worſe. That decency and reverence in officiating 'God's publick ſervice ſhould be brought within the 'compaſs of innovations. That doctrinal *Calviniſm* 'ſhould be entertained in all parts of the Church; 'and all their ſabbath ſpeculations, though contrary 'to *Calvin's* judgment, ſuperadded to it. But before 'any thing could be concluded in thoſe weighty matters, the Commons ſet their bill on foot againſt *root 'and branch*, for putting down all Biſhops and Cathedral Churches, which put a period to that meeting 'without doing any thing.'

(14) Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 5.

(15) Cent. XVII. p. 175.

(16) Page 24. Monday, March 21, 1640-1.

(17) Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 430, 431.

[G] *Very ſeverely treated.*] Mr Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory of England, in giving our author's character, ſpeaks thus, *That he was ſo much an incendiary, and promoter of the rebellion and Scots invaſion, that his actions cannot be vindicated* (18). This gave ſuch offence to his grandſon, Dr Edward Calamy, that he wrote and publiſhed a letter to the Archdeacon, wherein he obſerves, that our author was no Chaplain in the army; no enemy to a Liturgy, freed from paſſages liable to juſt objections; was rather for reforming Epiſcopacy, according to Archbiſhop Uſher's platform, than eradicating it. He then objects to what Mr Echard ſays, as to our author's being a frequent Preacher before the Houſe of Commons, for ſays, Dr Calamy, there are but three ſermons of his preached before that Houſe. 'The firſt is intituled, *England's 'Looking-Glaſs*, on *Jerem.* xviii. 7, 8, 9, 10. preached on a ſolemn faſt, December 22, 1641. Printed 'at London, in 4*to*. The deſign of which ſermon is 'to ſhew, that national repentance will divert, and 'national ſins draw down, national judgments. The 'ſecond was intituled, *God's free Mercy to England*, 'on *Ezek.* xxxvi. 32. at a ſolemn faſt, February 23, '1641. Printed at London 1642, 4*to*. the intent of 'which is to repreſent England's mercies, as a motive 'and means of England's humiliation and reformation. His third was intituled, *England's Antidote 'againſt the Plague of Civil War*, on *Acts* xvii. 30. 'preached October 22, 1644; and printed at London 1645, in 4*to*.' Theſe three ſermons the Doctor further affirms to be *plain practical ſermons*; and adds further, 'Tho' there are ſome complaints intermingled 'of ſeveral hardſhips, which many worthy perſons 'met with before this Parliament, and motions made 'for further rectifying things that were amiſs; yet 'there is nothing tending to inflame and widen the 'differences between King and Parliament: no puſhing them on to rigour and ſeverity; no inclination 'diſcovered to have the Conſtitution altered, or any 'of our foundations overthrown (19).' After producing this defence: it is but juſt to obſerve, that ſome exceptionable paſſages have been taken notice of in theſe very ſermons. As for inſtance. 'But now 'mark the doctrine; when God begins to build and 'plant, if that nation do evil, God will unbuild 'what he has built, and pluck up what he has 'planted, and repent of the good, &c. For you 'muſt know, that God repents as well of his mercies, 'as of his judgments: when God made *Saul* King, 'and he proved ſtubborn and diſobedient, he repented 'that he had made him King (20).' And again, in the following paſſage: 'If there be found any amongſt 'you that drive on the deſigns of *Oxford*, and are 'found at *Weſtminſter* only to betray their country, the 'Lord unmaſk ſuch, and the Lord give them repenting 'hearts: this is to build up houſes with the blood of 'three kingdoms, this is to ſell your ſouls for preferment; and it is juſt with God, that ſuch not only 'loſe their ſouls, but loſe their preferments alſo, as '*Judas*, that ſold his maſter, hung himſelf (21).' And as to the Scots invaſion, the reader may conſider the following paragraph from Mr Calamy's ſpeech at Guildhall, October 6, 1643. 'If you would have a 'peace with *Popery*, a peace with ſlavery, if you 'would have a *Judas* peace, or a *Joab* his peace, you 'know the ſtory. He kiſſed *Amaſa*, and then killed 'him: If you would have a peace, that may bring a 'maſſacre with it, a *French* peace; if you would have 'ſuch a peace, it may be had eaſily. But if you 'would have a peace that may continue the Goſpel 'among you, ſuch as the godly in the kingdom deſire, I am confident ſuch a peace cannot be had, 'without

(18) Vol. III. p. 137.

(19) See his Letter to Archdeacon Echard, p. 87.

(20) Sermon before the Commons, Dec. 22, 1641, p. 34.

(21) Faſt Sermon before the Commons, Oct. 22, 1644, p. 25.

(r) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

interest in the city of London, in consequence of his ministerial abilities, than he (r). He preached constantly in his own parish church for twenty years, not only to a numerous but most worthy audience, composed of the most eminent citizens, and even persons of great quality. He steadily and strenuously opposed the sectaries, and gave many pregnant instances of his dislike to those violences which were committed afterwards, on the King's being brought from the Isle of Wight (s). He opposed the infamous murder of his Sovereign King Charles I, with constancy and courage [H]. Under the usurpation of Cromwell, he was passive and lived as privately as he could, yet he gave no reason to suspect, that he was at all a well wisher to that government (t) [I], when the times afforded a favourable opportunity, he neglected not the promoting the return of King Charles II, and actually preached before the House of Commons on the day they voted that great question (u), which, however, has not hindered some from suggesting their suspicions of his Loyalty [K]. After this step was taken, he together with Mr Ash and other eminent Divines, were sent over to compliment the King in Holland, by whom they were extremely well received (w). When His Majesty was restored, Mr Calamy retained still a considerable share in his favour, and in June 1660, was appointed one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and was offered the Bishoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, which he refused (x) [L]. When the Convocation came to be chosen, he together with Mr Baxter were elected, May 2, 1661, for London, but the Bishop of that diocese having the power of chusing two out of four, or four out of six, elected within a certain circuit, Dr Sheldon who was then Bishop, was so kind as to excuse both of them, which perhaps was owing to the share they had in the Savoy Conference (y). After the miscarrying of that design, Mr Calamy made use of all his interest to procure the passing of an act agreeable to the King's declaration at Breda, but when this was frustrated and the

(s) Ibid.

(t) See the Life of Cromwell, p. 133.

(u) Baxter's Narrative of the memorable Passages of his Life, P. ii. p. 217.

(w) Idem, ibid. p. 218.

(x) Kennet's Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 234.

(y) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 9.

'without contributing towards bringing in the Scots '(22).' Besides these, Anthony Wood mentions two other sermons, the first intituled, *The Nobleman's Pattern of true and real Thankfulness*, preached at a solemn Thanksgiving, June 15, 1643, on Joshua xxiv. 15, and printed the same year at London, in *4to*. The second intituled, *An Inditement against England, because of herself-murdering Divisions*, preached before the House of Lords at their fast, December 25 (so that they fasted upon Christmas-day) 1644, on Matth. xii. 25. printed at London, in 1645, in *4to* (23).

(22) Examination of the second Vol. of Neal's Hist. of the Puritans by Dr Grey, p. 391.

(23) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

[H] *With constancy and courage.*] There is a famous paper often referred to, in order to shew the innocency of the Presbyterians, with respect to the King's murder, which is intituled, *A serious and faithful Representation of the Judgments of Ministers of the Gospel within the Province of London, contained, in a Letter from them to the General and his Council of War, delivered to his Excellency by some of the Subscribers, January* 18, 1648. To this piece there are between forty and fifty subscribers, but the name of Mr Calamy is not among them; the reason of which was, that this Representation was drawn up to enforce what he and some other ministers of the same persuasion had delivered in two conferences; the first, with the General and his Council; the second, with the chief officers of the army, as the paper itself recites (24). This evidently shews, that whatever warm expressions might escape our author in his sermons, he was undoubtedly loyal, and sincerely detested that barbarous and bloody fact. Some indeed have affected to treat this paper, as a matter of no great significancy; but Mr Collier in his Church History (25), after making a very faithful extract of it, says very honestly and fairly, that it was an instance of *handsome plain dealing, and a bold reprimand of a victorious army*.

(24) See this Pamphlet printed at London in 4to, 1649, p. 1.

(25) Ecclesiastical Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 859, 860.

[I] *A well wisher to that government.*] The following story, which Harry Neville, who was one of the Council of State asserted of his own knowledge, is a full proof of this, and at the same time a very curious passage in itself. '*Cromwell* having a design to set 'up himself, and bring the crown upon his own head, 'sent for some of the chief city Divines, as if he 'made it a matter of conscience to be determined by 'their advice. Among these was, the leading Mr '*Calamy*, who very boldly opposed the project of '*Cromwell's* single government, and offered to prove 'it both *unlawful and impracticable*. *Cromwell* an'swered readily upon the first head of *unlawful*, 'and appealed to the safety of the nation being the 'supreme law; but, says he, pray Mr *Calamy*, why '*impracticable*? He replied; Oh it is against the 'voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten against 'you. Very well, says *Cromwell*; but what if I 'should disarm the nine, and put the sword in the 'tenth man's hand, would not that do the business '(26)?'

(26) See the Life of Cromwell, p. 133.

[K] *Their suspicions of his Loyalty.*] Dr Calamy in his letter to Archdeacon Echard, justified his grandfather's Loyalty very warmly; but in answer to that letter, it is asserted, that in 1659, Mr Calamy, Mr Baxter, and five or six more of the same character, made the following speech, by one of their number to General Monk. 'I hear a report, Sir, that you have 'some thoughts of calling back the King. But it is 'my sense, and the sense of these gentlemen here with 'me, that it is a thing you ought not to do upon any 'terms: for prophaneness is so inseparable from the 'Royal party, that if ever you bring the King back, 'the power of godliness will most certainly depart from 'this land (27).' This is a little improbable in itself, and I must own that we have no considerable authority to justify this story. On the other hand, Mr Baxter tells us, that the chief men who turned the General's resolution to restore his Majesty, were Mr Clarges and Sir William Morris; the first his brother-in-law, the latter his kinsman, together with the petitions and affections of the city, principally moved by Mr Calamy and Mr Ash, two ancient, leading, able Ministers, with Dr Bates, Dr Manton, Dr Jacomb, and other Ministers of London, who concurred; and these were encouraged by the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Hollis, the late Earl of Anglesey, and many of the then Council of State (28).

(27) Page 27.

(28) Narrative of the most remarkable Passages of his Life and Times, Part ii. p. 214.

[L] *Which he refused.*] The account given us of this matter by his grandson, is to this purpose. He refused a Bishoprick, because, he could not have it upon the terms of the King's declaration; but kept his temper and moderation after he was ejected. I have been credibly informed, that Bishop Wilkins had such an opinion of his insight into the controversy about Church-Government, that he heartily wished he could have conformed, that he might have confronted the bold and confident assertors of the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy in the Convocation, in which he was not allowed to sit, tho' he was chosen one of the Clerks for the city (29). And yet the author of the Modern Pleas, *&c.* says, 'I have been credibly informed '(not to say, that I am able to make it good) that 'Mr Calamy did, before his Majesty and diverse Lords 'of the Council, profess, that there was not any 'thing in the Constitution of the Church, to which 'he could not conform, were it not for the scandalizing 'of others (30).' But Mr Baxter answers, we must testify, some of us that were in his company, from first to last, we heard him over and over protest, That he took several things in Conformity to be intolerable sins. And he wrote the Preface to our Reply, he may be judged of by that (31).

(29) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 6.

(30) Page 12.

(31) Apology for Nonconformity, p. 152.

[M] In

the Act of Uniformity passed, he took a resolution of suffering for his conscience rather than suffer in it; and accordingly preached his farewel sermon at Aldermanbury, August 27, 1662 (z). He made however a last effort three days afterwards, by presenting a petition to His Majesty to continue in the exercise of his ministerial office; this petition was signed by many of the London Clergy, and Dr Manton and Dr Bates assisted at the presenting it, when Mr Calamy made a long and moving speech, but neither it nor the petition had any good effect, tho' the King expressed himself in favour of Toleration [M]. He remained in his parish and came constantly to church, tho' another was in the pulpit, which proved an occasion of much trouble to him, for on December 28, 1662, the expected Preacher not coming in time, some of the principal persons in the parish prevailed upon Mr Calamy to supply his place, which with some importunity he did, but delivered himself with such freedom, that he was soon after by the Lord Mayor's warrant committed to Newgate for his sermon (a). But the case itself being thought hard, and some doubt arising how far the commitment was legal, His Majesty in a few days discharged him (b). This affair however has made a great noise, and much has been said on both sides, we will give the reader an opportunity of informing himself with what degree of justice [N]. He lived to see London in ashes, the sight of which broke

(z) Ibid.

(a) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 262.

(b) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 11.

[M] *In favour of Toleration.*] The whole of this transaction does extraordinary honour to the memory of our author. In his speech he intimated, that those of his persuasion were ready to enter the list with any for their fidelity to His Majesty, and did little expect to be dealt with as they had been; and they were now come to His Majesty's feet, as the last application they should make, &c. His Majesty promised he would consider of their business; and the very next day the matter was fully debated in Council, His Majesty himself being present, who was pleased to declare, that he intended an indulgence, if it were at all feasible. The great friends of the Silenced Ministers, who had encouraged their hopes by a variety of specious promises, were allowed, upon this occasion, freely to suggest their reasons against putting the act in execution, and they argued very strenuously. But Dr Sheldon, Bishop of London, in a warm speech, declared, That it was now too late to think of suspending that law, for that he had already, in obedience to it, ejected such of his Clergy as would not comply with it, on the Sunday before; and should they now be restored, after they were thus exasperated, he must expect to feel the effects of their resentment, and should never be able to maintain his episcopal authority among such a Clergy, who would not fail to insult him as their enemy, being countenanced by the Court; nor could the resolutions of the Council-board justify his contempt of a law, which had passed with such an unanimous consent, and upon such mature deliberation, of both Houses: Should the sacred authority of this law be now suspended, it would render the Legislature ridiculous and contemptible; and if the importunity of such disaffected people were a sufficient reason to humour them, neither the Church nor State would ever be free from distractions and convulsions. So that, upon the whole, it was carried, that no indulgence at all should be granted (32). Dr Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, has given us a farther account of this matter, which cannot be disagreeable to the reader. 'By this 'seasonable interposition, says his Lordship, the Bi'shop freed the Church of England from these plagues 'for many years. For thus it happened luckily, hap'pily, and prosperously, and indeed very providen'tially, that the Schismaticks entangled themselves in 'their schism by covenant and agreement, entering into 'a new association, being deceived by the large pro'mises of the London Teachers, that they would not 'obey the law, and thence imagining that they should 'defend themselves by their multitude. And whereas 'the Courtiers would have persuaded the King, that 'there would be Preachers wanting in the city of Lon'don, upon that Sunday, the very prudent Bishop of 'that diocese, who had computed the number of the 'faction, had ready at hand an equal number of or'thodox Divines, and those eloquent and learned, 'who, the sign given, did, as it were, come out of 'ambush, and take possession of the pulpits. And 'though from that time the Schismaticks tried all 'their art, that they might be received again into the 'bosom of the Church, yet he guarded every pass and 'avenue with such diligence, that when they saw their 'attempts so often baffled, they at length sat down, 'being no farther troublesome with their schism, than 'barely that they were Schismaticks as long as he 'lived (33).'

(32) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 11.

(33) Hist. of his own Times, p. 33.

[N] *With what degree of justice.*] The account given of this matter by Dr Calamy runs thus. 'He 'was imprisoned *in terrorem*, for preaching occasionally 'after *Bartholomew* day; but soon released, when 'it was seen what a resort of persons of all qualities 'there was to him in Newgate, and how generally 'the severity was resented. Our late Historian re'presents his preaching, at that time, as *seditious*. 'But it was purely occasioned by a disappointment, as 'to the Preacher expected; and the discourse, as I 'have been informed by those that very well knew it 'to be true, was unpremeditated. That hard word, 'therefore, might have been spared. As circumstances 'then were, there might well be a concern stirring for 'serious Religion, which was in no small danger. 'And had this author waved that reflection, his work 'would not have lost any of it's beauty (34).' This reflection of Bishop Kennet's the reader will the better judge of when he sees it in his own words. 'Had he 'taken a practical subject, and kept to it, no notice 'would have been taken of that one occasional neces'sity, as it were, of preaching. But it looked like a 'plot, or formed design, that he should chuse a sub'ject of Eli's *Concern for the Ark of God*; and so ap'plied the danger of the Church and Religion to the 'present times, that he could not be thought less a *se'ditious*, than a *disabled* Preacher (35).' It appears from hence, that it was not either the occasion of his preaching, or the subject, strictly speaking, which induced the Bishop to make use of so harsh a word, but the application. Now to judge of this, recourse must be had to the sermon, which has been printed, and therein two passages have been taken notice of as sufficient to excuse Bishop Kennet's censure, the rather, because zeal in a Prelate is as laudable as in a Pastor of any other communion. The first passage is this: *You have had*, says Mr Calamy, *three famous successors; Dr Taylor for seven years, Dr Stoughton for seven years, and myself, I have been with you almost four and twenty years, and may not God now unchurch you, by suffering you to want a faithful Minister to go in and out before you. This is one reason, upon which account I may safely say, the Ark of God is in danger; and* Aldermanbury *may truly fear the loss of the Ark* (36). The second passage runs thus: *I read that among the Romans, when any man was accused for his life, all his relations put on mourning apparel, and they followed him to his trial in mourning, thereby to shew their love to the party in danger. Now did you love the Gospel, the Ministers of the Gospel, and the ordinances of Christ, you would all put on mourning, and lament for the Gospel, the Ark of God, that is in danger; and because you do not, it is a sign you have no love for the Gospel* (37). But the thing did not end here, for as this commitment was ill taken on one side, so his discharge, by the King's express command, was as warmly resented by the other; for in the next sessions of Parliament, complaint thereof was made in the House of Commons; upon which it was signified to the House, that his release from imprisonment was not owing to the sole command of the King, but to a deficiency in the act of Parliament, that had not fully provided for his longer restraint,

(34) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 7.

(35) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 262.

(36) Sermon at Aldermanbury church Dec. 28, 1662, printed at Oxford, 1663, p. 12.

(37) Ibid. p. 14.

broke his heart, he was driven through the ruins in a coach to Enfield, and was so shocked at the dismal appearance that he could never wear off the impression, but kept his chamber ever after and died, October 29, 1666, within a month after this accident happened (c). He was tho' a very learned man, yet a plain and practical Preacher, and one who was not afraid to speak his sentiments freely of, and to the greatest men, and of this the reader will meet with a remarkable instance in the notes [O]. His writings, tho' they were not numerous, are sufficient to support his reputation, and to make his abilities known to posterity [P]. He was twice married. By his first wife, he had a son and daughter; and by his second, seven children, some of whom we shall have occasion to mention in succeeding articles.

(c) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 39.

restraint. Whereupon there was this entry made in their Journal. *Die Jovis, Febr. 19, 1662. Upon complaint made to this House, that Mr Calamy being committed to prison, upon breach of the act of Uniformity, was discharged upon pretence of some defect in the act*;—Resolved, *That it be referred to a Committee to look into the Act of Uniformity, as to the matter in question, and to see whether the same be defective, and wherein.* And soon after a Committee was appointed, *to bring in the reasons of the House for their advice to the King against a Toleration, with an address to His Majesty.* And so an effectual door was opened to all the rigour and severity that followed (38).

[O] *A remarkable instance in the notes.*] Dr Calamy tells us, that our author, at the time of the Restoration, had the greatest interest in court, city, and country, of any of the Ministers, and therefore extremely caressed at first; but soon saw whither things were tending. Among other evidences of it, this is one: That having General Monk for his auditor in his own church, a little after the Restoration, on a sacrament-day, he had occasion to speak of *filthy lucre*: 'And why, said he, is it called *filthy*, but because it 'makes men do base and *filthy* things? Some men, 'said he, will betray three kingdoms for *filthy lucre's* 'sake.' Saying which, he threw his handkerchief, which he usually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the General's pew (39).

(38) Continuation of the Account of ejected and silenced Ministers, Vol. I. p. 12.

(39) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 6.

[P] *His abilities known to posterity.*] As we have already mentioned several pieces written by him, this note shall only serve as a supplement, and take in those that we have had no opportunity to account for, *viz.* *The great Danger of Covenant-refusing and Covenant-breaking*, &c. preached before the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Ministers, &c. of London, on 2 Tim. iii. 3. printed at London 1646, in 4to. Another preached before the Lord Mayor, entitled, *The Monster of Self-seeking anatomized.* Sermon at St Giles's Morning Exercises on Acts xxvi. 8. Funeral Sermons upon Dr Samuel Bolton, Robert Earl of Warwick, in 1658, Mr Simeon Ashe in 1662. A Sermon to the native citizens of London, entitled, *The City Remembrancer.* A Farewel Sermon on 2 Sam. xxiv. 14. to his parish of St Mary Aldermanbury, Aug. 17. 1662. And five Sermons, entitled, *The Godly Man's Ark, or a City of Refuge in the Day of his Distress*, the 8th edition of which was printed at London, 1683, in 12mo. He had a hand in drawing up the *Vindication of the Presbyterian Government and Ministry*, printed at London 1650; and the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici Anglicani*, printed in 1654. Since his Death, there was a treatise of Meditation printed in a clandestine way, not by his son, nor from his manuscript, but from some imperfect notes taken by an auditor. E

CALAMY (EDMUND) eldest son to the Reverend Mr Edmund Calamy, of whom in the preceding article, was born at Sir Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, about the year 1635. In his junior years he was carefully instructed by his father, and when he had acquired a sufficient fund of learning, he was transferred to the University of Cambridge, where he was entered of Sidney-College, March 28, 1651. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1654-5. Then he removed to Pembroke-Hall, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1658 (a). He became afterwards Fellow of that College; and on April 20, 1659, was presented to the living of Moreton in Essex, which he held till he was removed by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662 (b) [A]. After his ejectment he retired to London, and kept a Meeting privately in his house in Aldermanbury. When King Charles II, published his declaration for Indulgence, he set up a publick Meeting in Currier's Hall, near Cripplegate. But when the Dissenters were again persecuted, he had recourse to his former method; and tho' he was very assiduous in his duty, yet he escaped imprisonment, notwithstanding warrants were frequently out against him; but he had the misfortune with several other of his brethren to fall under a Crown-Office prosecution, which put him to a great deal of trouble and expence (c). As he was a person of much learning and unaffected piety, so he was very careful to avoid whatever might draw upon him the imputation of party. In the earlier part of life he declined taking the Covenant, and through the whole course of it shewed a spirit of moderation and charity agreeable to his calling. He was, tho' a Nonconformist, a man of very free notions, and one who never pretended to confine the Church of Christ within the bounds of any particular sect; he had a great contempt for the goods of this world, and was such a lover of obscurity and retirement, that tho' he was a very able as well as painful Preacher, and was known to have done much good in the space of three and twenty years that he exercised the Ministry in London, yet he would never be prevailed on to appear in print, but satisfied himself with the consciousness of having performed his duty (d). Having thus led a private and peaceable, tho' not a quiet, life, he exchanged it

(a) From the University Register.

(b) Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. Vol. II. p. 424.

(c) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 301.

(d) Continuation of the Account of ejected and silenced Ministers, Vol. II. p. 464.

[A] *By the Act of Uniformity in 1662.*] We have some very curious particulars in relation to this gentleman's acquiring, holding, and losing this living. He was admitted to it by an instrument dated at Whitehall the 20th of April, 1659, setting forth, That he had been presented to the rectory of Moreton in the county of Essex, by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Manchester, John Lord Roberts, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bart. Anthony Tuckney, Doctor in Divinity, Master of St John's College in Cambridge, Simeon Ash, Clerk, and Edmund Calamy, the elder, Clerk, Feoffees in trust of Robert Earl of Warwick, deceased, the patron thereof, and that he had a testimonial of his holy life and good conversation; wherefore he was admitted as the legal incumbent by the Commissioners for approbation of publick Preachers, which instrument is

it for a better in the month of May 1685, being taken off by a consumption. He left behind him a son and four daughters (*e*).

(*e*) From particular information.

is signed by Philip Nye, Register, and sealed with the common seal of the Board beforementioned. He afterwards gave four bonds to the Protector Richard, for the payment of the first fruits and tenths, each bond for nine pounds, the first payable October 1, 1659, and the last April 1, 1661. He shewed his loyalty to King Charles II. by contributing freely to the benevolence in 1661, yet this did not hinder his being turned out, in the year following, for Nonconformity (1). E

(1) Calamy's Continuation of the Account of ejected and silenced Ministers, Vol I. p. 461, 462, 463, 464.

CALAMY (BENJAMIN) an eminent Divine of the Church of England, in the XVIIth Century. He was the son of the famous Mr Edmund Calamy, Minister of Aldermanbury beforementioned, by a second wife, and received the first tincture of learning at St Paul's School, from whence he was sent when very young to the University of Cambridge, and there entered of Catherine-Hall. In the year 1654-5, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in 1668, that of Master of Arts, and became also Fellow of that Hall, and a very eminent Tutor there. April 25, 1677, he was chosen in the room of Dr Simon Ford, Minister of St Mary Aldermanbury; and soon after appointed one of His Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary. In 1680, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity (*a*). In 1683, he preached in that church his famous sermon, which he afterwards published under the title of, *A Discourse about a scrupulous Conscience*, of which we may truly say, that never any piece of it's kind or size, gained more credit to it's author, or was more taken notice of by the publick (*b*) [*A*]. This sermon he preached a second time at Bow Church with great effect, and this excited a zealous Nonconformist, one Mr Thomas De Laune, who had been formerly a schoolmaster, to write against it, which he did in such a manner as drew upon him a fatal imprisonment, which he endeavoured by all means to ascribe to Dr Calamy, tho' his complaints on this head had little or no foundation (*c*) [*B*]. In 1683, he was admitted to the Vicarage of St Lawrence

(*a*) From the University Register.

(*b*) The title at large ran thus: A Discourse about a doubting Conscience, preached at the parish church of St Mary Aldermanbury, London, by Benjamin Calamy, D. D. one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, London, 1683, 4to.

(*c*) See Delaune's Narrative mention'd in note [*B*].

[*A*] *More taken notice of by the publick*] This sermon is in every respect very extraordinary. In the title page, we have this motto from a piece of Mr Baxter's. 'Consider this, it is the judgment of some, that thousands are gone to hell, and ten thousands upon their march thither, that in all probability had never come there, if they had not been tempted from the parish churches, for the enjoyment of communion in a purer Church (1).' It was dedicated to Sir George Jefferies, Knight and Baronet, Chief Justice of Chester, afterwards Lord Jefferies and High-Chancellor of England. And in this dedication there are some very singular passages. In the first place, he acknowledges Sir George for his patron, and professes, that it was by his interest and favour he was placed in this parish. He then proceeds thus: 'Upon how many this plain, homely discourse may have good effect, I cannot guess: how many it will anger and displease, I am not at all concerned: and tho' I may be thought by some ill advised, in publishing such a sermon, yet every one will commend and justify my discretion in prefixing your name before it; for so great an awe have the enemies of our Church and government of your Loyalty and fidelity to both, of your undaunted zeal and activity for both, that they will not dare loudly to condemn what you are pleased to protect. They will be justly afraid of quarelling with me, when they know I have engaged you on my side. I am very sensible, that in the age we live, some are so extraordinary wise and wary, as to censure and discourage all men that speak roundly and act vigorously for the King and Church, as being more forward and busy than is needful; but I am also as sensible, that if some men had not shewn more courage and honesty than those prudent persons, both would have been by this time in far greater danger, than at this present, thanks be to God, they are. For my own part no one is more favourable to a truly tender conscience than myself, let it be as nice and scrupulous as it can well, so it be about the substantial matters of piety towards God, justice between man and man, due obedience to superiors, and when it makes us more exactly careful of our undoubted duty in all instances: but when men are scrupulous only on one side, about things commanded by lawful authority, and make no scruple of disobedience, schism, faction, and division; when men set up their private humour, fancy, or opinion, in opposition to established laws; when they become peevish, pragmatical, and ungovernerable; nay, when men's consciences prove so generally tender and scrupulous, as to doubt of and suspect the rights of the Crown (for that conscience that is so tender against the Church, is also usually as tender against the King) such wayward, skittish consciences ought to be well bridled and restrained, or else they will be not only intolerably troublesome, but extreamly mischievous, both to Church and State.' The sermon itself is very warm in the cause of Conformity, and perhaps there never were more arguments used, or those better prosecuted, than we meet in this discourse. At the end of it, we find the following quotation, from a book of his father's, to shew, that such as were Nonconformists then, were zealous for Conformity, when themselves were in possession of the churches, the passage is this. 'Take heed of separating from the publick assemblies of the Saints. I have found by experience, that all our Church calamities have sprung from this root. He that separates from the publick worship, is like a man tumbling down a hill, and never leaving till he comes to the bottom of it. I could relate many sad stories of persons professing godliness, who out of dislike to our Church meetings, began at first to separate from them, and after many changes and alterations, are turned, some of them Anabaptists, some Quakers, some Ranters, some direct Atheists. But I forbear; your must hold communion with all those Churches with which Christ holds communion. You must separate from the sins of Christians, but not from the ordinances of Christ. Take heed of unchurching the Churches of Christ, lest you prove Schismaticks instead of being true Christians (2).' Whoever peruses this discourse and considers the time in which it was published, and the nature of these arguments from their own writers, will easily discern the causes of that spirit which was raised against Dr Calamy, on account of his preaching it. A spirit perhaps, that nothing could have overcome but the innocency of his life, his readiness to converse with the worthiest men of all parties, and his willingness to do good to such as differed from him in opinion.

(1) Ep. to separate Congregation.

(2) Godly Man's Ark in the Ep. Ded. to the parish of Aldermanbury.

[*B*] *Had little or no foundation.*] The title of this book runs thus, De Laune's *Plea for the Nonconformists; shewing the true State of their Case, and how far the* Conformist's *Separation from the Church of Rome, for their Popish Superstitions*, &c. *introduced into the Service of God, justifies the* Nonconformist's *Separation from them for the same. In a Letter to Dr* Benjamin Calamy, *upon the Sermon called,* Scrupulous Conscience, *inviting hereto, To which is added,* A PARALLEL SCHEME OF THE PAGAN, PAPAL, AND CHRISTIAN RITES AND CEREMONIES. To this there is added, another piece, intituled, *A Narrative of the Tryal*

Lawrence Jewry, with St Mary Magdalen Milk-street, annexed, to which he was collated by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, in the room of Dr Benjamin Whichcot. June 18, 1685, he was on the deceafe of Dr John Wells, inftalled into the Prebend of Harlefton, in the Cathedral Church of St Paul (*d*). Thefe preferments are abundant proofs of his merit and of his great intereft in the city of London, which he maintained not by attaching himfelf to any party, but by living in great intimacy with the beft men of all parties. He was particularly acquainted with Alderman Cornifh, who was his parifhioner, and for whom he had fo great a refpect, that he gave teftimony in his favour when he was tried for High-Treafon, October 16, 1685, which was no ordinary mark of friendfhip in thofe times (*e*) [*C*]. It is thought, that a fenfe of publick calamities had a great fhare in bringing his laft illnefs upon our author, who fell into a declining ftate in the autumn of the year laft mentioned, and died of a pleuritic fever in the month of January 1686. He was a man equally valuable for the abilities which he poffeffed, and the ufes to which he applied them. He was a fincere fon of the Church of England, and pioufly intent on gaining over Diffenters of all forts to her Communion; but withal he had an extenfive charity, and a juft averfion to perfecution. He was heartily loyal, but without bitternefs or paffion, and his loyalty occafioned his grief, when he faw thofe fteps taken which

(*d*) Newcourt's Repert. Ecclef. Vol. I. p. 388, 155.

(*e*) See the cafe of Alderman Cornifh.

Tryal and Sufferings of Thomas De Laune, *for writing, printing, and publifhing a late book called,* A Plea for the Nonconformifts, *with fome modeft Reflections thereon. Directed to Dr Calamy; in obedience to whofe Call that work was undertaken.* By Thomas De Laune. *Printed for the Author* 1683. In this warm book, the author takes it all along for granted, that Dr Calamy's printing his fermon, was a challenge to the Nonconformifts in general, and to every man who thought himfelf able to defend Nonconformity in particular, though there is certainly nothing in the fermon which can warrant fuch an opinion. The book is wrote too in very fierce language, and a high charge of idolatry is brought againft the Church. After the letter, follows another fhort treatife, bearing the title of, *The Image of the Beaft; fhewing by a parallel or Scheme, what a Conformift the Church of Rome is to the Pagan, and what a Nonconformift to the Chriftian Church, in it's Rites, Service, and Ceremonies, the better to exemplify the true and falfe Church. By T. D.* For the publifhing this book, he was taken into cuftody, on November 29, 1683, and the next day committed to Newgate by a warrant from Sir Thomas Jenner, then Recorder of London. After his commitment, he wrote a long letter to Dr Calamy, wherein, after having often told him, that he wrote in obedience to his call, and that he was imprifoned entirely on his account, he concludes thus. 'As truth feeks no corners, nor fuborners, and as real beauty will not be beholden to the artificial dawbings of a pencil; fo the Chriftian Religion (where profeffed in it's naked fimplicity) needs no other argument to beget profelytes, than it's own lovely and illuftrious features, altogether plain, honeft, and every way amiable, void of all meretricious gawdery, or that majeftical pomp, which pleafes only the external fenfe. I have no malignity againft any perfon whatfoever, much lefs againft your Church, or any of it's members; all I defire is, that fcrupulous confciences, who trouble not the peace of the nation, fhould be dealt withal (at leaft) as weak brethren, according to Rom. xiv. 1. and not ruined by penalties, for not fwallowing what is impofed under the notion of decency and order, tho' excentrick to the fcheme we have of it in our only rule of faith. Sir, I entreat you to excufe this trouble from a ftranger, who would fain be convinced by fomething more like Divinity than Newgate, where any meffage from you fhall be welcome to your humble fervant, T. D (3).' To this epiftle, Mr De Laune tells us, Dr Calamy anfwered, if he has been imprifoned on account of anfwering my book, I will do him any fervice that becomes me. Some other letters he fent him, to pretty near the fame purpofe, which did not hinder his being tried at the Old Bayly for a Libel, on the 16th of January following, and upon conviction he was fined one hundred marks, ordered to find fecurity for a year, and his book to be burnt before Royal Exchange. By which fatal fentence, himfelf, his wife, and children perifhed in Newgate, no body caring to lay down feventy-five pounds for him, tho' he was a man of much knowledge and learning (4). His fufferings gave very great concern to Dr Calamy, who was a man of much humanity, and he did all he could to ferve him; but it not appearing that his book was more an anfwer to Dr Calamy than to Dr Stillingfleet, or any other writer in defence of Conformity, and as the Doctor's words were ftrangely wrefted and abufed in his Narrative, Dr Calamy's charitable applications which were hearty and frequent had the lefs weight.

(3) Delaune's Narrative, p. 59.

(4) Obfervator, Vol. II, No. 95.

[*C*] *No ordinary marks of friendfhip at that time.*] The cafe of Alderman Cornifh is very well known, and the violence with which he was treated even at his trial. He thought it neceffary there to prove his being a Churchman, and not an Occafional Conformift. With this view he would have called Dr Sharp then Dean of Norwich, or Dr Tillotfon then Dean of Canterbury, but neither thought proper to appear; he had then recourfe to Dr Calamy. The circumftances of the thing are very remarkable, and therefore we will confider the whole paffage as it ftands in the printed trial.

'*Mr Cornifh.* My Lord, I defire I may have the Minifter of the parifh, *Dr Calamy*, for my conftancy at my parifh-church, and receiving the Sacrament, according to the rites of the Church of *England*; that I am, to all appearance, a perfon that does as well affect the government as any man. L. C. J. *Jones.* I doubt you are all appearance. *Dr Calamy.* My knowledge of Mr *Cornifh* hath been fince I came to be Minifter of the parifh, which is about two years, a little above two years; whenever he was in town he did ufe to come to church as conftantly as any one, and come with his family to prayers, and did come to the Sacrament; and he did not only come at *Eafter*, to fave himfelf from a prefentment, but at our monthly communion; and fince I have been Minifter of the place, I have often converfed with him: All that I can fay, is, that I never heard him fay a difrefpectful word of the government. L. C. J. *Jones.* I hope he took you to be a man of another kidney? *Dr Calamy.* I marked his words, becaufe of the character I had heard of him. Mr *Att. Gen.* Pray what was the character he had before thofe two years? *Dr Calamy.* That was what was publick (5).' The Chief Juftice, in fumming up this part of the evidence, obferved to the Jury, that Mr Cornifh laid great ftrefs on his being a Churchman, of which he had given no evidence beyond two years, which being fince the trial of the Lord Ruffel, it was to be prefumed he took up this character as a thing neceffary then to purge off fufpicions. Mr Cornifh objected to this, that he had been a conftant Churchman for feven years, but that Dr Calamy could fpeak only fince the time of his coming into the parifh, his predeceffor, Dr Whichcot, being dead. After Mr Cornifh received fentence of death, Dr Calamy vifited him in Newgate, but excufed himfelf from attending him at the place of execution, by faying plainly, that, *He could as well die with him, as behold his death in fuch circumftances.* Dr Calamy forbore not ufing all the intereft he had to fave him, to the very laft, and upon this occafion it is reported that Sir George Jefferies fhould have given him this anfwer: *Dear Doctor, fet your heart at reft, and give yourfelf no further trouble, for I can affure you, that if you could offer a mine of gold as deep as the Monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the flames at the top of it, it would not purchafe his life* (6).

(5) Trial of Hen. Cornifh, Efq; &c. London, printed for Geo. Croom, 1685. Collection of State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 153.

(6) General Dict. Vol. IV. p. 23.

which could end in nothing but publick confusion. His own virtues however exempted him in a great measure from envy and scandal, even in the worst of times, insomuch, that the greatest men of all sects and all parties amongst us, readily joyned in paying a just tribute of praise to his memory (f) [D]. Tho' few in his situation were either better or more frequent Preachers, yet he left behind him very little in print. Some sermons of his were after his decease published by his brother, which served only to raise a greater regret in the world, for the loss of so worthy a person, and of so many of his excellent performances as were buried in oblivion. His sermons are still valued as well for the beauty of their language as the excellent sentiments contained in them [E].

(f) Appendix to the third Vol. of Echard's Hist. p. 21.

[D] *A just tribute of praise to his memory.*] His Funeral Sermon was preached by Dr William Sherlock, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, January 7, 1685-6. In this sermon the Doctor tells us that, 'when a prevailing faction threatened both Church and State, and the fears of Popery were thought a sufficient justification of the most illegal and irreligious methods to keep it out; when it was scandalous to speak a word either for the King or the Church; when cunning men were silent, and those who affected popularity, swam with the stream; then this great and good man durst reform Schism and Faction; durst teach men to conform to the Church, and to obey and honour the King; durst vindicate the despised Church of England, and the hated doctrine of Passive Obedience, though one was thought to favour Popery, and the other to introduce slavery. But he was above the powerful charms of names, and liked Truth never the worse because it was miscalled. His publick sermons preached in those days, and printed by publick authority, are lasting proofs of this; and yet he was no Papist neither, but durst reprove the errors of Popery, when some others, who made the greatest noise and outcry about it, grew wise and cautious. This was like a truly honest and faithful servant, to oppose the growing distempers of the age, without any regard either to unjust censures, or apparent danger (7). And yet he did not needlesly provoke any man; he gave no hard words, but thought it severe enough to confute mens errors, without upbraiding or reproaching their persons. His conversation was courteous and affable to all men; soft and easy, as his principles were stubborn. He could yield any thing but the truth, and bear with any thing but the vices of men. He would, indeed, have been the wonder of his age, had he not lived in such an age, as, thanks be to God, can shew many such wonders; and yet, in such an age as this, he made an illustrious figure. Though he had his equals, he had not many superiors (8). Thus he lived, and thus this good man died, for thus was he found doing when his Lord came.' Dr Basil Kennet, in his Preface to the Translation of the Critical Works of M. Rapin, gives us, at once, a fine panegyrick on our author and Dean Sherlock. He is speaking there of the eloquence of the English pulpit, which leads him to this observation. 'As this age applauds the unexhausted store of things and words in Dr Barrow, the next will acknowledge that one of his learned successors began the reputation of Mr Boyle's Lecture. The refined thought, and choice manner, which we admire in the writings of the late Dean of Sarum, those who come after us will affirm to have been continued in other ornaments of the same Church. Nor will the respect which is so justly paid to the clear vein of argument, and excellent spirit of Dr Calamy, be denied to the natural persuasiveness, the easy and popular reason, of the friend who performed the good office at his funeral.' The celebrated Mr Anthony Wood styles Dr Calamy *a loyal person, an excellent preacher, and a zealous man for the Church of England* (9). Archdeacon Echard speaks of him thus: 'His sermons seem to have been composed for the generality of mankind, in which there is both strength and perspicuity, and discover a genius able to penetrate into the secret recesses of human nature, for which he was particularly observed by King Charles's Court, when he preached at Newmarket. Wherefore it is a pity that we have no more of them in print (10).' Bishop Burnet reckons him with Tennison, Sharpe, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Clagget, Cudworth, Williams, and many others, of whom he says, that 'though he knew them not so particularly as to give all their characters, yet they deserved a high one, and were, indeed, an honour both to the Church, and to the age, in which they lived (11).' In the *History of Passive Obedience* we find a great variety of passages from his sermons (12), and as that book is composed chiefly from the works of our most eminent Divines, it proves him to be such in the opinion of it's compilers.

(7) Page 30, 31.

(8) Ibid. p. 31.

(9) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 282.

(10) Appendix to the three Volumes of his Hist. of England, p. 21.

(11) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 462.

(12) Said to be printed at Amsterdam, 1689, 4to, p. 122.

[E] *As the excellent sentiments contained in them.*] The pieces printed in his life-time were these. 1. A Sermon preached at Guildhall, on Tit. iii. 8, 9. London 1673, in 4to. 2. A Sermon preached at Guildhall, on John v. 14. before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, May 29. London 1682, in 4to. 3. A Discourse about a scrupulous Conscience, preached at St Mary Aldermanbury, on Luke xi. 41. London 1683, in 4to. 2d edit. 4. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at Guildhall chapel, Sept. 30. 1683, on Rom. iii. 8. London 1683, in 4to. 5. A Sermon preached at St Mary le Bow before the Artillery-Company, on Matt. xxvi. 52. London 1684, in 4to. 6. A Sermon preached at St Mary le Bow before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, Sept. 2. 1684, being the Anniversary-fast for the fire of London, on Isa. lvii. 21. 7. A Thanksgiving-sermon, on Eccles. x. 20. There was a volume of posthumous Sermons, in number thirteen, published by his brother, of whom we are to speak in the next article, with his Funeral Sermon, by Dr Sherlock, prefixed. This volume has run through a great many editions, and has at this day as many admirers as when it was first published. E

CALAMY (JAMES) son to Edmund Calamy, B. D. beforementioned, by a second wife, and younger brother to Dr Benjamin Calamy, of whom in the preceding article. He was educated at Catherine-Hall in the University of Cambridge, where, in 1672, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1676, that of Master (a). Having received holy Orders and being highly considered on account of his father's reputation, he was presented to the Rectory of Northill in Bedfordshire, where he continued till the year 1707, when he was presented by his intimate friend, Dr Blackall, Bishop of Exeter, to that of Cheriton-Bishops in Devonshire; and had at the same time a Prebend in the Church of Exeter bestowed on him. He was a man of great learning, but much greater modesty, which is the reason that he left nothing behind him in print, except his Dedication of his brother's sermons. He led a single life, and on December 14, 1714, was surprized by a sudden death (b). E

(a) From the University Register.

(b) From particular information.

CALAMY (Edmund) a very eminent Divine among the Nonconformiſts, grandſon to Mr Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Aldermanbury, by his eldeſt ſon, Mr Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Moreton in Eſſex (*a*). He was born at his father's houſe in Aldermanbury, April 5, 1671, and after acquiring a competent portion of learning in ſeveral private ſchools, and at Merchant-Taylor's, under the celebrated Mr Hartcliffe, he removed to a private Academy at Wickham-Brook in Suffolk. There he was under the tuition of Mr Samuel Cradock, a very eminent and worthy perſon, who had been Fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and by whoſe aſſiſtance Mr Calamy went through a courſe of Logick, Natural Philoſophy, and Metaphyſicks (*b*). He ſtudied with ſuch diligence as to merit particular marks of favour from Mr Cradock, as before from Mr Hartcliffe; and by his natural ſweetneſs of temper and great candour in converſation, he eſtabliſhed ſuch friendſhips with his contemporaries, as were both uſeful and honourable to him in the ſucceeding part of his life (*c*) [*A*]. In March 1688, being juſt turned of ſeventeen, he went over to the Univerſity of Utrecht, where he ſtudied Pholoſophy under De Vries, Civil Law under Vander Muyden, both celebrated Profeſſors, and attended the Lectures of the moſt learned Grævius, upon Sophocles and Puffendorf's Introduction. Here Mr Calamy purſued his ſtudies with ſtill greater diligence than before, making it a rule with him to ſpend one whole night in a week amongſt his books (*d*). His application and proficiency recommended him to the favour of all who knew him there, and eſpecially to the notice and friendſhip of two of his countrymen, who came afterwards to fill very high ſtations, both in Church and State [*B*]. By degrees his abilities gained him ſo great reputation, that the famous Mr William Carſtairs, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, invited him to accept of a Profeſſor's chair in that kingdom, having himſelf been ſent over to Holland on purpoſe to find a perſon qualified for ſuch an office. But Mr Calamy declined this offer, and ſoon after returned into England (*e*). On his arrival, he went firſt to Oxford, carrying with him, letters from Profeſſor Grævius to Dr Pocock, Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, and to Dr Edward Bernard, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in that Univerſity. Theſe worthy perſons received him with great civility, and obtained leave for him to proſecute his ſtudies in the Bodleian library. He made the utmoſt uſe of this and all the other advantages he enjoyed at Oxford, particularly the improving converſation of the moſt learned Mr Henry Dodwell, with whom he was intimately acquainted (*f*). Mr Calamy had by this time determined to apply himſelf particularly to Divinity, which he did with great ſteadineſs and induſtry. After ſtudying the Scriptures thoroughly and acquiring conſiderable knowledge in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory and the works of the primitive Fathers, he began to enquire into later controverſies, particularly, that between the Church of England and the Nonconformiſts, and after a long and ſober examination of what had been written on both ſides, he reſolved to join himſelf to the latter. In conſequence of this, choice he preached ſometimes in Oxford, and more frequently in the adjacent villages, till in the year 1692, he was invited to aſſiſt Mr Matthew Sylveſter at his meeting-houſe in Black-Friars (*g*). There he continued to preach two years before he received Preſbyterian Ordination. At length, on June 22, 1694, he was ordained at Dr Anneſley's Meeting-houſe in Little St Helens (*h*). He was ſoon after invited to become aſſiſtant to Mr Daniel Williams in Hand-alley. October 20, 1702, he was appointed one of the Lecturers at Sadler's Hall; and in 1703, he was choſen to ſucceed Mr Vincent Alſop, as Paſtor of a great congregation in Weſtminſter (*i*). He had recommended himſelf in a very particular manner to the whole Diſſenting intereſt, firſt by the care he had taken in publiſhing Mr Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, and then in making a very uſeful Abridgment of it, which he afterwards improved into a much larger and more valuable work [C]. This however expoſed him to ſome attacks, in which his book was treated

(*a*) As appears by the foregoing article.

(*b*) Funeral Sermon upon the Death of Edmund Calamy, D. D. with ſome Account of his Life and Character by Daniel Mayo, M. A. p. 20.

(*c*) See theſe points more fully explained in the notes.

(*d*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 21.

(*e*) From the Account given by Mr Carſtairs himſelf.

(*f*) See the article DODWELL (Henry) in this Dictionary.

(*g*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 23.

(*h*) See his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 635.

(*i*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 24.

[*A*] *In the ſucceeding part of his life.*] At Merchant-Taylors ſchool he entered into a cloſe friendſhip with Mr Dawes (1), afterwards Sir William Dawes, and Archbiſhop of York; as alſo with Mr Hugh Boulter the late Primate of Ireland, and a moſt worthy perſon. At Wickham-Brook he became acquainted with Mr Timothy Godwin, one eminent in all kinds of learning, but eſpecially for his knowledge of the Greek tongue, at that time he was deſigned for the ſtudy of Phyſick, but his inclinations took afterwards another turn, and he applied himſelf ſo happily to Divinity, that he roſe by degrees to the Archbiſhoprick of Caſhel. With theſe great men he ever after maintained his friendſhip as long as he, and they, lived, which is a very full proof of his merit, as the contracting ſuch acquaintances is a high inſtance of his penetration and judgment. A perſon of leſs ſagacity would not have diſcovered theſe ſeeds of worth in them; and a man of leſs honour or integrity would have forfeited their eſteem, eſpecially if the wide difference in their opinions be conſidered.

(1) From the Funeral Sermon cited in the text, p. 20.

[*B*] *Very high ſtations in Church and State.*] Theſe were Charles Lord Spencer, afterwards the famous Earl of Sunderland, who was long Secretary of State in the reign of Queen Anne, afterwards held the ſame poſt in the reign of King George I. till he was made Preſident of the Council, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Prime-Miniſter; and Mr Charles Trimnell, then tutor to Lord Spencer, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Norwich and Wincheſter. With theſe he maintained his friendſhip as long as they lived (2).

(2) Id. ib. p. 21.

[*C*] *A much larger and more valuable work.*] The Hiſtory of this celebrated performance runs thus. In 1696, it was thought proper to put to the preſs his Narrative of the moſt memorable Paſſages of his Life and Times, a large folio; to render which more uſeful, our author drew up the Table of Contents, made ſome remarks on the Work itſelf, and added to it an Index. This led him to reflect ſeriouſly on the authority and uſefulneſs of the book; and to ſee the expediency of continuing it, for Mr Baxter's Hiſtory came no lower than 1684. Upon this plan Mr Calamy, with great induſtry and labour, compoſed the piece of which we are now ſpeaking, and publiſhed it under the following title: *An Abridgment of Mr Baxter's* Hiſtory of his Life and Times. *With an Account of many others of thoſe worthy Miniſters who were ejected after the Reſtoration of King Charles II. Their Apology for them-*

ſelves

treated with great marks of deference and respect. In his answers, Mr Calamy shewed the highest regard to decency and to the dignity of his subject, so that very few disputes of this nature have been managed with greater clearness and strength of argument, or with less offence [*D*]. His reputation being much increased by the skill and learning he had shewn in this dispute, he was invited into Scotland, whither he went in 1709, and was entertained wherever he came with the highest remarks of respect, and had the dignity of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him by the Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow (*k*). In 1718, he wrote a Vindication of his grandfather and several other worthy persons, against the reflections thrown upon them by Mr Archdeacon Echard, in his History (*l*) [*E*]. In 1728, he compleated his great design of preserving the History of such Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges, *&c.* as were ejected and silenced after the Restoration. A work of prodigious industry and labour, and which is alone sufficient to transmit his memory with honour to posterity, as it has supplied the learned world with a noble collection of memoirs, which otherwise in all probability had been dissipated and lost (*m*) [*F*]. He distinguished himself by many other learned and useful writings, as well as by a constant and painful Ministry, which made his loss greatly regretted, not only by the Dissenters but also by the moderate members of the established Church, both clergy and laity, with many of whom he lived in great intimacy. He died, June 3, 1732, in the sixtieth year of his age, having been twice married, and leaving six children behind him (*n*). His funeral sermon was preached by Mr Daniel Mayo (*o*), in which he has given us a great and very deserved character of Dr Calamy, *viz.* that he was a person of sound judgment, extensive learning, sincere piety, of a candid and

(*k*) Ibid. p. 26.

(*l*) See a farther Account of this Work in the notes.

(*m*) See his Prefaces to the first and third Volume of his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter.

(*n*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 28, 29.

(*o*) Printed at London, 1732, in October.

selves and their Adherents; containing the Grounds of their Nonconformity and Practice, as to stated and occasional Communion with the Church of England; and a Continuation of their History till the Year 1691. *By* Edmund Calamy, *Edm. Fil. & Nepos.* London 1702, 8vo. This work made a great noise in the world, and as it gave offence to some, so it gave great satisfaction to others; insomuch that, as it's author tells us, he received thanks for it from several quarters, and such notices and helps towards compleating his design, that he had quickly materials enough for a second edition, which he afterwards published, and in the Preface thereto, gives us the following account of alterations and additions. 'In this second edition, besides several not inconsiderable marginal additions all along by way of confirmation and elucidation; and an account of several controversial writings on both sides, inserted in their proper places, and remarks on those passages in the third volume of *the Compleat History of* England, in folio, which unkindly reflect on the persons, or cause, of the Nonconformists, there is a continuation of the History through King *William*'s reign, and Queen *Anne*'s, down to the passing the *Occasional Bill* the last year. These additions make up a full third part of the present volume. They contain, among other things, some account of the concessions of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1689; the carriage of the Dissenters after their liberty, their differences among themselves, and their treatment from their brethren of the *Church of England*: The whole controversy about *Occasional Conformity*: The differences of those of the Established Church among themselves, about the nature, power, and privileges of Convocations, *&c.* with a faithful representation of the substance of several treatises about *Toleration, Church-power, Liberty,* and divers *Ecclesiastical Matters,* that were published from 1688 to 1711. And, in the close, I have subjoined the *Reformed Liturgy,* which was drawn up and presented to the Bishops in 1661; that the world may judge how fairly the ejected Ministers have been often represented as irreconcileable enemies to all *Liturges.*' This edition he published in 1713, in two volumes 8vo, and dedicated it to the then Duke of Devonshire, to whom, when Marquis of Hartington, he had dedicated the first edition.

[*D*] *Or with less offence.*] 'Mr Ollyffe in 1703, published his *Defence of Ministerial Conformity to the Church of England, in answer to the Misrepresentations of the Terms thereof, by* Mr Calamy, *in the* 10*th Chapter of his* Abridgment of the History of Mr Baxter's Life and Times. London. 8vo. pag. 147. And the same year Mr Hoadley published his *Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England, represented to the dissenting Ministers; in answer to the* 10*th Chapter of Mr* Calamy's Abridgment of Mr Baxter's History of his Life and Times. London 1703. 8vo. pag. 160. And soon after appeared the *Second Part of his Reasonableness of Conformity.* London 1703. 8vo. pag. 232. In answer to these treatises, Mr Calamy published the same year, *A Defence of moderate Nonconformity; in answer to the Reflections of Mr* Ollyffe *and Mr* Hoadley, *on the* 10*th Chapter of the* Abridgment *of the* Life *of the Reverend Mr* Richard Baxter, *Part* I. *with a Postscript, containing some Remarks on a Tract of Mr* Dorrington's, *entitled,* The Dissenting Ministry in Religion censured and condemned from the Holy Scriptures. London 1703. 8vo. pag. 261. Some passages in this book, relating to Re-ordination, were animadverted upon, in a *Preservative against Separation from the Church of England, wherein the Unlawfulness of it is proved, and the chief Objections of the Dissenters answered. Directed to his Parishioners. By* Solomon Pagis, *Rector of Farnborow in Somersetshire.* London, 1704. 8vo. Soon after appeared Mr Hoadley's *Serious Admonition to Mr* Calamy, *occasioned by the* first part *of his* Defence of moderate Nonconformity. London 1703. 8vo. pag. 54. The year following Mr Calamy published the *Second Part* of his *Defence of moderate Nonconformity,* &c. *with an Introduction about the true State of the present Controversy between the Church and Dissenters; and a Postscript, containing an Answer to Mr* Hoadley's Serious Admonition, *and some Remarks on a Letter of a nameless Author, said to be* a congregational Minister in the country. London 1704. 8vo. pag. 414. and afterwards the *third Part* of his *Defence; to which are added, Three Letters, one to Mr* Ollyffe, *in answer to his* Second Defence on Ministerial Conformity: *Another to Mr* Hoadley, *in answr to his* Defence of the Reasonableness of Conformity; *and a third to the author from Mr* Rastrick *of Lynn in Norfolk, giving an account of his Nonconformity.* London 1705. 8vo. In 1707 Mr Hoadley published his *Defence of Episcopal Ordination,* in 8vo.' To this piece our author drew up a Reply, both as to the argumentative and historical part of it, but forbore printing it, as himself tells us (3), that he might not give his antagonist any disturbance in the pursuit of that political contest, in which he was so happily engaged, and so much to the satisfaction of the true lovers of his country.

(3) Abridgment of Baxter's Life Vol. I. p. 715.

[*E*] *By Mr Archdeacon Echard in his history.*] The title of this piece at large runs thus. *A Letter to Mr Archdeacon* Echard, *upon occasion of his* History of England; *wherein the true Principles of the Revolution are defended; the Whigs and Dissenters vindicated; several Persons of Distinction cleared from Aspersions; and a Number of Historical Mistakes rectified.* London 1718. 8vo. To this piece there was an answer written, which, however, did not appear weighty enough to make a Reply necessary, and so the dispute dropt.

[*F*] *Had been dissipated and lost.*] The entire Title of this great work is this. *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows,* of

and benevolent temper, and very moderate with regard to differences in point of Religion.

of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were ejected and silenced after the Restoration in 1660, by, or before, the Act for Uniformity. To which is added, The Church and Dissenters compared as to Persecution, in some Remarks of Dr Walker's *attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy that were sequestered, &c. between 1640 and 1660. And also some free Remarks on the twenty-eighth Chapter of Dr* Bennet's *Essay on the XXXIX Articles of Religion.* In two volumes. London 1727. E

CALDERWOOD (David) a very famous Divine of the Church of Scotland, and a very eminent writer in behalf of the Presbyterians, in the beginning of the XVIth century. It is not a little strange, considering the great figure our author made in his own time, and the high reputation his writings have been in since his death, that we find no mention made of him by such as have professed a desire of preserving the memories of eminent men of that country. All we are able to learn of him, is, that he descended from a very good family in that kingdom, and being from his youth designed for the Ministry, he applied himself with great diligence to the study of Divinity, more especially to that of the Scriptures in their original tongues, with the assistance of the best commentaries, the works of the Fathers, the Councils; and the best writers on Church-History antient and modern (*a*). His great learning, even when he was but a young man, rendered him highly esteemed, as his warm zeal for the established Church of Scotland, as it then stood without Bishops, made him extremely welcome to most of the Ministers; so that he was settled about the year 1604, at Crelling, not far from Jedburgh, in the South of Scotland (*b*), where, by a very regular and unblameable life, as well as a very pious and diligent application to the duties of his function, he became much beloved and greatly reverenced by all such as concurred with him in opinion. King James the VIth of that country, and First of Great Britain, being inclined to bring the Church of Scotland to a conformity with that of England, at least as near as possible, laboured earnestly to restore the episcopal authority, and to enlarge the power of the Bishops that were then in that kingdom (*c*). Against this many of the Ministers set themselves with great heat and vehemence, and none more earnestly than Mr David Calderwood, who at the time Mr James Law, then Bishop of Orkney, came to visit the Presbyteries of the Merse and Tiviotdale, declined his jurisdiction, by a paper under his hand, dated May 5, 1608 (*d*), which was the first publick mark he gave of that opposition, which he afterwards supported with so much warmth, and which was the occasion of all his subsequent troubles and misfortunes. The King, who was strongly bent on the carrying his design into execution, made use, for that purpose, of the Earl of Dunbar, then Lord High-Treasurer of Scotland, whom he sent into that kingdom, attended by Dr Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and two other Divines, with instructions to take all imaginable pains, to persuade both the Ministry and Laity, of his Majesty's sincere desire to promote the good of the Church, and of his zeal for the Protestant religion (*e*). The Divines, before mentioned, discharged their duty with all the industry imaginable, and the Lord Treasurer showed his fidelity to his Master, by doing all that was possible for him to do in promoting this great work, for which he hath been transmittd in very different lights to posterity (*f*) [*A*] It does not appear that Mr Calderwood assisted

(*a*) See the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland.

(*b*) Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 491, 573.

(*c*) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 500. History of the Presbyterians, p. 280, 281.

(*d*) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 573.

(*e*) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 510.

(*f*) See this point fully explained in the notes.

[*A*] *For which he hath been transmitted, in very different lights, to posterity.*] This great Statesman, and able Minister, George Hume Earl of Dunbar, was not only in great favour with the King his master, but stood much better with the English nation than almost any of the King's countrymen beside. It was for this reason that the King created him, first, Baron Hume of Berwick, which was an English honour (1), and afterwards Earl of Dunbar in Scotland; and as he was Lord High-Treasurer of this kingdom, so he was, at the same time, Chancellor of the Exchequer in England (2). He was looked upon as the only man capable of managing Church affairs in Scotland, and was therefore sent down Commissioner, in 1606, to the Assembly that was held at Lithlingow; he also held a Parliament at Perth, and his conduct there is, by a Reverend Prelate (3), much commended. At this time he procured the settling constant Moderators, which was a great step to the restoring episcopal authority: but Sir James Balfour (4) tells us, that his Lordship distributed the sum of forty thousand marks amongst the most needy, and the most clamorous, of the Ministers, and thereby carried this point, as appeared afterwards in his accounts. But however he carried it, it highly recommended him to his master, who sent him down again to Scotland in 1608, where he did him further service, for which he was, on his return, made Knight of the Garter. In 1610, he went down the third time to compleat his work, and upon his coming back to Court, had many acknowledgments made him, both by the King and by the Clergy. But if we may trust Mr Calderwood, in the midst of all his prosperity, one of the great men of his party foretold his end; his account of the matter runs thus (5). 'A little after the 'Assembly holden at Glasgow, James Colvine, a Scot-'tish gentleman, visiting Mr Andrew Melvine in the 'Tower, found him so pensive and melancholy, that 'he got no speech of him for a space: at length he 'brake forth in these words: *That man* (meaning '*Dunbar*) *that hath overthrown that Kirk, and the* '*liberties of Christ's kingdom there, shall never have* '*that grace to set his foot in that kingdom again.* As he 'foretold so it came to pass, and *Dunbar* ended his 'life the next *January* following at *Whitehall*.' The Lord Treasurer was in a very bad state of health when he came back from Scotland, and continued declining till the 29th of January 1611, when he departed this life; and his body being carried down to Scotland, was buried in the collegiate church of Dunbar, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory (6). Our author's character of him, and account of his decease, is very singular. 'The Earl of *Dunbar*, says 'he, a chief instrument employed for the overthrow 'of the discipline of our Kirk, departed this life at '*Whitehall*, the penult of *January*. So he was pulled 'down from the height of his honour, when he was 'about to solemnize magnificently his daughter's mar-'riage with the Lord *Walden*. He purposed to keep '*St George's* day after in *Berwick*, where he had al-'most finished a sumptuous and glorious palace, which 'standeth yet as a monument to testify, that the curse 'which was pronounced against the rebuilders of *Jeri-*'*cho* was executed upon him. Of all that he con-'quished in Scotland, there is not left to his posterity 'so

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(2) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers of State, p. 397.

(3) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 496.

(4) Manuscript Annals of the Hist. of Scotland, preserved in the Library of the University of Glasgow, Vol. I. p. 335.

(5) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 639.

(6) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 399.

assisted at the general assembly held at Glasgow, June 8, 1610, in which the Earl of Dunbar presided as Commissioner; but it appears plainly from his own writings, that he looked upon every thing transacted there as null and void (g). Another general assembly was held on the thirteenth of August 1616, with great solemnity at Aberdeen, where many things were done, against which exceptions were taken by Mr Calderwood and his party. In May 1617, King James went to Scotland, and on the seventeenth of June following, the Parliament met at Edinburgh, and at the same time the Clergy had their meeting in one of the churches, to hear and advise with the Bishops; which kind of assembly it seems was contrived in imitation of the Convocation in England, with which Mr David Calderwood was so little satisfied, that he declared his mind there publickly, which was, that he did not take any such meetings to resemble a Convocation; and finding himself opposed by Dr Whitford and Dr Hamilton, who were friends to the Bishops, he took his leave of them in these words, 'It is absurd to see men sitting in silks and sattins, and to cry poverty 'in the Kirk, when purity is departing (h).' In the mean time the Parliament proceeded in dispatching several matters relating to ecclesiastical as well as civil concerns; upon which many of the Ministers resolved to form a protestation, which was ordered to be put into writing by Mr Archibald Simpson, this was accordingly done, and the paper was signed by him on the behalf of the Ministers who signed another separate roll, which was delivered to him as his justification. The protest was then put into the hands of Mr Peter Hewat, who had a seat in Parliament, and was to present it; but another copy of it remained in the hands of Mr Archibald Simpson, to be presented in case any accident happened to the former. This affair soon made a great noise, and Dr Spotswood, Archbishop of St Andrews, seeing Mr Hewat at Court, desired to look upon the protest, and upon some dispute between them it was torn. The other copy was actually presented, by Mr Simpson, to the Clerk Register, who refused to read it before the States in Parliament. Soon after, that assembly was dissolved, and Mr Simpson was summoned before the High Commission Court, where the roll of names, which he had received for his justification, was demanded from him; and upon his declaring that he had given it to Mr Harrison, who had since delivered it to Mr David Calderwood, he was sent prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, and Mr Calderwood summoned to appear before the High Commission Court at St Andrews, on the eighth of July following, there to exhibit the said roll, and to answer for his mutinous and seditious behaviour (i) [B]. He accordingly went thither, and on the twelfth of July the King came to that city in person, and soon after Mr Peter Hewat and Mr Archibald Simpson, were deprived and imprisoned for the share they had in this transaction. After this Mr Calderwood was called upon, to answer for the concern he had in this affair, and as we have his own account of the matter, it is probable that the reader will be better pleased to see it in his own words, than in any dress we can give it [C]. The issue

(g) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 636, 638.

(h) Idem, ibid. p. 676.

(i) Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 534.

'so much as a foot breadth of land (7).' We have a very different character of this nobleman from the pen of an eminent prelate (8). 'He was a man, 'says that learned author, of deep wit, few words, 'and, in his Majesty's service, no less faithful than 'fortunate: The most difficult affairs he compassed 'without any noise, and never returned, when he was 'employed, without the work performed he was sent 'to do.' The reader will judge from hence, of the difficulties that occur in writing Scotch lives.

(7) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 644.

(8) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 516.

[B] *To answer for his mutinous and seditious behaviour.*] It is necessary to give the reader, though in as few words as possible, an account of the reason of this protest. The Ministers had an account that a bill was depending in Parliament, by which, power was given to the King, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and such a competent number of the Ministry, as his Majesty in his wisdom should think expedient, to consider and conclude, as to matters decent for the external policie of the Church not repugnant to the word of God, and that such conclusions should have the strength and power of ecclesiastical laws. Against this, the Ministers protested for four reasons, First. Because their Church was so perfect, that instead of needing reformation, it ought to be a pattern to others. Secondly, General Assemblies, as now established by law, and which ought always to continue, might, by this means, be overthrown. Thirdly, Because it might be a means of creating schism, and disturb the tranquillity of the Church. Fourthly, Because they had received assurances, that no attempts should be made to bring them to a conformity with the Church of England. They desired therefore, that for these, and other reasons, all thoughts of passing any such law may be laid aside; but in case this be not done, they protest for themselves, and their brethren who shall adhere to them, that they can yield no obedience to this law when it shall be enacted, because it is destructive of the liberty of the Church, and therefore shall submit to such penalties, and think themselves obliged to undergo such punishments, as may be inflicted for disobeying that law. This was the foundation of the prosecution against Mr Calderwood; but, however, this protestation, though not read, had it's effect; for notwithstanding the bill, or, as the Scottish phrase is, the article before-mentioned, had the consent of Parliament, yet the King thought fit to cause it to be laid aside, that there might be no foundation for receiving or reading the Ministers protestation, and soon after called a General Assembly at St Andrew's (9).

(9) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 530, 535.

[C] *In his words, than in any dress we can give it.*] We have this conference between our author and King James, largely and fully stated by him, and it gives a very clear view of the conduct of the Ministers in Scotland at that time, of which we have only short hints in our histories, so that we cannot well judge who is in the right, or who in the wrong; and therefore it is hoped the length of this passage will not render it tedious to the reader. 'Mr David Calderwood was called on, and 'the conclusion of the libels, or indictments, were read. 'To the first head he answered, That understanding 'that Mr Archibald Simpson was warded or impri'soned in the castle of Edinburgh for not presenting 'the roll of the names, he delivered it to him again. 'Neither had he time to seek any new subscriptions, 'nor could he, because he had not the protestation 'to present to the subscriber. The King demand'ed, what he had to answer to the other point, 'the assisting of that mutinous meeting? He answered, 'Sir, when that meeting shall be condemned as mu'tinous, then it is time to me to answer for my parti'cular assistance. The Secretary said unto him, Mr. 'David, acknowledge your own rashness. In the mean 'time, those that were standing about put upon him, 'and buzzed in his ear, saying, Do this; come in the 'King's will, you will find it best; his Majesty will 'pardon you. He answered to the Secretary, That 'which they had done, was done with deliberation. 'What moved you to protest? said the King. An ar'ticle concluded among the Lords of the articles, an-swered

issue of this business, was, that the King being provoked by the inflexible temper and sharp answers of Mr Calderwood, first committed him prisoner, and then the Privy-Council, according to the power which at that time they exercised, directed him to banish himself out of the King's dominions before Michaelmas following, and not to return without licence; and upon his giving security for this purpose, he was discharged out of prison, and suffered to return to his parish, but he was forbid to preach (*k*). He followed the King however to Carlisle, to obtain a prorogation of the time of his banishment, which he could not do, and then he applied to the Council and to the Bishops, who promised to write in his favour; but, as he would not acknowledge his offence, or promise conformity for the future, he was obliged to quit the kingdom, which he accordingly did, and retired to Holland; but Mr Archibald Simpson made his submission and was restored. We have no account of the manner in which he passed his time in Holland, or how our author was provided for there; but, it is certain, that he adhered to his former principles steadily, and in the year 1623, he published his famous book, intituled *Altare Damascenum* (*l*) [*D*]. This made

(*k*) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 686.

(*l*) Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 175.

'swered Mr David. But what fault was there in it? asked the King. It cutteth off our General Assemblies, answered Mr David. After the King had enquired how long he had been a Minister, he said to him, Hear me, Mr David, I have been an older keeper of General Assemblies than you. A General Assembly serveth to preserve doctrine in purity, from error and heresy, the Kirk from schism, to make confessions of faith, to put up petitions to the King in Parliament. But as for matters of order, rites, and things indifferent in Kirk policie, they may be concluded by the King with advice of Bishops, and a choice number of Ministers. Next, what is a General Assembly but a convened number of Ministers? He answered, as to the first point, Sir, a General Assembly should serve, and our General Assemblies have served these fifty-six years, not only from preserving doctrine from error and heresy, &c. but also to make canons and constitutions of all rites and orders belonging to the Kirk. As for the second point, as by a competent number of Ministers may be meant a General Assembly, so also may be meant a fewer number of Ministers than may make up a General Assembly. It was ordained in the General Assembly, with your Majesty's own consent, your Majesty being present, that there should be Commissioners chosen out of every Presbytery, not exceeding the number of three, to be sent to a General Assembly, and so the competent number of Ministers is already defined. What needeth farther then, said the King, but to have protested for a declarature, what was meant by a competent number? He answered, in pleading for the liberty of the General Assembly, we did that in effect. Then the King having the protestation in his hand, challengeth him for some words of the last clause. He answered, Whatsoever was the phrase of speech, they meant no other thing but to protest, that they would give passive obedience to his Majesty, but could not give active obedience to any unlawful thing which should flow from that article. Active and passive obedience! saith the King. That is, we will rather suffer than practise, said Mr David. I will tell thee what is obedience, man, said the King. The Centurion, when he said to his servants, To this man, go, and he goeth; to that man, come, and he cometh: That is obedience. He answered, To suffer, Sir, is also obedience, howbeit not of that same kind; and that obedience also was not absolute, but limited with exception of a countermand from a superior power. Mr David, let alone; confess your error, said the Secretary. He answered, My Lord, I cannot see that I have committed any fault. Then said the King, Well, Mr Calderwood, I will let you see I that I am gracious and favourable That meeting shall be condemned before ye be condemned; all that are in the roll shall be filed before ye be filed, providing ye will conform. Sir, I have answered my libel; replied Mr David, I ought to be urged with no farther. The King said, It is true, man, ye have answered to your libel; but consider I am here, I may demand of you when and what I will. He answered, Surely, Sir, I get great wrong if I be compelled to answer here in judgment to any more than my libel. Answer! Sir, said the King, ye are a refractor: The Bishop of Glasgow your Ordinary, and Bishop of Cathness the Moderator of your Presbytery, testify ye have keeped no order, ye have repaired neither to Presbyteries nor Synods, and in no wise conform? He answered, Sir, I have been confined these eight or nine years; so my conformity or not conformity, in that point, could not be well known. Good faith! thou art a very knave, said the King: See these same false Puritans, they are ever playing with equivocations. Mr David had alledged his confinement to avoid a direct answer, because he was urged with other points than was contained in the libel. The Bishop of Glasgow, thinking to catch him in a snare, asked him, If ye was confined, how were ye at the meeting in the song-school where ye subscribed the protestation? He answered, Since I was confined I obtained liberty, which was granted with exception of Presbyteries and Synods: That meeting was neither a Presbytery nor a Synod. Then some speeches past betwixt him and Glasgow about the relaxation, which was proclaimed for the confined within the diocese of Glasgow. Then the King asked, If ye were relaxed will ye obey or not? He answered, Sir, I am wronged, in that I am forced to answer such questions which are beside the libel: Yet, seeing I must answer, I say, Sir, I shall either obey you, or give a reason wherefore I disobey; and if I disobey, your Majesty knows I am to lie under the danger as I do now. Then said the King, remembering of his answer before, That is, to obey either actively or passively. I can go no farther, said Mr David: And so he was removed (10).' Upon his being called in again, he was suspended till October, and threatened with deprivation; but Mr Calderwood questioning the power of the Bishops to suspend him in the High Commission-Court, the King ordered him to be sent prisoner to the Tolbooth of St Andrew's, from whence he was afterwards removed to Edinburgh.

(10) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 682.

[*D*] *Intituled*, Altare Damascenum.] We have a particular detail of the subject of this treatise, and the reason and manner of it's being published by the author of the Preface prefixed to the true History of the Church of Scotland: his words are these, 'Mr *David Calderwood*, whose praise is in the Churches of Christ, as otherwise, so particularly upon the account of his being, but under another and borrowed name of *Edwardus Didoclavius*, the author of that very learned and elaborate treatise, intituled, *Altare Damascenum*, wherein he doth by Scripture, Reason, and Fathers, irrefragably and unanswerably (and indeed for any thing we know it hath not been answered to this day, nor belike will afterward) demonstrate the iniquity of designing, and endeavouring to model and conform the divinely simple worship, discipline, and government of the Church of *Scotland*, to the pattern of the pompously prelatick and ceremonious Church of *England*: under some conviction whereof, it seems *King James* himself was, though implacably displeased with it, when, being after the reading of it somewhat pensive, and being asked the reason by an English Prelate standing by, and observing it, told him, he had seen and read such a book; whereupon the Prelate willing His *Majesty* not to suffer that to trouble him, for they would answer it, he replied, not without some passion, *What,* ——— *will you answer, man? There is nothing here than Scripture, Reason, and Fathers* (11).' A very well known writer, after citing the greatest part of this account, is pleased to add, That His Majesty was not out in his judgment, the patrons of Episcopacy having

(11) See the Preface prefixed to Calderwood's true History of the Church of Scotland.

made a great noise, and was soon brought to the hands of King James, who is said to have expressed a high opinion of it, tho' he was extremely displeased with it. It is certain that it made a great impression in England, and was very much admired by all the declared Puritans, and by such as were well-wishers to their opinions. It was probably the great reputation of *this* book, that put one Mr Patrick Scot, if Mr Calderwood himself may be believed, upon a very strange undertaking; our author it seems had been afflicted in the year 1624 with a long fit of sickness, and nothing being heard of him for some time; Scot took it for granted that he was dead, and thereupon wrote a Recantation in his name, as if before his decease he had changed his sentiments; but this imposture being detected, he went over in the month of November to Holland, and stayed three weeks at Amsterdam, where he made diligent search for our author, with a design, as Mr Calderwood believes, to have dispatched him (*m*). This Scot had the boldness to give out, that the King furnished him with the matter for his pretended recantation, and that he only put it in order; but surely a man, who could have the impudence to write a death-bed recantation, for a reverend Minister, and publish it in his name, deserves no credit, when he endeavours to fasten such an aspersion upon a Sovereign Prince (*n*). It seems the reason that he did not meet with Mr Calderwood in Holland, was, because he privately returned into his own country, where he remained for several years; and as a man of his temper and talents could not be idle, it is very likely that he wrote several other books against the proceedings of the Clergy in Scotland (*o*) [*E*]. But it is very certain, that he collected with extraordinary diligence, all the memorials relating to the ecclesiastical affairs of that kingdom, from the beginning

(*m*) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 802.

(*n*) Remarks on the Conduct of the Scotch Presbyterians, during the Reigns of Queen Mary, King James, and King Charles, p. 327.

(*o*) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 814.

having never yet answered it, how much soever their cause requires it (12).

(12) Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 175, 176.

The old edition of this celebrated treatise being become extreamly scarce, and being withal, from the manner in which it was printed, very imperfect and incorrect, a new one was published about forty years ago, under the following title: *ALTARE DAMASCENUM: seu Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politia, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ obtrusa, a Formalista quodam delineata; illustrata & examinata, sub nomine olim* Edwardi Didoclavii, *Studio & Opera* Davidis Calderwood. *Cui locis suis interserta Confutatio Parænesios* Tileni *ad* Scotos *Genevensis ut ait Disciplinæ Zelotas. Et adjecta Epistola Hieronymi Philadelphi de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ ejusque, Vindiciæ contra Calumnias* Johannis Spotsvodi *Fani Andreæ Pseudo-Archi-Episcopi per Anonymum. Editio priori longe elegantior & emendatior* Lugduni Batavorum *apud* Cornelium Boutesteyn, 1708, *4to.* i. e. 'The *ALTAR* at *DAMASCUS*: or, The Policy of the Church of England, intended to be obtruded on the Church of Scotland, delineated by some Lover of Ceremonies, illustrated and examined by the Study and Care of *David Calderwood*, heretofore published by him under the name of *Edward Didoclavius*. With a Confutation of the Admonition of Tilenus to the Scots, whom he stiles Bigots to the Discipline of Geneva, interspersed in their proper places. To which is added, the Epistle of *Jerom Philadelphus*, of the Government of the Church of Scotland, with a Vindication thereof against the Calumnies of John Spotswood, pretended Archbishop of St Andrew's, written by an anonymous author. More elegant and correct than the former edition.' In this large work, The Description of the Policy of the English Church, the author of which Mr Calderwood does not pretend to know, is made the text, and his own discourses are digested into the form of notes, by which means the reader has the whole controversy in one view, and in as regular a method as could well be contrived. This work is divided into fifteen chapters: 1. Of the King's Supremacy, and of the Jurisdiction of the Royal Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical. 2. Of the Ranks of Bishops. 3. Of the Dignity and Power of Archbishops in England. 4. That a Bishop and a Presbyter are one and the same Order. 5. Of the Dignity and Power of Bishops in the English Church. 6. Of Vicar-Generals, Officials, and Archdeacons. 7. Of Suffragans and Rural Deans. 8. Of Deans and Chapters. 9. Of Rites and Ceremonies. 10. Of the Calling and Function of Presbyters or Priests in the Church of England. 11. Of the Calling and Function of Deacons. 12. Of Lay-Administrators in the Church of England. 13. Of Possessions. 14. Of Constitutions. 15. Against the Injuries and Calumnies vented by Tilenus. Some of these chapters are entirely of Mr Calderwood's writing, particularly the fourth, and these are thrown in as supplements to the discourses of the author whom he examines, and the great thing aimed at by this way of writing, is to shew his impartiality, by bringing to the view of the reader, the representation of the policy of the Church of England, in the words of a friend to, and advocate for, that kind of ecclesiastical government. It must be admitted, that though there is something very singular in this manner of writing, yet it is not without it's conveniencies, as it gives him an opportunity of bringing the whole controversy within a reasonable compass, and discussing every part of it methodically and perspicuously. But by pursuing this plan, he has certainly made it very difficult to refute his book, for whoever attempts that, must not write by way of answer but of reply, and in that case he is under a necessity of building upon another man's foundation, that is to say, the author of the Description of the Policy of the Church of England, which Calderwood made it his business to refute, and perhaps this may be one reason, why this treatise was never answered in form by any of the Divines of the Established Church. But the several points which are therein handled, have been discussed over and over, and most of the arguments made use of by Mr Calderwood, have been employed for the same purpose by the most eminent among the modern English Nonconformists. One thing more it will be necessary to remark, before we part with this celebrated work, and it is this, that the Nomme de Guerre our author made use of, *viz.* Edwardus Didoclavius, is no more than a transposition of the letters of his own name, Davidus Calderwodius, so that if he might be said in one sense to disguise, he might in another be affirmed to divulge, it's falling from his pen.

[*E*] *Wrote several other books against the proceedings of the Clergy in Scotland.*] I must confess, that this is no better than conjecture, grounded upon the following passage in his History, which seems to hint, that the same person who wrote the Altar of Damascus, was the author of some, if not all the treatises that are mentioned therein; but in respect to this, I leave every reader to judge for himself: 'Upon the fourth of *January* 1625, there was a proclamation made at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, making mention, that there were sundry seditious persons who had written certain pamphlets and books tending to treason and sedition against the King, which were printed in the *Low-Countries*, and were to be brought to *Scotland*. Therefore commanding all Magistrates of sea-ports, Customers, Searchers, and other officers, to suffer no ships coming forth of the *Low-Courtries* to come within the harbours, or any Merchant or passenger to come on land till the ships were first searched, for these seditious writs, pamphlets and books, and that the same be presented to the Lords to be searched by such as were appointed for that effect. But by the providence of God the books were brought out of the ship a day or two before it was searched, and were keeped close till the approaching of Easter Communion; *to wit, An Epistle to a Christian Brother, An Exhortation to the Kirk of Edinburgh, A Dispute against communicating, where there was Kneeling, Confusion of Gestures and Actions.* The course of

beginning of the Reformation there down to his own time, which he digested with much accuracy, according to the order of time; and these collections of his are still in being, tho' an extract only from them has been published, under the title of *The true-History of the Church of Scotland* (p) [F]. How long after this he survived does not appear, for his history reaches no lower than the death of King James; but, it seems probable, from his mentioning the death of Mr Robert Bruce, which happened in 1631 (q), that he lived pretty far in the reign of King Charles I; and this we find confirmed by what is said in the advertisement prefixed to the last edition of the *Altare Damascenum*, of his being Minister at Pencaithland near Edinburgh in 1638, but neither there or elsewhere can we find any notice of the time of his decease. He was certainly a man of quick parts and profound learning, as fully appears from his conduct in his writings, and therefore it is but just that an account should be given of him in a collection of this nature, more especially as this article will inform the English reader of the nature of those disputes in Scotland, which, tho' he had so large a share in them, are but very briefly represented by Archbishop Spotswood, and are far from being fairly or distinctly treated by the famous Dr Heylyn. It is not necessary that we should attempt to give any character of this extraordinary person, since the Reader will be abundantly able to frame one for himself, from the matters of fact which we have delivered, and therefore we shall content ourselves with adding, that all the writers on the side of Nonconformity, have set a very high value upon his performances; and

(p) Printed in the year 1618, fol. without the Printer's name or the place.

(q) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 816.

' *of Conformity* was set forth two years before, and ' the Latin book, intituled, *Altare Damascenum*; and ' two other years before, *The Speech of the Kirk to her beloved Children*, *The Altar of Damascus*, in English, ' and *The Confutation of Doctor Mitchelson's Reasons for kneeling*. *The Antithesis between the Pastor and the Prelate*, came not to light, till four or five years ' after this (13).'

(13) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 814.

[F] *Under the title of the true History of the Church of Scotland.*] The entire work of Mr David Calderwood, very neatly transcribed in six fair volumes in folio, by the care of Mr William Dunlopp, Principal of the College of Glasgow, are preserved in the publick library of that University. In the first volume immediately after the title page, there is the following note, ' This work comprehended in —— pages, is collected ' out of Mr Knox's History and his Memorials, gathered for the continuation of his History out of Mr ' James Melvil's Observations, Mr John Davidson his ' Diary, the Acts of the General Assemblies, and Acts ' of Parliament, and out of several Proclamations, and ' Scroles of diverse: and comprehendeth an History ' from the beginning of the reign of King James V, ' to the death of King James VI, but is contracted ' and digested in a better order, in a work of three ' volumes, bound in parchment, and is comprehended ' in 2013 pages. Out of which work contracted, is ' extracted another in lesser bounds, but wanting nothing in substance, and comprehended in —— pages, ' which the author desireth only to be communicated ' to others, and this with the other, contracted into ' three volumes to serve only for the defence of the ' third, and preservation of the History, in case it be ' lost.' The first of the six volumes, gives a large introduction, wherein the author undertakes to inform us of the time when, and the persons by whom the island of *Great Britain* was first inhabited: and afterwards brings down the *Scottish* Civil History as well as the Ecclesiastical, from the first planting of Christianity to the end of *James* IVth's reign. After his account of the affairs of the State and the Church, we have a view of all the most considerable wars and battles (domestick and foreign) wherein the people of *Scotland* have been engaged before the said period, as also of the ancient honorary titles, and their institution. On this last head he quotes an old manuscript, sent from *Icolmkill* to Mr *George Buchanan*, which testifies that a Parliament was held at *Forfar*, in the year 1061, wherein surnames are appointed to be taken, and several Earls, Barons, Lords, and Knights, were created. After this general Preface, he begins his proper work, The History of the *Scottish* Reformation. And in this volume, advances as far as the marriage of Queen *Mary*, with the Lord *Darnley*, in the year 1565. In his story of Mr *Patrick Hamilton*, the protomartyr in this cause, he gives a copy of the sentence pronounced against him, together with a congratulatory letter from the Doctors at *Louvain* to the Archbishop of *St Andrews*, on the occasion of his death. Amongst those learned men, who upon the first persecution fled into *Germany*, he reckons Mr *George Buchanan*. In his large account of the Disputes and Sufferings of the Reformers, under the Adminstration of Cardinal *Beaton*, and the Queen Regent, we have the particulars of the contentions at *Frankfurt*, which are mostly taken out of a book, intituled, *A Brief Discovery of the Troubles of* Mr John Knox, *for opposing the* English *Service Book, in* 1554. After which we have *Knox*'s Appeal from the sentence of the Clergy; to the Nobility, Estates, and Community of *Scotland*, with a great many letters from the Nobility to the Queen-Regent and him, on the Subject of Religion. All this part of the History, which in the printed book makes no more than thirteen pages, ends at pag. 571; from whence (to the end of the book at pag. 902) there is a good collection of curious Letters, Remonstrances, &c. which are not in the prints, either of *Knox* or *Calderwood*. The second volume, contains the History, from 1565, to the arraignment of the Earl of *Moreton* for treason, in *December* 1580, and contains 614 pages, wherein are many valuable discoveries relating to the practices of *David Rizzio*, the King's murder, *Bothwel*'s marriage and flight, &c. and a more perfect Narrative of the proceedings in the General Assemblies, than the printed History will afford us. The third volume, comprehends the entire History of both Church and State, from the beginning of *January* 1581 to *July* 1586, when Queen *Mary*'s Letter to *Babington* was intercepted. Under the year 1584, there is a severe character of Mr *Patrick Adamson*, Archbishop of *St Andrews* (14); which in the conclusion refers us for a farther account of him, to a poem made by one *Robert Semple*, and intituled, *The Legend of the Limmer's Life*. Here is also *An Account of the State and Church of* Scotland *to the Church of* Geneva, which was written by *Andrew Melvil*, in answer to the misrepresentations of the Scottish Discipline scattered in foreign Countries, by the said Archbishop *Adamson*. The fourth gives the like mixt history of affairs, from July 1586 to the beginning of the year 1596. Here we have a full collection of papers relating to the tryal, condemnation, and execution, of the unfortunate Queen *Mary*, with abundance of others, touching the most remarkable transactions of this *Decennium*. In the year 1587, there is a large account of the coming of the *Sieur du Bartas* into *Scotland*; of his being carried by King *James* to the University of *St Andrew's*, his hearing of the Lectures of Mr *A. Melvil* there, and the great opinion he had of the abilities of that Professor, &c. In 1590, there are some smart reflections on Dr *Bancroft*'s Sermon at *Paul*'s Cross, censuring the proceedings of *J. Knox*, and others of the Northern Reformers, with the Assembly's Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* about that sermon. The fifth volume reaches from the beginning of *January* 1596, to the same month in 1607. After the accounts of the proceedings of the Assembly in 1596, the author subjoins this pathetick *Epiphonema*: *Here end all the sincere Assemblies General of the Kirk of Scotland, enjoying the liberty of the Gospel under the free government of Christ.* The *new and constant Platt of Planting all the Kirks of Scotland* (written by Mr *David Lindsay*, one of the *Octavians*) is here inserted at large, as it was presented to the King and States in the said year 1596. The History of the Conspiracy of the *Gowries*, and the manner of it's discovery is likewise here recorded at

(14) See the article ADAMSON (PATRICK) Archbishop of St Andrews.

and the judicious Mr Calamy (r), has particularly pointed out his *Altare Damascenum*, as a capital work on that side of the question.

(r) See his Advertisement prefixed to the first Vol. of his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter.

at length, in the same order, wherein the King commanded it to be published. The new form of Nomination to Bishopricks, the Protestation in Parliament against the Restitution of Episcopacy, and the Reasons offered against it by others, are the remaining matters of consideration in this book. The sixth concludes with the death of King *James* VI (15). E

(15) Bishop Nicholson's Scottish Historical Library, p. 70, 71.

CALFHILL or CALFILL (JAMES) a learned Divine in the XVIth Century, otherwise named *Calfield*, *Cawfield*, *Chalfhill* (a), or *Calfed* (b), was born in Shropshire [*A*], in the year 1530 (c). He received his education at Eaton School, and from thence was sent, in 1545, to King's College in Cambridge. But he was removed, with many other Cambridgemen, in 1548, to Christ-Church in Oxford, newly founded by King Henry VIII (d). Here he shewed himself to be a person of quick wit, and great capacity; being an excellent Poet and author of a Tragedy, with other Theatrical performances (e). In 1549, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (f); and that of Master, in 1552 (g), being junior of the Act celebrated in St Mary's Church, July 18 (h). He was made, in 1560, Canon of the second Canonry in Christ-Church Cathedral Oxon. And, on the 12th of December 1561, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (i). In 1562, he was Proctor for the Clergy of London, and the Chapter of Oxford, in the Convocation that made the XXXIX Articles (k): and on the 16th of May, the same year, was admitted to the Rectory of St Andrew Wardrobe, London (l). The 4th of October following, he was presented by the Crown to the Prebend of St Pancras, in the Cathedral Church of St Paul (m): and May the 4, 1565, was collated by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Rectory of Bocking in Essex (n): as he was also, July the 16th following, to the Archdeaconry of Colchester in Essex, by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London (o). The same year, on the 17th of December, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (p). In 1568, he preached two sermons in Bristol-Cathedral, on purpose to confute some opinions of Dr Cheney [*B*], who held that See *in commendam* (q). In the year 1569, he made application to Secretary Cecil, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, for the Provostship of King's College, but Dr Goad's interest prevailed (r). Upon the translation of Dr Edwin Sandys from the Bishoprick of Worcester to that of London, in 1570, Dr Calfhill was nominated by Queen Elizabeth to succeed him (s); but, before his consecration thereto, he died, about the beginning of August (having a little before resigned his Canonry of Christ-Church, and Rectory of St Andrew Wardrobe) and was buried in the Chancel of Bocking Church (t). His works were as follow: I. *Querela Oxoniensis Academiæ ad Cantabrigiam*; i. e. 'The complaint of the University of Oxford to Cambridge.' Lond. 1552, 4to. A Latin Poem on the death of Henry and Charles Brandon, sons of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, which died of the sweating-sickness in the Bishop of Lincoln's house at Bugden, July 14, 1551. II. *Historia de exhumatione Catherinæ nuper uxoris Pet. Martyris.* i. e. 'The History of the digging up the body of Catherine late wife of Peter Martyr.' Lond. 1562, 8vo. III. Answer to John Martiall's *Treatise of the Cross, gathered out of the Scriptures, Councils, and ancient Fathers of the primitive Church* (u). Lond. 1565, 4to. IV. *Progne*, a Tragedy, in Latin; which probably was never printed. V. *Poemata varia*; several Poems (w). As to his character, we are informed, That he was in his younger days a noted Poet and Comedian; and in his elder, an exact disputant, and had an excellent faculty in speaking and preaching (x). One who had heard him preach, gives this account of him; 'His excellent tongue, and rhetorical tale, filled with good and wholesome doctrine, so ravished the minds of the hearers, that they were all in admiration of his eloquence (y).'

(a) So it is written in the Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. second edit. 1725, p. 237, 562.

(b) Newcourt, Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 196.

(c) He was 18 years of age in 1548. See Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 163.

(d) Ibid. and Strype's Annals, ubi supra, p. 330.

(e) Wood, ibid.

(f) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 73.

(g) Ibid. col. 77.

(h) Idem, Athen. ubi supra.

(i) Ibid. and Fasti, col. 90. He was also some time Sub-Dean of Christ-church. Strype, ubi supra, p. 237.

(k) Strype's Ann. ubi supra, p. 327.

(l) Newcourt's Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 92, 272.

(m) Ibid. p. 92, 196.

(n) Ibid. p. 92. and Vol. II. p. 69.

(o) Ibid. p. 92.

(p) Wood, Fast. Vol. I. col. 95.

(q) Strype's Ann. ubi supra, p. 559, 560, 562.

(r) Ibid. p. 331.

(s) Wood, Athen. ubi supra. and Hist. & Antiq. Univers. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 263, edit. Oxon. 1674.

(t) Ibid. and Newcourt, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 92.

(u) See Wood, Athen. Vol. I. col. 288.

(w) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 163.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 237.

[*A*] *Was born in Shropshire.*] Mr Strype affirms (1), That he was a Scotchman born; and cousin to Toby Matthew, afterwards Archbishop of York, whom he persuaded to take holy Orders, even against the inclination of his father and mother, and other friends.

[*B*] *On purpose to confute some opinions of Dr Cheney.*] Dr Richard Cheney, was Bishop of Gloucester, and held with it the See of Bristol in Commendam. By some persons he had been accused, of speaking irreverently of Calvin and Luther, on account of their notions of Free-will, &c. and of preferring much the ancient Fathers to them (2). Dr Calfhill, therefore, who was very orthodox, and a great admirer of all Calvin's opinions, was employed to confute him in his own Cathedral; and used in his sermons the new coined phrase of *Free-willers*. The Bishop desired to confer with him, but he never would wait upon him; which does not turn much to his credit (3). C

(1) Annals, ubi supra.

(2) See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 559, 565.

(3) Ibid. p. 564.

CALVERT (GEORGE) descended from the ancient and noble house of Calvert in the Earldom of Flanders (a), and afterwards created Lord Baltimore, was born at Kipling in the North-riding of Yorkshire (b), about the year 1582 (c); being the son of Leonard Calvert, and Alice his wife, daughter of John Crostland of Crostland in the same county. In the beginning of the year 1593, he became a Commoner of Trinity-College in Oxford, being then very young (d); and on the 23d of February 1596-7, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (e): after which, leaving the college, he travelled beyond the seas for

(a) Irish Compendium, third edit. 1735, 12mo, p. 327.

(b) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 201. Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 565.

(c) Mr Wood says, he was fifteen years old when he took his degree, and therefore must have been born about the time here assigned, Athen. ibid. But Fuller says, he was in the fifty-third year of his age when he died; and if so, must have been born about 1580. Worthies, ubi supra.

(d) Wood, ibid.

(e) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 151.

for a time. At his return, in King James Ist's reign, he was made Secretary to Robert Cecill then one of the chief Secretaries of State, being esteemed a very knowing person in state-affairs (*f*). And so well satisfied was Sir Robert with his faithfulness and diligence, that when he was raised to the office of Lord High-Treasurer, he continued him in his service, and employed him in several weighty matters (*g*). On the 30th of August 1605, when King James I. was entertained by the University of Oxford, he was actually created Master of Arts, with several Noblemen, Knights, and Esquires (*h*). Afterwards, by the interest of his Patron Robert, Earl of Salisbury, he was made one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council; and in 1617, September the 29th, received the honour of Knighthood from his Majesty at Hampton-Court (*i*). On the 15th of February 1618-9, he was appointed one of the Principal Secretaries of State, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake; and the King made great use of him, because he was better acquainted with State-affairs, and more diligent in dispatching business, than his partner and fellow-secretary Sir Robert Naunton (*k*). He was sworn, the seventeenth of the same month, into this important office (*l*): which he discharged with great trust and industry [*A*]. As a reward for it, the King granted him, May 2, 1620, a yearly pension of a thousand pounds, out of the customs (*m*). But, after having enjoyed that place about five years, he willingly resigned it in 1624; freely owning to his Majesty, That he was become a Roman Catholick, so that he must either be wanting to his trust, or violate his conscience in discharging his office. This ingenuous confession so affected King James, that he continued him Privy-Counseller all his reign (*n*); and on the sixteenth of February (*o*) 1624-5, created him (by the name of Sir George Calvert, of Danbywiske in Yorkshire, Knight) Baron of Baltimore in the county of Longford in Ireland. He was at that time one of the Representatives in Parliament for the University of Oxford (*p*). While he was Secretary, he obtained a Patent, for him and his heirs, to be absolute Lord and Proprietor (with the royalties of a Count-Palatine) of the province of Avalon in New-found-land: Which was so named by him, from Avalon in Somersetshire, wherein Glastonbury stands, the first-fruits of Christianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America. Here he built a fine house in Ferry-land, and spent twenty-five thousand pounds in advancing this new Plantation. After the death of King James, he went twice in person to New-found-land; and when Monsieur de l'Arade, with three men of war sent from the King of France, had reduced our English fishermen to great extremity, this Lord, with two ships manned at his own expence, chased away the French, relieved the English, and took sixty of the French prisoners (*q*). However, finding his plantation very much exposed to the insults of the French, he was at last forced to abandon it (*r*). Whereupon he went over to Virginia, and, after having viewed those parts, came to England, and obtained from King Charles I. (who had as great a regard and affection for him as King James) a patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland on the north of Virginia [*B*]; with the same title and royalties as had been conferred upon him with

(*f*) Athen. ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. p. 172, 173.

(*i*) Athenæ, ubi supra.

(*k*) Ibid. and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1619.

(*l*) Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 1031.

(*m*) Camden, ubi supra, under the year 1620. See Complete Hist. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 654.

(*n*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra, p. 202.

(*o*) In the Irish Compendium 'tis said, that it was Feb. 20, edit. 1735, p. 327.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra.

(*r*) See Collier's Great Historical Dictionary, in the article CALVERT (GEORGE).

[*A*] *Which he discharged with great trust and industry.*] We are informed, That he thinking, the Duke of Buckingham had been highly instrumental in his preferment, made him a present of a jewel of great value: But the Duke returned it him, acknowledging, he had no hand in his advancement, but that his Majesty alone had made choice of him, on account of his great abilities (1).

[*B*] *King Charles I. granted him a Patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland.*] That country was first discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1497, but more perfectly in 1584, by Sir Walter Raleigh, and always passed for part of Virginia, till the year 1631, when King Charles I. made a grant of it to George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore. This Lord not living to see his grant made out, his son Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore (who had been at Virginia, and had looked out for a proper place to fix a new plantation of his own) took it out in his own name, and the Patent bears date June 20. 1632. The bounds of that country are thus ascertained therein; namely—All that part of a peninsula lying between the ocean on the East, and the bay of Chesepeak on the West, and divided from the other part [or Accomac belonging to Virginia] by a right line drawn from Watkin's point on the West, to the main ocean on the East; and between that bound on the South, to that part of Delaware-bay on the North, which lies under the 40th degree of northern latitude. And all that tract of land, from the foresaid bay of Delaware, in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountain of the river Patowmeck, and from thence tending towards the South to the farther bank of the foresaid river, and following the west and south-side of it to a place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said river, where it falls into the bay of Chesepeak, &c. On the West it is bounded, at present, by the Aspalathean mountains: And is in length, from North to South, 140 miles; but the breadth of it, from East to West, is not so much. The Lord Baltimore was to hold it of the Crown of England in common socage, as of the manor of Windsor; paying yearly, on Easter-Tuesday, two Indian arrows of those parts at the castle of Windsor, and the fifth part of the gold and silver ore that shall be found there. King Charles himself was pleased to give that province the name of Maryland, in honour of his beloved Queen Henrietta Maria. Cecil Lord Baltimore intended to go thither in person; but afterwards, changing his mind, he appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, Esq; to go Governor in his stead, with whom he joined in commission Jeremy Hawley, and Thomas Cornwallis, Esqrs. The first colony sent thither, consisted of about two hundred people, Roman Catholicks, the chief of whom were gentlemen of good families. They sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, November 22. 1633, and arrived at Point Comfort in the bay of Chesepeak, February the 24th following; and continuing their voyage, went northward as far as the river of Patowmeck. Since that time, this colony is become very considerable and flourishing, being chiefly peopled with Roman Catholicks, who have transplanted themselves thither, in order to avoid the penal laws made against them in England. At the Revolution, the Lord Baltimore was deprived of the power of appointing a Governor, and other officers; and the government of that province fell under the same regulation as other plantations, which are immediately subject to the Crown. The Baltimore-family also were in danger of losing their propriety, on account of their Religion, by the act which requires all Roman-Catholick-heirs to profess the Protestant Religion, on pain of being deprived of their estates. But that family thought fit to profess the Protestant Religion, rather than lose their inheritance; and the present Lord Baltimore is now both Proprietor and Governor of Maryland, being one of the noblest estates enjoyed by a subject of Britain; for he is still entitled to a duty on every hogshead of tobacco exported: enjoys several fair manors, which may be styled his demesne lands; and has a rent paid him by every planter, besides other perquisites.' The chief

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, second edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 750. H. Holland, p. 39. and Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra, p. 202.

with respect to Avalon aforementioned (*s*). He died in London, April 15, 1632, in the fifty-first year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St Dunstan's in the West, in Fleet-street (*t*). Descended from him, in the fifth degree, is the present Charles Lord Baltimore, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, and Fellow of the Royal Society (*u*). As to Sir George Calvert's character: One historian (*w*), who hardly speaks well of any body, calls him an Hispaniolized Papist. But others (*x*) tell us in his praise, That though he was a Roman Catholick, yet he kept himself sincere and disengaged from all interests; and was the only statesman, that being engaged to a decryed party, managed his business with that great respect for all sides, that all who knew him applauded him; and none that had any thing to do with him, complained of him. He was a man of great sense, but not obstinate in his sentiments, taking as great pleasure in hearing others opinions, as in delivering his own. Whilst he was Secretary of State, he carried every night to the King a digested and exact account of affairs, and took the pains to examine himself the letters that were of any consequence (*y*). Judge Popham and he agreed in the publick design of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of managing them (*z*). The first was for extirpating the original heathen inhabitants, the second for converting them: the former sent the lewdest people to those places, the latter was for the soberest: the one was for present profit, the other for a reasonable expectation; liking to have but few Governors, and those not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; granting liberties with great caution; and leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not out of a common stock [*C*].

(*s*) Fuller, ubi supra; and Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 751.

(*t*) Fuller, ubi supra.

(*u*) Irish Compendium, ubi supra.

(*w*) Arthur Wilson, in Life and Reign of King James I. in Compleat Hist. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 705.

(*x*) Particularly D. Lloyd, in State Worthies, edit. as above, p. 752.

(*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Lloyd, ibid.

chief product of the country is tobacco. And it is divided into ten counties (2).

[*C*] *And not out of a common stock.*] The Lord Baltimore was author of the following pieces. I. *Carmen funebre in D. Hen. Untonum ad Gallos bis legatum, ibique nuper fato functum*: i. e. Verses on the death of Sir Henry Unton, twice Embassador in France, who died there. Printed in 1596. 4to. II. Speeches in Parliment. III. Various Letters of State. IV. The answer of Tom Tell-troth. The practice of Princes, and the Lamentation of the Kirk. Lond. 1642. 4to. He also writ something about Maryland, but it does not appear that it was ever printed (3). C

(2) British Emp. in America, Vol. I. p. 183, &c. Hist. of Virginia, p. 47. Salmon's Modern History, edit. 1739, 4to, Vol. III. p. 504, 510, 511.

(3) See Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

CAMDEN (William) one of the most learned Writers, most diligent Antiquaries, and most impartial Historians, that the last age, or this country, produced. He descended from honest and reputable parents, his father, Samson Camden, was a native of Lichfield in Staffordshire, but, settling in London, became a member of the company of Painter-Stainers (*a*). His mother was of a very antient and worthy family, as himself hath recorded, *viz.* the Curwens of Wirkington in the county of Cumberland (*b*). He was born May 2, 1551, at his father's house in the Old Bailey (*c*). He received the first tincture of letters in Christ's Hospital (*d*), erected the year after his birth, by that learned and pious young Prince, Edward VI, but at what time he was sent thither does not appear, the records of that Hospital being destroyed in the fire of London, 1666. In the year 1563 he was removed to Islington, being infected with the plague, and remained there some time, which retarded his progress in learning (*e*). He was afterwards sent to St Paul's school (*f*), where the pregnancy of his parts, and his assiduous application, distinguished him to such a degree, that in 1566 he was removed to the university of Oxford, where he was entered a Servitor in Magdalen-college, being then about fifteen years old (*g*), and perfected himself in grammar learning in the school adjoining, of which Dr Thomas Cooper, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, was Master (*h*). Upon his missing a Demy's place in his college, he removed from thence to Broadgate-Hall, now Pembroke-College, in the same university (*i*), where he remained two years and a half, under the tuition of Dr Thomas Thornton, Canon of Christ-church, and his great patron. He left behind him here a signal mark of the respect paid him by his contemporaries, in the short Latin Graces of his composition, which, for many years after, were used by the Scholars of this Society (*k*). He removed from hence to Christ-Church, where he was provided for by the kindness of Dr Thornton, during the time he continued at the university (*l*) [*A*]. It was about this time, that, by the encouragement of his

(*a*) Gul. Camdeni Vita, script. Thoma Smitho, Lond. Lond. 1691, 4to, p. 1.

(*b*) Britan. in Cambriâ, edit. Londinens. 1607, p. 633.

(*c*) Parentatio Historica; sive, Commemoratio Vitæ & Mortis V. C. Gulielmi Camdeni Clarentii facta Oxonia in Schola Historica, per Degoreum Wheare, Historicarum Prelectorem. ap. Batesii Vit. select. p. 591.

(*d*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 2.

(*e*) Memorabil. de seipso.

(*f*) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 269.

(*g*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 111. Memorabil. de seipso.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(*i*) V. Parentationem Historicâ Degorei Wheari, p. 591. Athen. Oxon. col. 480.

(*k*) V. Parentationem Historicam Degorei Wheari, p. 591.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

[*A*] *By the kindness of Dr Thornton, during the time he continued at the university.*] There are very few lives that have been written with greater care than that of our author by different pens, and yet there have been some mistakes committed, of which it is necessary to take notice, that things may not be censured as deficiencies in this article, which, when explained, we hope will appear corrections. Degory Wheare, who was Camden's Professor of History at Oxford, in his Oration on the death of that great man, which he pronounced very soon after his decease, places his birth in 1550, but without naming the day (1). It is in consequence of this that he brings him to Oxford in 1565, and very probably his authority might have passed, if Camden himself had not settled both these dates, in a paper of memoranda which we find published by Dr Smith, and these leading dates are of very great consequence towards settling all the rest (2). The time of his being seized by the plague is also fixed by Camden, but he says nothing of his being at the Hospital of Christ-Church, which one may presume is the reason that a judicious Prelate treats it as a story founded only on tradition (3). But this tradition must have have been early, since we find the fact very positively mentioned in Wheare's Oration (4), nor do I know that it has been questioned by any author. What seems to confirm it is the lowness of his circumstances at the time he was sent to Oxford, where he depended on the kindness of Dr Cooper, and his removal to Broadgate-Hall, which was the effect of Dr Thornton's kindness for him (5). At the same time that these circumstances demonstrate his necessities, they carry along with them testimonies of unusual vigour and firmness of mind, in the pursuit of knowledge under such difficulties, and of his pregnant parts and happy disposition, that before he was twenty, he could raise himself

(1) V. Parentationem Historicam Degori Wheari, p. 591.

(2) Memorabilia de seipso.

(3) Bishop Gibson's Life of Camden, prefixed to his Britannia.

(4) Parentationem Historicam Degori Wheari, p. 594.

(5) Smith, Vita Camdeni p. 3, 4.

his friends, he became a candidate for a fellowship in the college of All-Souls, and which he lost by the intrigues of the Popish party, on account of his zeal for the Church of England as by law established (*m*). In 1570, he supplicated the venerable Congregation of Regents of that university, that he might be admitted Bachelor of Arts (*n*), but in this also he miscarried. The year following he came up to London, and prosecuted his studies under the patronage, and by the assistance, of Dr Gabriel Goodman, and Dr Godfrey Goodman his brother, who supplied him both with money and books for that purpose (*o*). In 1673, he returned to Oxford, where he supplicated again, in the beginning of the month of March, for the degree that had been refused him; and his request being now granted, he took, but did not compleat, it by determination (*p*). In 1575, by the interest of his friend Dean Goodman, he was made Second Master of Westminster school, which office he executed with great diligence, capacity, and success (*q*); so that his reputation daily increased, and he became known to, and admired by, the great ornaments of the literary world both at home and abroad [*B*]. As much of his time as he could spare from the duties of his arduous employment, he bestowed on the study of Antiquities, to which he had addicted himself while at Oxford, to the prosecution of which he was excited by Godfrey Goodman, nephew to the Dean of Westminster (*r*) Dr Gabriel Goodman, and much encouraged by the famous Sir Philip Sidney (*s*); whose reputation for learning, and being the patron of learned men, our author gratefully celebrated (*t*). He at this time meditated the great work he afterwards composed in honour of his native country, and with equal care and diligence perused all that the Antients have left in their writings concerning Britain, with indefatigable industry searched out and examined the Historical Writers of our own country, of which very few at that time had been published, and with equal skill and labour visited the records, and other repositories of that kind of learning which suited his purpose (*u*). In 1581, the learned President Brisson, being employed here by the French Court, in a negociation of great importance, he entered into a strict friendship and close correspondence with Mr Camden (*w*), which continued to the deplorable death of that eminent Magistrate [*C*]. In 1582, he took a journey through Suffolk into Yorkshire,

(*m*) Smith, Vit. Camden. p. 5.

(*n*) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 104.

(*o*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 6. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(*p*) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 108.

(*q*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 8.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(*s*) See Brook's Reply to Camden's Apology, p. 7.

(*t*) Britan. in Cantio, p. 233.

(*u*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 11.

(*w*) Memorabil. de seipso. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

himself such powerful patrons from his personal merit. This last protector being advanced to a canonry of Christ-Church, carried him along with him, and entertained him in his own lodgings (6). At this time it was, that his friendship commenced with the two Carews, Richard and George, the latter of whom was afterwards raised by King James to the title of Earl of Totness; and it has been supposed, that, as they were both Antiquaries, their conversation might give Mr Camden a turn that way (7). This is the more probable, because we learn from himself that before he left Oxford, he had a strong inclination to these studies, and that he could never hear any thing mentioned relating to that subject (8), without more than ordinary attention. After he quitted the university, and before he was settled at Westminster, he made frequent excursions for the sake of informing himself in matters of this nature, and began very early to form those collections (9), out of which he afterwards drew his learned and laborious performance.

[*B*] *By the great ornaments of the literary world both at home and abroad.*] There appears to be some confusion in the accounts that are given us of Mr Camden's patrons, the three Goodmans, and a very accurate French writer, who has written a very good account of our author, mentions it as an error in Bayle, that he took Dr Godfrey Goodman for the brother of Dr Gabriel, which, if it be an error, he certainly copied from Smith (10). Mr Camden himself acknowledges very handsomely, the favours he received from Dr Gabriel Goodman Dean of Westminster, and Anthony Wood positively asserts, that Godfrey Goodman, who was the Dean's nephew, and as I take it the son of Dr Godfrey Goodman, supplied our author with books and money, and defrayed the expences of his journies (11), which account he borrowed from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (12), written by a third Godfrey Goodman, some time Bishop of Gloucester, son to the second, and grandson to the first, and who was himself scholar to Camden, so that he might be very well acquainted with the acts of friendship he received from his family. It is more probable that Mr Godfrey Goodman the Bishop of Gloucester's father, and nephew to the Dean of Westminster, was our author's great patron, because, in the space of between four and five years, which elapsed between Mr Camden's coming from Oxford to his being settled as Second Master of Westminster school, by the intereft of Dean Goodman, he had no employment, and in this time it was, that he made most of those journies (13). Besides these he had many other friends and patrons, such, particularly, as Mr Thomas Savile, brother to the learned Sir Henry Savile, and, as plainly appears by his letters to Camden himself, one of the learnedest men of his time, and as such, celebrated by Mr Camden and others (14). Mr Edward Stradling, who was also a man of rank and distinguished knowledge. Amongst foreigners, Abraham Ortelius, the most able Geographer of his age, coming over to England made an acquaintance with Camden, and corresponded with him constantly. He was also very intimate with the famous Hotman, who had been Secretary to the Great Earl of Leicester. Justus Lipsius, Janus Dousa the younger, Janus Gruter, and many others (15). The reader will observe, that this account of his friends relates to the time while he was composing, and before he published, his *Britannia*, for after that came abroad, the number of his domestick and foreign patrons became much more numerous.

[*C*] *To the deplorable death of that eminent Magistrate.*] This honourable person, who was a Lawyer by profession, and esteemed one of the most learned men in France, was, in the month of August 1580, after having exercised for five years the office of Advocate-General to the Parliament of Paris, promoted to the rank of President *à Mortier*, and was soon after declared Counsellor of State by Henry III, who sent him over to England, to negociate a match between Queen Elizabeth and his brother the Duke of Anjou, at which time he came acquainted with Camden, and how high a value our author set upon his friendship, appears from his entering it amongst those few articles he set down relating to his own affairs (16). The President Brisson returning into France, had a large share in the transactions of the State, and remaining at Paris when that city revolted against his master, and declared for the League, he was, by that faction, on the eleventh of January 1589, declared First President of the Parliament, in the room of Achilles de Harlay, whom, for his loyalty, they had thrown into prison; but President Brisson, at the time of his accepting the office, declared, by an act under his hand, that he did it under force, that he did not receive his office as an honour (17), but as the only means he had left to save his life. Two years after this, a person being tried before the Parliament, for corresponding with the King, and being acquitted, the faction resolved to revenge themselves upon the First President, whom they condemned to be hanged, and executed their sentence on the fourth of November 1591,

(*b*) Britannia in Comitatu Bercheriensi in Descriptione Wallingfordiæ, p. 204.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. III. p. 410. Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

(8) Answer to Brooke, p. 1.

(9) See his Preface to the folio edition of his Britannia, which was the last published in his life-time.

(10) Niceron Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Vol. XXIII. p. 87.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480. Britan. in Middlesexia, p. 409.

(12) Review of the Court of King James, MS. p. 19.

(13) Answer to Brooke, p. 1.

(14) Britan. in Brigant. See Bishop Mountague's Preface to his *Diatribia* upon the first part of the History of Tythes. Reg. secund. act. Coll. Mert. p. 129.

(15) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 9.

(16) Memorab. de seipso.

(17) Niceron Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Vol. IX. p. 300.

shire, and returned through Lancashire in the month of April (x), that he might examine with his own eyes, and upon the spot, some of those Antiquities which he meant to illustrate in his great work, for the improvement of which he had carried on, for many years, a constant correspondence with the most learned and judicious persons of our own and other nations (y). He was fully sensible of all the difficulties of the task he had undertaken, and foresaw to how great envy he should be exposed, by adventuring upon such a piece, as must naturally draw the attention of the learned throughout Europe, and therefore he omitted nothing that might render it worthy of that attention, and of the expectation of his friends. At length, in 1586, his performance appeared, and though much enlarged and improved in future editions, was even then esteemed an honour to it's author, and the glory of his country (z) [D]. In the month of June 1588, he supplicated the university of Oxford for the degree of Master of Arts, which desire of his was granted conditionally, as we are told by Anthony Wood, that he should stand in the Act following; but the same writer informs us, that his admission occurs not in their Register (a). The year following he made a journey into Devonshire, and in the month of June, as himself tells us, was at Affarcomb (b), which is a prebend of the church of Salisbury, and had been bestowed upon him on the sixth of February preceding, by Dr John Piers, then Bishop of that diocese, and our author's intimate friend (c). The principal design of this journey was to visit the places most famous for their Antiquities in the West, and the expence of this and others for the same purpose, and in order to improve his Description of Britain, were defrayed, as we are told, by Mr Godfrey Goodman (d). In 1590, he made a journey into Wales, in company with the famous Dr Godwin, afterwards an eminent Prelate (e), and successively Bishop of Landaff and Hereford, that he might examine the Antiquities of this part of the island; for, as himself informs us, he was above all things desirous of having the best and clearest evidence of things he undertook to write about; that the nature of those things would admit. In point of Antiquities, he had recourse to the most ancient authors, which, out of the dust of libraries, he brought forth to publick light; in reference to Civil History, he searched the archives of this kingdom, both by himself and

(x) Memorabil. de seipso. His Defence against York, p. 5.

(y) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 11, 12, 13.

(z) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 207.

(a) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 135.

(b) Memorabil. de seipso.

(c) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 17.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(e) Memorabil. de seipso.

1594, by tying him up to one of the beams in the council-chamber at the Chatelet (18). The famous M. de Thou, though he was no friend of his, is pleased to confess, That the Republick of Letters received a sensible loss by his death (19). The king his master was wont frequently to express his esteem for him by saying, 'That he believed no Prince in Europe had so 'learned a subject as his Brisson.' Indeed his writings, upon a great variety of subjects, fully support this character; but in all probability, it was his consummate knowledge in ancient Geography and History, that set him so high in the opinion of our author.

[D] *Esteemed an honour to it's author, and the glory of his country.*] The title of this work runs thus, *Britannia, sive florentissimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, & Insularum adjacentium ex intimâ antiquitate Chorographica descriptio.* Londini, 1586. 8vo. i. e. 'Britain, or a 'Chorographical Description of the flourishing kingdoms 'of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent 'islands, from the most remote antiquity.' There seems to be nothing better fixed than the date of our author's first edition, he has assigned it himself expresly in his memorials, 1586 *Britannium edidi* (20). He affirms the same thing in his preface to his last edition; and yet Anthony Wood sets down the first edition to have been in 1582, and makes the second impression in 1585 (21), though in another work of his, he had fixed the first edition to 1585 (22). By this means Niceron is led into a mistake (23), as indeed might easily have happened to the most careful foreigner; but how, or whence, this error in Wood arose, is not to be guessed; for the author himself tells us, that he spent ten years in compiling it, and that he was first put upon it by Ortelius, by which it plainly appears, that he began to digest his collections the year after he came to Westminster (24). It would require more room than we have to spare, to enter even into a brief account of the mighty praises that were bestowed upon this book, even on it's first and imperfect appearance; I mean, in comparison of what it became afterwards through the continual care and application of it's author; but it may not be amiss to insert a paragraph or two from a letter written to our author by Mr William Lambard (25), the famous Kentish Antiquary, to whom he communicated a part of it before it went to the press; the rather, because the date of this letter, which is July 9, 1585, plainly proves there could be no edition till long after that time, notwithstanding what Anthony Wood asserts in express terms. 'I thank you most 'heartily, good Mr Camden, for the use of these 'books of your's, since they deliver many things that are 'not, so far as I do know, elsewhere to be had, and the 'same no less learnedly picked out than delicately uttered 'and written. What praise you deserve in all, I can 'best tell by Kent, wherein (howsoever I have laboured myself) I learn many things by you that I 'knew not before. Your conjecture at the etymon of 'the word *Cantium* is so probable, that you make me 'now doubt of mine own, which before I took to be 'most assured; you have so truly, as I think, traced 'out Leneham, Chilham, and Newendene, by the old 'Durolenum, Jul laber, and Anderida, as I shall 'for ever hereafter rest in your opinion of them. To 'be plain, I seem to myself not to have known Kent, 'till I knew Camden. If you have in purpose to 'perform the rest, go on boldly, good Mr Camden, 'wherein if you shall use the same dexterity that hitherto you have done (as I fear not but you will *Acesii & Heliconis opera dixerim.* Howsoever you 'shall be minded to do more or less, defraud not your 'countrymen of so great a pleasure, nor the country 'itself of so great an honour, by forbearing to imprint 'the same. If I had any thing that might further 'your study, I would most willingly impart it; and 'whether I have or no, I will make yourself the judge, 'if it shall like you to come down into Kent, and look 'amongst my papers.'

This work he dedicated to his first and great patron William Cecil Lord Burleigh, Knight of the Garter, and High-Treasurer of England, and in his dedication he very fully acknowledges, not only the many kindnesses and benefits he had received from him, but his assistance also in the work, and the great helps derived to him from the use of his well-chosen library. It is observable, that this dedication is dated May 2, 1586, so that our author finished this work precisely at the age of thirty-five; and yet, as he informs us himself, he dedicated thereto only his spare hours and Holidays, the duties of his office, engrossing all the rest of his time. He speaks largely, and yet very modestly, of the many and great obstacles he met with, and of the pains he took to overcome them; he shews a just sense of the hazard he run in publishing his labours, and his apprehension that they might provoke more than one sort of men against him; but at the same time he professes, that the encouragement of Ortelius and other friends, his own zeal for truth, and his passion for the service of his country, inspired him with a generous resolution of daring all the envy of the Criticks, rather than not attempt to render that justice to Britain, which had been so long denied to it.

(18) Le Journal d' Henri III.

(19) Memoires de sa Vie, liv. v.

(20) Memorabil. de seipso.

(21) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481, 482.

(22) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 270.

(23) Niceron Memoires des Hom. Illustres, Vol. XXIII. p. 95.

(24) See his Preface to the folio edition of his *Britannia.*

(25) Camden. Epist. p. 28, 29.

and by his friends; as to descents and the memoirs of great families, he obtained the best lights that he could; and the same method he took, in regard to the description of places; but finding great variations in these, he was willing to undergo any labour, requisite to come at truth, and that his reputation, which was continually rising, might not give a sanction to the mistakes of other men, reported by him (*f*). On the twenty-third of October 1592, he was seized with an ague, which proved a quartan, and notwithstanding all the helps he received from physick, held him long, and brought him low (*g*). While he was labouring under this distemper, Doctor Edward Grant, who for about twenty years had worthily executed the office of Head Master of Westminster-school, worn out with fatigue, resigned it in February 1592-3 (*h*); and in the month of March following, was succeeded therein by Mr Camden (*i*). Some indeed, and amongst the rest, the very learned and accurate Dr Smith, have affirmed, that it was upon the death of that learned person (*k*) he came into his place, but the fact is otherwise, and therefore it is the more requisite to correct an error of so long standing [*E*]. In the succeeding year, but not till the middle of summer, he became perfectly free from his ague (*l*); and soon after published the fourth edition of his Britannia, which was now very much enlarged, and appeared in many respects quite another thing, from what it was at first, through the care and diligence of the author, in collecting and digesting fresh materials, and reforming what, from the information of his friends, he found amiss therein (*m*). But notwithstanding all his attention and circumspection, this edition exposed him to a very warm, and in many respects indecent, attack from Rafe Brookesmouth, York-Herald, in relation to certain mistakes, which that writer believed he had discovered, in reference to descents, and which he apprehended might be attended with consequences dishonourable to many of the most ancient and most noble families in this kingdom (*n*). I have placed this event here, tho' most writers report it several years after, and I do it out of respect to truth, because it is certain, that tho' York's book did not appear at this time, yet he had framed his collections for it, soon after the publication of the fourth edition of the Britannia (*o*). How far he might be excited by envy, jealousy, or spite, to this undertaking, I shall not pretend to determine; but shall in the notes give the reader as clear an account of the controversy, as in my power, and without any mixture of prejudice or prepossession [*F*]. As soon as he found his health so well established, as to enable him

(*f*) Answer to Brooke, p. 1.

(*g*) Memorabil. de seipso. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 17, 18.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 310.

(*i*) Memorabil. de seipso. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 19. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. i. p. 270.

(*k*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 18.

(*l*) Memorabil. de seipso.

(*m*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(*n*) See Brooke's Epistle to the gentle and learned Reader, placed before his second Discovery of Errors published in the much commended *Britannia*.

(*o*) See this point largely explained in the note [E].

[*E*] *The more requisite to correct an error of so long standing.*] The first author of this mistake, appears to be Degory Wheare in his oration on the death of Camden (26), and by his authority, even the best writers have been misled upon this subject (27). 'Upon the 'death of that most learned man Edward Grant, 'Doctor (28) in Divinity, who had the government of 'Westminster-school, which happened in the month of 'March 1593, Camden succeeded in his place;' says the worthy Dr Smith; and in this he is followed even by that accurate writer, and excellent judge of our history, the present Bishop of London, in the life of our author prefixed to the translation of the *Britannia*. 'The first step he made, was the second Master-'ship of Westminster-school in 1575. In this station 'he continued till the death of Dr Grant Head School-'master (which happened in 1593) whom he suc-'ceeded.' Anthony Wood, in his History and Antiquities of Oxford (29), speaks doubtfully. 'He came, 'says he, to be Head-master either by the resignation, 'or death, of that eminent Divine Edward Grant.' In his article of Camden, of whom he promises to be more particular than about any other author, he writes still with greater obscurity (30). 'In March 1592-3, 'he was made Chief Master of Westminster-school in 'the place of Dr Edward Grant.' Yet, in the article of Grant, he gives a full and clear account of the matter, which plainly overturns all the former accounts (31). 'He (that is Dr Edward Grant) resigned his Master-'ship of Westminster-school about the month of 'February 1592, and was succeeded therein by 'William Camden. He died, in September, or 'October, 1601, and was buried in St Peter's church 'in Westminster, whereupon his Canonry was be-'stowed on Dr William Barlow.' This is pretty near, but not exactly, right; for this learned man actually died August 4, 1601 (32), as formerly appeared by the inscription on his monument in Westminster-abbey, which is now defaced, but the reader may still find it preserved by the care of our venerable author (33).

[*F*] *Without any mixture of prejudice or prepossession.*] The common stream of authors represent this attack upon Mr Camden, as proceeding from the envious malice of it's author, arising from Mr Camden's promotion, and his own disappointment. A very learned writer begins his account of it thus (34). 'In the year '1597, upon the death of Richard Leigh Clarenceux 'King at Arms, Sir Fulk Grevil recommended Mr 'Camden to the Queen as a person every way qualified 'for the place, and one that had highly deserved of 'her Majesty and her kingdoms. The Queen, with-'out more ado, gives him a grant, and Mr Camden 'accordingly was created October 23, in the same year, 'having the day before been made Richmond-Herald, 'because, by the Constitution, none can be King at 'Arms but who has been first Herald. At that time 'Mr Brooke was York-Herald, who, upon Leigh's 'death, presently had an eye upon that preferment, 'and doubted not but the station he had already in the 'college would secure it to him. The greater his 'assurance was, the disappointment lay so much the 'heavier upon him, and (as men who lay too much 'stress upon their own merit are always hurried on to 'revenge upon the least injury) his next business was, 'to find out a fair opportunity of shewing his resent-'ments. Mr Camden, at the end of each county, has 'drawn down the history of the respective Earls, and 'he thought probably, that if a quarrel could be picked 'in the business of families, it would be most suitable 'to his present purpose. The plot was well contrived, 'if the charge could have been made out: As it would 'have shewn Mr Camden's forwardness in engaging 'himself on a subject he was not master of, so would it 'have convinced the Government of their unreasona-'ble choice, not only in preferring a person who knew 'little of the matter, but (which was worse) in re-'jecting one that was an absolute Critick. After two 'years study, he published a book with this title, *A* '*Discovery of certain Errors published in print in the* '*much commended* Britannia, *&c. without Licence,* '*without name either of Printer or Bookseller.*' All this reads very well, and the circumstances seem to hang together; but notwithstanding this, and though it should be granted, that Ralph Brooke had a sinister design in attacking Mr Camden, yet I doubt it will be found, that this was so far from arising out of distaste to his being King at Arms, that it was originally grounded in his being no Herald (35). In short, the fact was this: Mr Camden, in his first editions, touched but gently upon descents, and mentioned but a few families, whereas in his fourth edition, he enlarged so much upon them, that he has given a particular index to direct the reader on this head, under the title of *Barones & illustriores familiæ*, and has therein set down

(26) V. Parentationem Historicam, p. 592.

(27) See his article in Bayle.

(28) Vit. Camd. p. 18.

(29) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 270.

(30) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(31) Id. ibid. Vol. I. col. 311.

(32) Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, p. 372.

(33) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alii in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii Sepult. Usque ad Annum reparatæ Salutis 1606, 4to, p. 77.

(34) Life of Camden, prefixed to the Translation of his *Britannia*.

(35) In his Address to Maister Camden, prefixed to his book, intituled, A Discovery of certain Errors, &c. from which Addresse it is evident that he was not then King at Arms.

him to undergo the fatigue of a fresh journey, and was able to obtain leisure for another excursion, he next made a tour to Salisbury and Wales, with a view to farther improvements of his work, and returning by Oxford (p), spent there some time, in which he visited most, if not all the churches and chapels there, copying the monumental inscriptions and the arms, which he found in them, and reducing them into a book, which Anthony Wood (q) tells us, he had seen in his own hand-writing. A wonderful proof of his care and diligence! and which, therefore well deserved to be secured from oblivion. In 1597, he was again afflicted with a grievous sickness, upon which he removed to the house of one Cuthbert Line, and there, as himself tells us, recovered by the care of that person's wife (r). He published in this year his Greek Grammar (s), for the use of Westminster-school, which as it was a proof of his great attention to the functions of his employment, so if he had never obliged the learned world with any other performance, it might well have secured his reputation with posterity [G]. It is highly probable, that at this time, our author was so far from having any thoughts of quitting a post, in which he was universally respected and esteemed, that it is more probable he proposed to himself, either ending his days in it, or following the example of his predecessor and resigning it, when overwhelmed

(p) Memorabil. de seipso.

(q) Athen.Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(r) Memorabil. de seipso. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 19.

(s) Memorabil. de seipso. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

down very near two hundred and fifty noble houses, which Ralph Brooke considered as an invasion upon the rights of the college. This put him upon enquiring, whether there might not be some mistakes in these accounts, and when he believed he had found a great many, he was desirous they should be amended (36). But he did not (if we may believe himself) think of attacking Mr Camden in print, or of publishing his discoveries, as he called them, to the world. His taking this step was owing to other causes, of which the reader may take this account in his own words, which I believe will fully clear up the matter (37). 'The most abstruse arts, I profess not, but 'yeild the palme and victorie thereof to myne aduersary that great learned Mr Camden, with whom yet 'a long experimented navigator may contend about 'his chard and compasse, about havens, creeks, and 'soundes, so I, an auncient Herauld, a little dispute, 'without imputation of audacitie, concerning the honour of armes, and the truth of honorable descents. 'In confidence whereof, beholding in foure of his 'imprinted books successively a continewed raz (race) 'and generation of errors, in corrupting and falsifying many noble discents and pedigrees, and perceaving that even the braines of many learned men 'beyond the seas had mis-conceaved and miscarried in 'the travaile and birth of their relations, being gotten, 'as it were, with child (as *Diomedes mares*) by the 'blast of his erronious puffes: I could not, but according to my profession, and long experience in Herauldry, a little question the original father of those 'absurdities, being so farre blowne with the trumpett 'of his learning and fame into forreine lands. For 'what overture about the discents of English nobles, 'and other genealogies, hath that famous Mr Hieron 'Henningius, in his foure pound folio booke, byne 'taken tardie with all, that his credulitie hath not 'sucked out of that highlye esteemed *Britannia*? 'And was it not from his genealogicall slippes, that 'Reusner in his genealogies, amongst manie grosse mistakings, hath made Richard Plantagenet, Duke of 'Yorke, and Anne Mortimer, to be father and mother to Edward the 4th, and Richard the thyrde, 'both Kings of England? coupling them together 'as unnaturally as OEdipus and Jocasta.

'For remedie of which inconveniences, I was bould 'first to move others, of good credite and learning, 'friendly to advertice this learned man, Mr Camden, of 'the faultie passages in his booke touching Herauldry, to 'whom his answere was, that he could not correct any 'of them for discrediting his whole worke: as though 'mending the sores would have maymed the bodye.

'Secondly, In private when I harde his addressment to a fift impression, I my self dealt with him 'for the amendment of some slippes in his *Britannia* 'of the same kynd, promising hym the use of my 'owne observations and collections, which, as proffered wares, fastidiously he reiected, not accounting 'them worthy his thankes or acceptation, contrarie 'to the aduice of the sober learned, who are contente 'to heare the conceipt of a meane friend sometymes, 'and respect the offer, although but a blynde man 'should pointe out the way. The ratt is not so contemptible but shee may helpe the lyon at a pinch out 'of those nets wherein his strength is hampered: and 'the words of an inferior may often carry matter 'in them, to admonish his superiour of some important consideration. And surely of what account soever I might have seemed to this learned man, yet 'in regarde of my profession, and courteous offer (I 'being an auncient officer of armes, and he then but 'a Schoolmaster) might well have vouchsaffed the perusal of my notes.' It is most evident from hence, that his quarrel with our author began not from, but before, his promotion; and though it is very true, that his first book did not come out till after Camden was promoted; yet, as Brooke therein complained that he had been disturbed in writing, and much more in printing it, by the friends of Mr Camden, it is plain, that it was not a new or sudden thought, but an obstinate resolution of pursuing an old design (38). To all this, we may add, tho' our author himself, in his answer to Brooke, of which we shall speak hereafter, and which, without doubt, is sharp enough, does indeed take notice of his promotion, and the distaste that it might have given to York-Herald; yet this was after he had published his discovery, and throughout that piece, he shews that disdain of his adversary's abilities, which Brooke complains of, never once admits him to be in the right, or his corrections worth regarding (though in his fifth edition he very wisely made use of them) but treats him with very high contempt, and as one no way worthy of his notice. To speak my own sentiment freely, I am perswaded that if, on the one hand, Mr Camden had foreseen his becoming Clarenceux King at Arms, he would not have let fall some expressions in his writings; and, on the other hand, if Brooke had suspected it before he began the quarrel, I much doubt whether he would have begun it at all; for whoever peruses his books carefully, will find, that what stung him most, was, that a Schoolmaster should meddle with descents and families, and at the same time treat Heralds, to whom he thought these things belonged, with so little ceremony and respect.

[G] *It might well have secured his reputation with posterity.*] The title of this work, as published by the author, ran thus, *Grammatices Græcæ institutio compendiaria in usum Regiæ Scholæ Westmonasteriensis.* Londini, in 8vo. We have an excellent account both of our author's intention and performance in reference to this Grammar, which, therefore, it is but justice to insert in the words of the Right Reverend Author (39). 'He was, says he, always exciting the present age to 'virtue and honour, by representing to them the venerable monuments of their ancestors, or laying a 'foundation for the happiness of posterity, by forming 'youth unto religion and learning. They are two 'professions that seem to look quite different ways, and 'yet he managed them to such advantage, that if he 'had been continually abroad, 'tis hard to imagine 'how the Antiquary could have been better, or if 'constantly in the school, how the Master could have 'been more diligent. He was not content to train up 'those who were under his immediate care, unless '(like the good old Orator) he put himself in a condition to be a guide to them, even after it should 'please Providence to remove him.' It is not necessary to add any thing farther to this account, except it be, that Dr Smith tells us, that at the time he printed his book, which was in 1691, this Grammar had run through very near an hundred impressions (40).

[H] By

(36) Perhaps he might have heard that Mr Camden had received such corrections very thankfully from others, of which the reader may find an instance in his Epistles published by Dr Smith, p. 36.

(37) See his Addresss to the gentle and learned Reader, prefixed to his second Discovery of Errors.

(38) See his Addresss to Mr Camden, before his first Discovery of Errors: and observe the motto also to that work, viz. *Quam quisq; norit Artem in hac se exerceat:* which implies, that pedigrees were not Mr Camden's business at the time this dispute began.

(39) See Bishop Gibson's Life of Camden.

(40) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

whelmed with infirmities, and when he had acquired wherewithal, to paſs the remainder of his days with eaſe and decency. This I ſay is probable, becauſe he refuſed the place of a Maſter of Requeſts (*t*), which it is likely might be offered him by his friend the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh; and yet notwithſtanding this, before the end of the year, he left it for a far more honourable employment. Richard Leigh (*u*), Clarenceux King of Arms, dying on the twenty-third of September, Sir Fulk Grevile, our author's intimate friend, aſked of Queen Elizabeth, that office for Mr Camden, which was immediately granted; but becauſe it was not uſual in the College of Arms, for a perſon to riſe to that dignity, without paſſing through the office of Herald, he was on the twenty-ſecond of October, ſo created, by the title of Richmond; and on the twenty-third made Clarenceux (*w*). Upon this preferment, he was complimented by all his friends, except the Lord Burleigh, who took it ill, that a perſon he had honoured with his friendſhip, ſhould decline his aſſiſtance in his promotion; but upon Mr Camden's accquainting him, that it was entirely a thought of Sir Fulk Grevile's, and that himſelf was as much ſurprized by his promotion as his Lordſhip, that coolneſs was removed (*x*), and his protection continued to him as long as that wiſe and good ſtateſman lived, which was not long. It was both an happineſs and an honour to Mr Camden to have ſuch a man, not only for his patron but for his friend, who afforded him his countenance, when he publiſhed his performance, as he had given him great aſſiſtance while he was engaged in it, communicating to him all the ſtores of his well furniſhed library (*y*); and adding to theſe, the lights of his learned converſation, which could not but be highly uſeful to Mr Camden, ſince that noble perſon had made the Antiquities of England, and the perſonal Hiſtory of the great men who had flouriſhed in it, his peculiar and conſtant ſtudy, through the courſe of his life (*z*). A little before his death, he recommended to our author the preſerving to poſterity the Hiſtory of his Royal Miſtreſs; and at the ſame time, that he adviſed the building, contributed a large ſtock of materials towards the erecting it (*a*). How great an effect this recommendation had, will be hereafter ſeen; in the mean time let us obſerve, that as there could not be higher teſtimony of that great man's reſpect to his Sovereign, ſo it is impoſſible he ſhould give a ſtronger proof of his eſteem for our author's abilities, or thorough perſuaſion of his integrity, than by committing ſuch a work to his care. In 1600, Mr Camden, who was now more at liberty, than while he had the charge of the ſchool upon him, made a journey as far as Carliſle, in the company of Robert Cotton, Eſquire (*b*), his dear and intimate friend, afterwards Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet, and after having ſurveyed whatever was curious in the North, returned to London in the month of December (*c*). This long journey into the North, did not hinder his ſending abroad an account of all the monuments of the Kings, Queens, Nobles, and others in the Collegiate Church of St Peter's Weſtminſter, with their inſcriptions, which he enlarged and reprinted more than once; and tho' notwithſtanding theſe augmentations, it is ſtill but of very ſmall bulk, yet the elegance and accuracy of the performance (*d*) renders it valuable, even at this day, notwithſtanding the pretences made by ſome authors, who would be thought to have written more fully upon, and to have examined more ſtrictly into, this ſubject. This year alſo came out the fifth edition of his Britannia, to which he annexed an Apology to the Reader, in anſwer to what had been publiſhed by Raſe Brooke to the prejudice of his work, and the reception which this edition met with very clearly ſhowed, that the fame of Camden was not to be obſcured by any flying clouds of critical envy [*H*]. The next

(*t*) Camdeni Epiſt. p. 247.

(*u*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 20.

(*w*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*x*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of Camden.

(*y*) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 13.

(*z*) See the article CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh.

(*a*) See his Epiſtle to the reader prefixed to his firſt part of his Annals.

(*b*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*d*) Publiſhed originally in a ſmall 4to in 1600, again in 1603, and a third time in 1606.

[*H*] *By any flying clouds of critical envy.*] There were three editions of the *Britannia* in octavo, *viz.* the firſt in 1586, the ſecond in 1587, the third in 1590, but of a larger ſize than the two former. It appeared the ſame year at Frankfort where it was printed by John Wechel. The fourth edition was printed at London in 1594, in 4to, and it was this edition that gave occaſion to the remarks of Raſe Brooke. This of which we are now ſpeaking was the fifth, printed alſo in 4to at London; and at the end of this, we find his anſwer to Brooke, under no other title than this, *Ad Lectorem*, i. e. To the Reader. This is alſo ſometimes bound up with his adverſary's book, intitled, *A Diſcovery of certain errors publiſhed in print in the much-commended* Britannia; but being very conciſe, I do not find that it has been ever printed by itſelf. He opens this ſhort work with a very clear and a very modeſt account of his own application to the ſtudy of Antiquities, which he aſſures us began while he was at ſchool, increaſed at the Univerſity, took up moſt of his time before he was ſettled at Weſtminſter, and induced him to make thoſe large collections, from whence, at the earneſt deſire of Abraham Ortelius, he afterwards drew out the firſt ſcheme of his *Britannia*, which, he informs us, he very well knew was, in many reſpects, imperfect, and therefore laboured, by the peruſal of books, the information of friends, and by ſeveral journies, in which he perſonally viſited the greateſt part of England, to amend and improve it. After all this pains-taking, he was ſurprized to find himſelf, and his work, attacked with great virulence and fury by a certain perſon (he avoids naming him) whether moved thereto by folly or judgment, by the weakneſs of his mind, or by the heat of his envy, becauſe the late Queen had been graciouſly pleaſed paſſing this perſon by, to exalt him to a certain office, he does not determine; but after acknowledging, that he is very ſenſible both that he might commit, and has committed, various errors, he addreſſes himſelf to his defence againſt the charge that had been exhibited by his enemy (41). But here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that a diſtinction muſt be made between the original difference that Brooke had with Camden, and the publication of his treatiſe; the former related only to ſome miſtakes which this man thought he had diſcovered in our author's work, but when he was once in, and fancied himſelf under a neceſſity of appealing to the world, and to the Earl of Eſſex, then Earl Marſhal, he brought in other matter, which was certainly foreign to his purpoſe, ſo that the whole of his charge might be reduced under three heads (42). The firſt of theſe was as to errors committed in accounts of noble families. The ſecond, as to the aſſiſtance derived, but not acknowledged, from Mr Glover's papers in Lord Burleigh's library. The third, as to the vaſt helps received from Leland's papers, out of which, he ſurmiſes that Mr Camden had gathered

(41) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1, 2, 3.

(42) Brooke's book was dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex, who from thence appears to have been his patron; whereas Camden ſided with the Cecils; he likewiſe added thereto it Leland's New Year's Gift, which he reprinted with a libellous poem intituled, Leland's Ghoſt.

next year after this, he was again visited by a fever, from which he recovered by the care of his friend, Mr Heather, for which he bore him ever afterwards very high respect (*e*). In 1603, the plague breaking out at London, he retired with his friend, Robert Cotton, Esq; to his seat at Conington, and thereby escaped it (*f*). It was in this year, that by his care a very noble collection of our ancient Historians, appeared at Frankfort, and these he dedicated to Sir Fulk Grevil, in acknowledgment for the good office he did him in procuring him to be made King at Arms. Part of these Historians were never before published, and such as had seen the light, he sent abroad, much more accurate and compleat, than formerly they had appeared, rendering thereby very great service to all such as were inclined to study the British, English, Irish, or Norman Histories (*g*) [*I*]. In the year following, he published his Remains of his large work, concerning Britain, which, in gratitude for past favours, and as a mark of his sincere friendship and high esteem, he dedicated to his dear friend and constant patron, Sir Robert Cotton, though from the work itself it appears, that he once intended to have inscribed it to Sir Fulk Grevil (*h*). There are in it, without doubt, abundance of curious, useful, and learned remarks, and tho' there may be some light and trivial things intermixed, which, perhaps hindered the author from owning it in the same publick manner as he did the rest of his works, yet there is no doubt at all of it's being his, or of it's being worthy of him [*K*]. He

(*e*) Memorabil. de seipso.

(*f*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*g*) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(*h*) See this explained more at large in the notes.

gathered a great part of his description (43). Our author, in his defence, shews largely, from various authorities both of history and records, that in many of the places objected to, himself was in the right; and his adversary, notwithstanding the many years he had spent in the office of a Herald, in the wrong. He acknowledges, however, that by following one of his predecessors, Robert Cook Clarenceux King at Arms, he had fallen into some mistakes, which he thinks were excusable on the score of the authority by which he was misled; as to the other two parts of the charge, he acquits himself entirely by declaring, that he mentioned with honour those from whom he borrowed any thing; and with respect to Leland more particularly, he acknowledges, that he had perused some of his works, and particularly his *Itinerary*, and where he borrowed any thing from it material, had cited him; but observes very justly, that where he says the same things of his own knowledge that Leland had mentioned from his, he did not think himself indebted to him. He farther observes, that if this worthy person spent five years in these studies, himself had spent thirty; that if he had examined many ancient authors, himself had also taken great pains in the same way, and had not only perused what was to be met with in English libraries, but had also procured great helps from abroad, from the monuments of learning preserved in the libraries of France, Italy, and Spain, by the assistance of his learned friends Franciscus Pithæus, Justus Lipsius, Abrahamus Ortelius, H. Surrita, J. Obsopæus, and others. He concludes his short discourse with some very quick and lively strokes of learned raillery upon his opponent, charges him with utter ignorance in his own profession, and incapacity of translating, or, consequently, of understanding perfectly what he had written in his *Britannia*; and offers to submit the points in dispute to the Earl Marshal, to the College of Heralds, to the Society of Antiquaries, or to four persons learned in these studies. All this did not hinder Brooke from returning to the charge, he wrote a *Second Discovery of errors*, in which he pursued the same method he had taken in the former, that is to say, he set down first a passage in Camden, then the objections raised against it in his first book; next, Camden's answer in his own words; and last of all, his reply; but, for reasons that are not known to us, this was not published. The shrewdest part of it is the Appendix, in which he sets down, in two columns, the passages objected to in Mr Camden's edition of 1594, and the same passages as they stood in this edition of 1600, which puts it in the power of the reader to judge, at one view, of the real sentiments of our learned author as to Brooke's animadversions. This piece, about an hundred years after the death of it's author, was printed from a manuscript of the late learned and worthy John Anstis, Esq; Garter King at Arms (44), and has given us an opportunity of entering more thoroughly into the nature of this controversy, than it was possible for writers to do, who had not seen the latter, as well as the former, performance of Brooke's, in which there are (mixed with much bitterness) abundance of useful and curious passages.

(43) See the Adress at the beginning of his book to Mr Camden, and the Conclusion which is directed to him also.

(44) The title runs thus: A Second Discovery of Errors published in the much-commended Britannia, 1594, very prejudicial to the Descents and Successions of the ancient Nobility of this Realm; with a Reply to Mr Camden's Apology *ad Lectorem*, in his fifth edit. 1600, by Rafe Brooke, Esq; York Herald of Armes, Lond. printed for James Woodman, 1723, 4to.

[*I*] *The British, English, Irish, or Norman Histories.*] The title of this work at large runs thus, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, à Veteribus descripta: ex quibus Asser Menevensis, Anonymus de vitâ Gulielmi Conquæstoris, Thomas Walsingham, Thomas de la More, Gulielmus Genuticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis. Plerique nunc in lucem editi ex Bibliothecâ Gulielmi Camdeni.* Francofurti, *folio* 1603. There could not be a stronger proof of our author's candour or zeal for the honour of his country, or the advantage of the Republick of Letters, than this publication of our ancient Historians (45). It plainly shews, that he was very far from being desirous to lock up in his private study, as curiosities, such pieces as, if divulged, might prove of publick utility. He was sensible how great a loss the learned world would sustain, by his laying aside the design he once had formed of writing an English History, and therefore he thought himself obliged in justice, to add to the small stock of materials already prepared, these original and valuable authors. This is the account that himself gives in his Epistle to Sir Fulk Grevil, and it is every way sufficient to satisfy the reader as to the uprightness of his intention, and the benevolence of his disposition. His collection was received, as it deserved, with the utmost applause of the most learned abroad, and with all possible respect and gratitude at home, where it has served for a foundation for most of our modern histories (46).

[*K*] *Or of it's being worthy of him.*] It will be proper, before we say any thing of this work, to give the reader it's title, in which also he will find the contents briefly inserted. In the original edition it stands thus: *Remaines of a Greater Work concerning* Britain, *the inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreses, Wise speeches, Poesies, and Epitaphes,* London, 1605, 4to. It is addressed to the Right Worshipful, Worthy, and Learned Sir Robert Cotton of Conington, Knight; and the author makes it the sole business of his Dedication to disparage his book, treating it as an indigested heap of fragments that he left to be played with by the wind, which he knew to be unworthy of the person to whom they were presented, and should not therefore be offended, however he thought fit to dispose of them. But the true reason of this conduct was, that he might escape any such attacks as had been made upon his *Britannia*, it was this made him depreciate his collection, and call it 'the out-cast rubbish of a greater and more serious 'work, the pitiful silliness whereof would secure it 'from envy, which only reaches at eminence.' It was for the same reason that he subscribed it only with the final letters of his name, and delayed so long the publication, for the Epistle Dedicatory is dated the 12th of June 1603, but the book was not published till 1605. Dr Smith indeed places it in 1604 (47), which is not only contrary to the title-page of the first edition which lies before me, but to the authority of Camden himself, who sets it down thus in his Memoranda, 1605 Λείψανα prodierunt primum, i. e. *In* 1605 *the* Remains *were first published* (48). By the way, this shews his real sentiments of that work; for, except the first edition of his *Britannia*, and his Greek Grammar, he takes no notice of the other works he published before it. It is expresly ascribed to Camden by

(45) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 39.

(46) See Dr Brady's and Mr Tyrrel's Introduction to their respective Histories.

(47) Vit. Camd. p. 77.

(48) Memorabil. de seipso.

He wrote besides, many short, but learned and valuable essays on British Antiquities, most of them at the request, and in compliance with the practice of that learned Society of Antiquaries, we have mentioned in another place (*i*), and of which he was a member; some of these have been preserved and published, and, from the perusal of them, we have reason to regret that others are lost, or, at least, concealed from the view of the world, and hindered from affording those lights, which men addicted to these studies will always reap from the writings of this judicious author. Those that are still extant, we owe to the care of the industrious and laborious Thomas Hearne (*k*) [*L*]. Who in this, and other respects, has merited greatly from the publick. In 1606, began our author's correspondence with the famous President de Thou, which continued to their mutual satisfaction for eleven years, that is to the death of that worthy magistrate and faithful Historian, during which time, he received many notices, with respect to the affairs of this island, from his judicious and faithful correspondent, which, with much kindness and gratitude, he acknowledged (*l*). The discovery of the Powder-plot gave him a fresh occasion of employing his pen in the service of the publick. It seems, that his Royal Master King James, after providing that posterity in this kingdom, should be for ever put in mind of the wonderful deliverance himself and the nation received, by an Anniversary Thanksgiving, thinking it proper to put the Reformed Churches abroad upon their guard, against those inveterate enemies of the Protestant Religion, as well as to satisfy foreign Princes of all Religions of the justice of his proceedings, made choice of Mr Camden, as best qualified to draw up the whole case in a Latin style agreeable to the subject. This, with great accuracy, elegance, and spirit, he performed, and his work, to shew by whose authority it was compiled, issued out from the press of the King's Printer (*m*). It was not long after (and indeed, it is no wonder) put into the list of prohibited books by the Inquisition at Rome (*n*), and probably will retain it's place there as long as that continues in any credit. On the 7th of September 1607, he had the misfortune to fall from his horse, by which he hurt his leg in such a manner, that he was not able to stir abroad for many months (*o*). It was in this year, that he put his last hand to, and published, that noble and compleat edition

(*i*) See the article AGARD (ARTHUR) in this Dictionary.

(*k*) See his Collection of curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries upon several heads in our English Antiquities. Oxon. printed at the Theatre, 1720, 8vo.

(*l*) Memorabil. de seipso. Epistolæ Camdeni, p. 68, 73, 97, 139, 153.

(*m*) This was published in 1607 in 4to, by John Norton his Majesty's Printer, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

(*n*) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(*o*) Memorabil. de seipso.

by his adversary Brooke, in his *Second Discovery of Errors*, and indeed I do not know that ever any doubt was made of it's being his; and as to the value of the work, the number of editions it has run through, and the additions made to it by John Philpot Somerset-Herald, very clearly shew the reception it met with amongst such as were best judges of it's contents. Yet there is a certain author who, with mighty professions of veneration for Mr Camden, hath treated it very freely (49). 'There are in it, says he, a deal of good 'collections touching the languages, money, surnames, and apparel of our British and Saxon Antiquities, but his list of proper names might be considerably enlarged and corrected by what Scottelius 'and Dr Gibson have written on that subject. As 'for his allusions, rebus, and anagrams, he himself 'feared they would pass for foolish fopperies and I do 'not care for thwarting, without good reason, any of 'his opinions. The conceits in impresses, apophthegms, 'poems, epigrams, and epitaphs are endless, and 'therefore hardly worth registring in a work of this 'nature.' The proper answer to this indirect and timid piece of criticism is plainly this, that the author had no conception of what Camden intended to publish in that work, which was to preserve to posterity an infinite number of curious things, which had been communicated to him while he was forming collections for his *Britannia*, and which, from his own experience, he very well knew might prove very useful, and therefore must prove very acceptable to such as were lovers of Antiquities. To say the truth, it is very difficult to determine whether our prudent and judicious author gave a higher proof of his exquisite penetration, in rejecting what this book contains, when he framed his Description of Britain, or in putting together these materials when he had so rejected them, and leaving them, as he has done, to the consideration and use of proper judges amongst posterity. If an Architect who, upon publick notice of his design to erect some stately edifice for general use, should be so supplied with all kind of costly materials, as to be able to finish his design compleatly, and yet have much of those materials to spare, would any wise man blame him either for not crowding them all in, or for not burying the stones, breaking the bricks, or burning the beams that were left? They know little, very little, of the pleasure, and even utility, of collecting what cannot be inserted in a work so highly finished as the *Britannia*, who blame Mr Camden for sorting and publishing his *Remains*; and they enter very little into his spirit, who take literally what he says in prejudice to that work, which if he had thought such a heap of rubbish and pitiful silliness, as he styles it, he would not have kept or published, much less inscribed it to Sir Robert Cotton, that great patron of Learning, of Antiquities, and of Camden. But some men have the misfortune of mistaking a humour of finding fault, for a true critical genius, a low punning wit, for a fine vein of raillery, and a confused remembrance of many books, for universal learning. Such men as these may write folio's without leaving *Remains*, but the dreams of Homer will be always more esteemed, than the waking thoughts of rhymers, who are poets in no man's conception but their own.

(49) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 5.

[*L*] *Of the industrious and laborious Thomas Hearne.*] This well-meaning and indefatigable man, in the Collection, which he published, of curious discourses written by eminent Antiquaries, has preserved several pieces of Mr Camden's, which otherwise had been buried in oblivion, and which notwithstanding most certainly deserved a better fate. The first of these is, *A short Account of the Antiquity, Office, and Privilege of* Heralds *in England* (50), in which he seems to think this term is of German original, and that it signifies old or ancient Master, or, as I find it explained by another writer on the same subject, a person styled Sir, or Master, on account of his venerable age. He likewise observes, that the first mention he finds of them was about the time of King Edward I. when in a statute relating to Arms and Weapons it was directed, that the Kings of Heralds should wear no armour but their swords pointless, and that they should only have their *Houses des Armes*, which he conceives to be their coats of arms. He adds, that the name and honour of them was never greater than in the time of King Edward III. when there were Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Pursuivants by patent, not only peculiar to the King, but belonging also to the principal Nobility. The second discourse of Mr Camden's is dated June 29th, 1604, upon which, probably, it was read in the Society of Antiquaries; the title is, *Of the diversity of Names of this Island* (51); in which our author uses many things before involved either in his *Britannia*, or *Remains*, and advances some that are in neither. Upon the same subject, discourses were read at the same time, and before the same society, by those eminent Antiquaries Mr Joseph Holland, Mr Arthur Agard, and Mr Michael Oldsworth, which last gives a high character of Camden in his short treatise. The last treatise is *Of the* Etymologie *and* Original *of* Barons (52); transcribed from Mr Camden's *Adversaria*, in possession of Lord Hatton, T. S. that is, as I understand it, Thomas Smith, from whose papers Mr Hearne published this Collection.

(50) A Collection of curious Discourses written by several eminent Antiquaries upon our English Antiquities, p. 85.

(51) Ibid. p. 149.

(52) Ibid. p. 205.

[*M*] *Ta*

edition of his Britannia, which will remain a perpetual monument of his learning, the rather as it was erected to the honour of his country. It is from this edition, that several English translations have been made, and therefore it is requisite, that in the notes we should take some further account of it (p) [M]. He had now finished and sent abroad all those pieces, to which his great design had given birth, and thereby put it much in the power of others to prosecute with certainty and ease, those works in which himself had met with so much toil and labour. He had once indeed, as himself informs us, an intention to have written a Civil History of this nation, which was before he undertook his Britannia (q), but he saw that it would cost more than one man's life to bring the very materials of it into order, and therefore he contented himself with adding, the large volume of Historians beforementioned, to the collections formerly published, and thereby set an example, which has been happily followed by several learned and worthy persons. But that the remainder of his years might be filled up with something worthy of his great talents, his uncorrupted fidelity, and extensive reputation, he began, in 1608, to digest those materials which he had been for many years collecting towards the History of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (r), to which he had been first excited by his old patron, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, the performing of which had from that time been requested of him by many other great personages, and with the expectation of which he had filled the minds of all his learned friends. But while he was meditating this great work, he was seized on his birth-day in 1609, with a dangerous illness; and the plague breaking out in his neighbourhood, he was removed to the house of his friend, Mr Heather, where by the care of Dr Giffard his Physician, he, tho' slowly, recovered his health (s). At this time it was, that he made choice of Chislehurst in Kent, for the place of his retirement; and thither he went for the first time, on the 15th of August that year; and returned from thence on the 23d of October following (t). It was in this year also, that a new preferment was intended for our learned author, Dr Sutcliffe, Dean of Westminster, had proposed erecting a College at Chelsea, for a certain number of learned men, who were to make the opposing of Popery the great business of their studies (u). King James was very well pleased with this design, and gave it all the encouragement that could be expected. He named Dr Sutcliffe, the first Provost; seventeen very eminent Divines were appointed Fellows; and to these, as Historians, were added, Mr Camden and Dr John Hayward a Civilian (w). An Act of Parliament also passed, for promoting this new foundation; but notwithstanding all this, except the erecting the bare shell of a College, there was no progress made (x), so that it turned no other way to Mr Camden's advantage, than by showing, that when the cause of learning, the Protestant Religion, and the honour of this nation, were under consideration, he was always in the thoughts of those who were the best judges. The infirmities of old age were now growing upon him daily, notwithstanding which, he kept up his extensive correspondence both at home and abroad. The History of Queen Elizabeth went on all this time but slowly, on account of the great circumspection used by the author, who neglected no opportunity of consulting State-Papers,

(p) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(q) See his Britannia under the title of Normans.

(r) Memorabil. de seipso.

(s) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 482.

(t) Memorabil. de seipso.

(u) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(w) Fuller's Ch. History.

(x) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 49.

[M] *Take some farther account of it.*] It was this last edition, correctly printed in folio, much augmented, amended where it was necessary, and adorned with maps, that procured our author those magnificent titles of the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pausanias of Britain (53); magnificent indeed, and though bestowed upon him by the most judicious men of the age, were what he little affected, one title this work merited which has past deservedly into a kind of prænomen both at home and abroad, so that we find him almost universally styled the *learned* Camden (54). To commend it, is needless; our business is, to give an historical account of it, and this leads us to take notice of that multitude of commendatory verses that stand before it, and which had been increasing in every edition; but because we would take notice of them but once, we deferred speaking of them till now. Sir George Sydley, a man distinguished both by birth and breeding, wrote a Latin Epigram on the book and it's author; Sir George Buc, who was himself an Antiquary and an Historian, published an Hepastick on the same subject; Dr Grant, his predecessor, wrote a very elegant poem, which stands before all the editions; the learned Dr George Carleton distinguished himself in a congratulatory address in the same language; the celebrated Mr Edmund Bolton, author of *Nero Cæsar*, exercised his pen in a very elegant political Elegy, entituled, *A Description of the Frontispiece*; Mr John Stradling beforementioned wrote an excellent Epigram in Latin, as the famous B. Doddington did in Greek; and in the same language, the very ingenious and learned, but unfortunate, Henry Cuffe, who suffered with the Earl of Essex, complimented his fellow-student on his labours, and his verses were again prefixed to this edition, though published near seven years after his death; Caspar Dornavius, Janus Gruter, and many others, displayed their affection on the same occasion, so that it may be truly said, no performance of this kind was ever ushered into the world with stronger recommendations. It was taken into Jansson's *Atlas*, but altered and interpolated, printed at Amsterdam in 1659; it was epitomized by Regnerus Vitellius Zirizæus, and twice printed at Amsterdam, in 1616 and in 1639, 8vo. It was first translated into English, and published in folio, at London, in 1611, by the laborious Dr Philemon Holland, a Physician of Coventry, who is thought to have consulted our author himself, and therefore great respect has been paid to the additions and explanations that occur therein, on a supposition that they may belong to Camden. But in a later edition of the same translation, published in 1636, the Doctor has taken liberties which cannot either be defended or excused. The new translation, made with the utmost fidelity from this last edition of our author's work, was first published in 1695, by Edmund Gibson, of Queen's-college in Oxford, the present Right Reverend Bishop of London, in which besides the addition of notes, and of all that deserved to be taken notice of in Dr Holland's first edition, which, though thrown out of the text, is preserved at the bottom of the page, there are many other augmentations and improvements, all properly distinguished from the genuine work of the author, as they ought to be; and the same judicious method has been pursued in the subsequent edition of the same performance, which may be justly considered as the very best book of it's kind that has been hitherto published, and I am afraid is in no great danger of being deprived of that character by any new undertaking, notwithstanding the many helps now at hand.

(53) Blount's Censura Celebr. Authorum. p. 619.

(54) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

[N] An

Papers, the Regiſters of the Privy-Council, Embaſſadors inſtructions, the Letters of the great men of thoſe times, Parliament Journals, the ſeveral Laws and Statutes paſſed within the period of which he was to write, and, in a word, whatever elſe was requiſite to give him the beſt and moſt perfect lights; for which, beſides his own numerous collections, he had recourſe to the celebrated library of his ſincere, conſtant, and communicative friend, Sir Robert Cotton *(y)*. After all theſe pains taken, and when the *firſt* part, which reached from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the year 1589, was compleated and ready for the preſs, he obtained from his royal maſter King James, an order or warrant for the printing and publiſhing it [*N*]. In purſuance of this it was accordingly elegantly and accurately printed in 1615, and though vaſt expectations had been raiſed, both from the nature of the work itſelf, and the reputation of the author, yet it appears clearly from the reception it met with both at home and abroad, that thoſe expectations were fully ſatisfied. It muſt be acknowledged that this was a felicity almoſt peculiar to our author, and which, without doubt, was owing no leſs to his great care and attention, than to his ſuperior genius and extenſive learning; ſo that his work may paſs for a model in it's kind, being equally perfect in all it's parts *(z)*; a deſign truly noble in itſelf! as deſcribing a reign fruitful in great events, and one of the moſt glorious in our Hiſtory, taking in at the ſame time a great part of the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened within this period, throughout the greateſt part of Europe, and in other quarters of the world alſo. The method clear and plain, judiciouſly laid down, conſtantly purſued, with equal accuracy, ſkill, and attention. The ſtile is grave and ſuited to the majeſty of the hiſtory, never ſwelling into a falſe ſublime, or ſinking even in the relation of the ſmalleſt circumſtances, but even and elegant throughout, free from any mixture of affectation, and from a vain and needleſs oſtentation of learning. No way deficient in neceſſary circumſtances, never loaded with tedious or trifling particularities, but proceeding in ſo juſt and equal a manner, that the attention of the reader is continually retained, and never embarraſſed by any ambiguity or doubtfulneſs of expreſſion. His reflections ſhort and weighty, his obſervations natural and inſtructive, his characters exactly and ſuccinctly drawn, his dates wonderfully correct, and his narrations cloſe, without prejudice to that clearneſs which is the great beauty of Hiſtory. But, above all, his veracity, candour, and probity; his gratitude to his miſtreſs and to his patrons, without any mixture of flattery, much leſs of falſehood; his freedom from prejudice or prepoſſeſſions; his fidelity in reference to perſons and to things, are truly admirable; ſo that we need not wonder at the high praiſes that were beſtowed upon his work in his life-time, or at the great character it has juſtly preſerved, and will ever preſerve, with poſterity [*O*].

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(y) See his Preface to the firſt Part of the Annals.

(z) See Mr Selden's Letter, prefixed to Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors, in the firſt edition of the Catalogue of Nobility.

[*N*] *An order, or warrant, for the printing and publiſhing it.*] This warrant was formerly in the hands of that eminently learned, worthy, and upright perſon the Reverend Mr Thomas Baker of St John's, who communicated it to Mr Hearne, but it ſeems that Dr Smith had a copy of it before, which came likewiſe into the hands of Mr Hearne amongſt the reſt of that great man's papers. This warrant runs thus (55),

'James R.

'OURE pleaſure is, that you cauſe forthwith, 'according to our direction to you, ſo much of 'the Hiſtory of England in Latin as we have peruſed, 'to be printed and publiſhed, that is, from the year 'of our Lord 1558, until the end of the year a thou'ſand five hundred eighty eight. And this our com'mand ſhall be your warrant. Given under our ſignet 'the 25th of February at our Palace of Whitehall, in 'the 12th year of our reign of England, France, and 'Ireland; and of Scotland the 48th.

'To our well-beloved ſervants Sir Robert Cotton, 'Kt. and Baronett; and William Camden, 'Clarenceux, one of our Kings of Armes.'

(55) See Thomas Hearne's Preface prefixed to the firſt Vol. of his edit. of Camden's Annals.

[*O*] *And will ever preſerve, with poſterity.*] The title of this part of Mr Camden's work, as it was then publiſhed, runs thus, *Annales rerum Anglicarum, & Hibernicarum regnante* Elizabethâ *ad annum ſalutis*, 1589, Londini, 1615, fol. It was again printed at Frankfort in 1616, in 8vo. In his preface he begins with informing the reader, that ſomewhat more than eighteen years before he publiſhed this firſt part, he was, without any ſeeking of his own, excited by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, to compoſe the Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in order to which he imparted to him, both from his own, and her Majeſty's Collections, papers, letters, memorials, &c. Theſe he ſorted and peruſed with much leſs profit than he expected, and the Lord Treaſurer, and the Queen herſelf, dying ſoon after, he quitted for ſome time the thoughts of executing ſo laborious a deſign, hoping that it would be undertaken by ſome other pen. Perceiving, however, in proceſs of time, that theſe expectations were vain, he again (in 1608) reſumed his former intention, and took care to increaſe his ſtock of materials to the utmoſt extent of his power, as well by the aſſiſtance of his friends, particularly Sir Robert Cotton, as by reviewing his own ſtores; *for tho'*, ſays he, *I have been a ſtudious admirer of venerable Antiquity, yet have I not been altogether an incurious ſpectator of modern occurrences, and have farther had the aſſiſtance of great men, who had their ſhare in tranſacting of affairs, and thoſe too with reſpect to religious diſputes of both parties.* He proceeds then to ſhew, from *Polybius*, the true ends of Hiſtory, and the proper manner of writing it, and profeſſing, that he had laid aſide hope and fear, prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, he goes on to give an account of what he propoſed to himſelf in compiling this Hiſtory, which, as it more immediately concerns our deſign of placing his life and character in their true light, we will give the reader in his own words. 'My work, I have, entitled, 'by the name of Annals; in regard, I have diſpoſed 'every thing in it's proper year; for I have learned 'of Tacitus, that weighty and remarkable occurrences 'are to be digeſted, by way of Annals; and that the 'principal buſineſs of Annals, is to preſerve virtuous 'actions from being buried in oblivion, and to deter 'men from either ſpeaking or doing what is amiſs, for 'fear of future ſhame. Beſides, a coarſer and ſhorter 'ſtyle (ſuch as this of mine) is proper and peculiar to 'things written by way of Annals. Upon theſe founda'tions, I ſet myſelf to writing; with this intention 'and deſign, I went forward; and in compoſing, 'poliſhing, and perfecting my undertaking, I re'ſolved to ſpend my whole pains at ſpare times, and 'to bequeath them, by my laſt teſtament, to that ho'nourable perſonage, James Auguſtus de Thou, who 'has with ſingular commendations of his fidelity and 'moderation, begun an Hiſtory of his own time. And 'this, I did, leſt one ſo much reſpected by me, as in'deed, all ſtrangers are, ſhould, as one unacquainted in

'a foreign

We must indeed allow, that some objections were made with respect to the account he has given of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, as if he had been biassed therein, from a complaisance for her son who was his Sovereign; but there does not appear any just ground for these suggestions, much less for what has been asserted, that his work was altered or castrated, and that it did not appear to the world as it fell originally from his pen (a). These points have been very freely and judiciously canvassed by a very great author, who has also examined what has been thrown out, with respect to the difference between his own relations, and the memoirs communicated by him to his learned friend and constant correspondent M. de Thou, upon that subject (b). A severe, but just, picture, he has drawn of the English and Irish Papists, and his full and accurate accounts of their many secret plots and contrivances, as well as frequent rebellions against Queen Elizabeth, provoked that party extreamly; and as there were at that time many fugitives abroad, who made it their business to disturb and impose upon the world by their writings, to which all foreign presses were open, they failed not to lay hold of this occasion to abuse and traduce Mr Camden, and to vent a multitude of calumnies against him, which had frequently as little of probability in them as of truth. Amongst the rest, a certain virulent writer, who pretended to give the world a History of Irish affairs, attacked our author with equal fury and falsehood, insinuating that he had been of their religion, but had been drawn from it by ambitious and secular views (c). The nature of this charge, and the confidence with which it was made, induced some of Mr Camden's best friends to think that it deserved an answer, and the Government of Ireland condescending so far as to take notice of this malicious performance, and to refute the principal facts contained therein, an account was sent to Mr Camden of their design, with an offer that his justification should be included in the same piece (d). But it seems he judged otherwise of the matter, and thought it better to treat such kind of libels with contempt. We have, however, the letters which he wrote upon this subject, particularly to that wise and great Prelate (e) the Lord Primate Usher, which fully refute these calumnies, and very clearly prove, that as he ended, so he began the world, with just notions of the Protestant religion, for which he was actually persecuted at the university, at the very time that it was suggested he showed himself of opposite principles, which, however, could not move him to enter into any controversy [P]. There is good reason to believe, that the vast resort to

(a) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

(b) See the article CAMDEN (WILLIAM) in Bayle.

(c) Analect. de reb. Catholicor. in Hibern. 1616, 8vo. p. 113.

(d) Camdeni Epist. p. 236, 237.

(e) This Letter is dated from Chislehurst July 10, 1618. Camdeni Epist. p. 246, 247, 248.

'a foreign state, be at a loss in the affairs of our country. But in this my purpose, I was, I know not by what fate, prevented, and a great part of these Annals were sent over to him some years before, when they lay yet shadowed in their first lineaments, and were scarce well begun, disfigured with blurs and dashes, and chasms, and patches, here and there tacked together, as they slipt from my hasty pen, and worse mangled by the transcriber. Out of these, by taking away some things, changing and adding others, he has inserted some few passages in the eleventh and twelfth tomes of his History; but indeed, by his grave and solid judgment, much rectified and refined. But whereas he, according to the proportion of his work, (for he undertakes an Universal History of his time) has only selected a few passages concerning England and Ireland, and omitted a great many things that may please, and perhaps behove those of our country to be acquainted with; and having myself heard, that the knowledge of our affairs is earnestly desired by foreigners, and that not without some check and reproach of our remissness in communicating them, I again settled myself to a work I had for some time discontinued. I read it all over and considered of it again, added some things, and in some measure polished the stile of it, tho' without any affected flights of eloquence, or quaint ways of expression. For I think it sufficient, if like a picture drawn in weak and faint colours, it is placed in a good and advantageous light. Yet after all, whether I should publish it or not, I could not well determine. But the truth is, those censures and prejudices, that hatred and calumny, which I foresee, advance their ensigns and sound the charge against me, have not so much discouraged me, as my love of truth, my affection to my country, and the memory of that Princess (which among Englishmen ought to be held for ever sacred) have borne me up against those men, who having shaken off their allegiance to their Prince and country, endeavour to eclipse the reputation of one, and the glory of the other, by spitting forth their venom and inveterate malice in their scandalous libels, published in foreign parts; and at this very instant (as they stick not to own) are ready to leave to posterity, in a large volume, a monument of their lewdness and dishonesty. For my part, I desire nothing more than that I may be like myself, and they like themselves, posterity will give every one the honour that is his due. What the loftiness of the argument requires, I confess, and am sorry I have not come up to, yet what pains I was able, I have willingly bestowed. Myself I have not in the least satisfied, either in this or my other writings, yet I shall think myself well rewarded for my labour, if by my chearful willingness to preserve the memory of things, to relate the truth, and to train up the minds of men to honesty and wisdom, I may thereby find a place amongst the petty writers of great matters. WHATEVER IT BE, I DEDICATE AND CONSECRATE IT AT THE ALTAR OF TRUTH TO GOD TO MY COUNTRY AND TO POSTERITY.' It is not easy to find out stronger words to bind a man to the most scrupulous regard of verity; and considering the character he had for probity, one cannot believe that he gave these assurances with a design to forfeit them. We may form some judgment of the great reputation it acquired him, both in his own country and abroad, by the many testimonies to that purpose, assembled by Sir Thomas Pope Blount (56).

(56) Censura Celebriorum Authorum, p. 618, 619.

[P] *Could not move him to enter into any controversy.*] We shall in this note, fully clear up the boldest attack that was ever made upon our author's character, which is the more reasonable, because hitherto, we have had but very dark accounts of the matter. In the first place, it is not well agreed who was the author of that scandalous book, in which our author was attacked; but it seems very fully made out by Mr Harris, who published the last edition of Sir James Ware's works, that it was written by Dr David Roth, who was for many years titular Bishop of Ossory, and Vice-Primate of Ireland (57). Dr James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh gave him the first notice, that an answer was preparing to this libel, by order of the State; and that Dr Thomas Ryves, a Master in Chancery, afterwards knighted, was the person upon whom this task was imposed, and who, says this learned person to Mr Camden, 'is very desirous to be certified from you, in what sort you would have him answer that calumniation of our Irish libeller, where he intimateth, that you dissemble your religion, and write otherwise than you think, *delusus spe hujus seculi, & mundani honoris lenocinio illectus* (58). Dr Ryves himself also wrote to our author upon the same subject, and offered him all the service in his power. A short paragraph

(57) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 222.

(58) Epist. Camd. p. 237.

to him of persons of all parties and of all religions, might give a handle to this opinion; but though our author suspected it he continued his old way of living, and would not alter it on account of these groundless aspersions. He thought himself safe from the consciousness of his own innocence, and as it was the custom of all foreigners, distinguished either by their birth or learning, to pay their respects to him when they visited England, he received them with the same kindness and civility as formerly, and would not deprive himself of the honour and satisfaction he received from thence, to stop the mouths of angry and discontented men, in which he was certainly in the right, and thereby gave a noble testimony of the firmness of his mind, and that freedom from fear which naturally attends a freedom from guilt *(f)*. The great commendations the first part of his work had met with, were sufficient to have encouraged him to proceed, if the natural steadiness of his temper, and a desire of perfecting what he had once begun, had not been a sufficient motive to the prosecuting his glorious undertaking. Yet he was so far sensible of the inconveniencies that attend the publication of unwelcome truths, while those whom they concern, or their immediate descendants, are living, and had been made so uneasy by the consequences of this kind that attended the publication of his first volume, that he resolved the second should not come abroad during his life *(g)* [*Q*]. This was certainly a very wise and prudent determination, which left him at full liberty to continue his History with the same free and impartial spirit with which it was begun. After this point was once settled, he went on with so great chearfulness, that, notwithstanding his weak

(f) See his Diary, commonly intituled, his Annals of the Reign of James I, July 1, 1619.

(g) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 58.

paragraph from Mr Camden's Answer, in regard to the opinion he entertained of such defences, will answer our purpose sufficiently. 'As for the aspersion by your '*Analectist*, it is common to me, with the most reverend and learned Prelates of our Church, from 'Papists and others: and as they, even so I, *rectæ conscientiæ clypeo tutus*, smile at it, as having received 'excess of injuries, traduced as an heretick by *Parsons*, '*Possevinus*, the *Index Expurgatorius* of *Spain*, and 'divers others; but *transeant*. This kind of devil is 'not cast out, but with contempt. My life and my 'writings shall apologize for me. And so wishing you 'happy success in your charge imposed, I rest, &c (59).' But tho' he wrote thus briefly to this gentleman as a stranger, yet in his Answer to Dr Usher, he speaks more largely, and gives us some very remarkable circumstances of his own History, for which reason it is necessary to insert part of that letter. 'I thank God, 'my life hath been such among men, as I am neither 'ashamed to live nor fear to die, being secure in Christ 'my Saviour, in whose true religion I was born and 'bred in the time of King Edward VI, and have continued firm therein. And to make you my confessor, '*sub sigillo confessionis*, I took my oath thereunto, at 'my matriculation, in the University of Oxon (when 'Popery was predominant); and for defending the 'religion established, I lost a fellowship in All Souls, as 'Sir Daniel Dun could testify, and often would relate, 'how I was opposed there by the Popish faction. At my 'coming to Westminster, I took the like oath, where '(*absit jactantia*) God so blessed my labours, that 'the now Bishops of London, Durham, and St Asaph, 'to say nothing of persons employed now in eminent 'places abroad, and many of especial note at home, 'of all degrees, do acknowledge themselves to have 'been my scholars; yea, I brought there to church 'divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, 'O-Raily, Shees, the eldest son of the Archbishop of 'Casilles, Peter Lombard, a merchant's son of Waterford, a youth of admirable docility, and others bred 'popishly and so affected. I know not who may say, 'that I was ambitious, who contented myself in Westminster-school, when I writ my Britannia, and eleven 'years afterwards, who refused a mastership of Requests 'offered, and then had the place of a King of Arms, 'without any suit, cast upon me. I did never set sail 'after present preferments, or desired to soar higher 'by others. I never made suit to any man, no not to 'His Majesty, but for a matter of course incident to 'my place; neither, God be praised, I needed, having 'gathered a contented sufficiency by my long labours in 'the school. Why the *Analectist* should so censure 'me, I know not; but that men of all humours repair unto me, in respect of my place, and rest content to be belied by him, who is not ashamed to bely 'the Lords Deputies of *Ireland*, and others of honourable rank. *Sed hæc tibi uni & soli*.' It is certain, that in this our author formed a very right judgment, for to contend with men, who boldly assert any thing, without thinking themselves at all obliged to produce proof, is equally endless, and to no purpose. Besides, this author had traduced the whole state of Ireland, and would have persuaded the world, that at a time, that kingdom enjoyed the greatest peace and quiet, the government was carrying on a flaming persecution, which gave him an opportunity of framing a martyrology (60), in which he sets down, a person executed for High-Treason, and another who died, at upwards of fourscore, of mere old age. How far the government might act wisely, in justifying it's proceedings against those aspersions, is another question, but for a private man, like Mr Camden, to enter into a dispute, with an unknown person, who had consequently no reputation to lose, and might aver what he pleased, was a very unequal match, and therefore very prudently declined.

(59) Ibid. p. 247.

(60) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 222.

[*Q*] *The second should not come abroad during his life.*] It is certain, that notwithstanding the great care and circumspection used by our author, in writing the first part of his Annals, they exposed him to the resentment of numbers of persons, who thought themselves injured by the accounts he gave, either of them or of their ancestors; and many of these testified their resentments, in methods suitable to their dispositions. Amongst the rest, there was one Mr Maitland, the son of the famous Laird of Liddington, who made so great a figure in the troubles of Scotland, by adhering faithfully to Queen Mary. It was, on the one hand, impossible for our author to pass over this gentleman's behaviour and character in writing his history; and on the other, it was hardly possible for him to treat this subject with greater mildness or caution than he did; and yet his son wrote a very long letter, which is still extant, to Mr Camden, in which, tho' in very respectful terms, he very plainly expresses his distaste at what he had published, and demands the satisfaction of seeing those authorities, which were requisite to justify what he had written (61). It is uncertain whether our author gave him that satisfaction or not, though, without doubt, it was in his power, since he carefully preserved the collections he had made with great pains, for the support of the facts, by him delivered, most of which are still in being, or at least were so long after his decease; but it must certainly have been very uneasy to him, to find himself continually exposed to such enquiries and demands, and therefore, we cannot wonder that he should decline multiplying these inconveniences, by publishing the second part of his work. Yet it is very certain, that he was not absolutely determined in this point, but from a consciousness of his own integrity and respect for truth, was willing, if it had been at all necessary, that it should have come abroad, as appears plainly in the following passages, from a letter of his written to a person of great Quality, tho' to whom is unknown. 'I submit 'the Supplement of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth's 'reign to His Majesty's judicious censure: whether it 'please him, they shall be supressed, or published, for 'I am indifferent.' And he concludes the same letter, in these terms. 'As I do not dislike, that they should 'be published in my life-time, so I do not desire, that 'they should be so set forth in English, until after my 'death, knowing how unjust carpers the unlearned 'readers are (62).'

(61) Camd. Epist. p. 305.

(62) Ibid. p. [illegible]

[*R*] *Which*

weak and infirm state of health, he absolutely compleated his book in the year 1617; but though he made no difficulty of owning this to his learned friends, yet he deliberated several years about the disposal of this work, that he might have a moral certainty of it's coming abroad as he left it, and not be either altered or suppressed. The method he took was equally judicious and successful; he kept the original by him which was preserved in the Cotton Library, and he sent a very exact copy of it to his friend Mr Dupuy, who had given him the strongest assurances, that he would punctually perform what so great a trust required (*h*), which he did with the greatest fidelity [*R*]. We have placed these facts together, though they happened at some distance of time, for the sake of perspicuity, and that the thread of the narration, with respect to so material a point, might not be broken or interrupted. In the latter end of the year 1616, there happened an affair which exposed Rafe Brooke, who had given our author so much trouble, to very severe censure, and we the rather mention it, because the best account of it extant fell from the pen of Mr Camden (*i*), though for what reason it is impossible to say, it is left out in the English translation of that work (*k*), in which he thought fit to record it, and is very imperfectly told by other writers. We have reason, therefore, to believe, that the reader will be very well satisfied to find it fairly and faithfully stated in the notes [*S*]. This affair

(*h*) V. Cl. Petri Puteani Vitam à Rigaltio conscriptam, Paris. 1652, 4to, p. 50.

(*i*) See his Diary, Dec. 26, 1616.

(*k*) In the second Vol. of Kennet's Compleat Hist. of England.

[*R*] *Which he did with the greatest fidelity.*] The great reputation of Mr Camden, procured him very early a large correspondence abroad, which was very useful to him, while he was collecting materials for, or corrections and improvements of, his Britannia; and these lasted during his whole life. His foreign friends, therefore, interested themselves extremely in the preservation, as well as the credit of his works; and it was to their sollicitations, that his resolution of sending a copy of his manuscript abroad, was principally owing. The celebrated Mr de Peiresc, so much better known to the learned world by his Latin name of Peireskius, was one of the most pressing, in one of his letters to our author, he has the following passage (63). 'We have advice from Germany, that they 'have there printed the History of the late Monsieur 'de Thou entire; my impatience, is great to see 'what it is. This puts me in mind of your's, and to 'desire, that it may be got out of your hands, for 'the publick benefit. If M. de Thou's had been 'in no body's hands but his own, it would run the 'hazard of being suppressed, for his executors, and 'the tutors of his children, would have committed it 'to the flames, for the sake of their private interest; 'Mr Linghelsein, to whom the late M. de Thou 'confided a copy, has prevented this. If Mr Grotius, 'would but have believed us, more than six months 'before his misfortune happened, there had been a 'copy of his History in this kingdom, and consequent-'ly out of the reach of all by whom he is either 'hated or envied. For the glory of God, think of 'your's, and if there are any difficulties that hinder 'your putting it to the press, during your life-time, 'let there be more copies than one, and let them not 'all be on the same side of the sea. This, by all the 'affection I have for you, I conjure; remaining, &c.' This letter is dated from Paris, October 14, 1620. It appears, however, by a letter from Mr Dupuy, that he had not received the second part of his Annals some time afterwards; but at length, it was sent by a very safe hand, was carefully preserved, and faithfully published. This account differs pretty much from what a famous writer tells us, upon this subject, in a treatise, where one would have thought he should have taken care to be very exact. His own words deserves notice (64). 'Monsieur de Thou having intended to make 'his History general, entered into a correspondence 'with the men over all Europe, that were most likely 'to inform him right; so he was in a great corre-'spondence with Camden. And when Camden's first 'volume appeared, he writ severely to him, finding 'that it was so different, from what had passed 'between them in letters, chiefly with relation to the 'Queen of Scots; upon which Mr Camden told him 'the truth, That King James, would needs revise it 'himself, and afterwards put it into the Earl of 'Northampton's hands, who was brother to the Duke 'of Norfolk, that been beheaded on that Queen's 'account; and that many things were struck out, and 'many things altered: this troubled Camden ex-'tremely, who took care that his second part, should 'not run the same fate: and therefore, he sent it out 'of England to that great man, that it might be 'printed faithfully after his death. This is well 'known in England, and the sending the second part 'beyond sea to a foreigner, does very easily carry a 'man to believe this to have been the true reason of 'it.' It is very justly observed, by a very learned Prelate, that nothing ought to be believed of the complaints, said to be made by M. de Thou, against our author, unless it be proved by his letters, because there are numbers extant, which clearly shew the contrary, which acknowledge Mr Camden's assistance, admit the prudence of his advice, apologize for the neglect of it, promise corrections in future editions, desire the continuance of his correspondence, and put both their cases upon the same foundation, that of being ill thought of, for intending well (65). The first notion, of Camden's work being corrupted, came from an oration made at Oxford, in his praise, by Lewis Du Moulin, who affirmed the thing was out of doubt, but did not think fit to mention any authority, as he might have done without fear, considering the time at which he delivered his oration, *viz.* July 10, 1652 (66). It was from him, in all probability, that Mr Wood took it, but still without proof (67); and what seems totally to destroy the fact is, that in the last edition of his Annals, published by Mr Hearne, from a copy corrected and fitted for the press by Mr Camden's own hand, there is very little, and nothing material, altered, with respect to Mary Queen of Scots. As to his sending it abroad to de Thou, there are some objections that render that a little incredible; first, because it is more than probable, that he was dead before the book was finished; next, because it is certain, that the author had determined nothing about the publication of it, till many years after that worthy person was in his grave; and even then he submitted it to the good pleasure of the King, whether it should be published or suppressed; and if published, whether in his own life-time or not. Thirdly, after all these precautions taken, there was a copy sent abroad to Mr Dupuy, according to the advice of M. de Pieresc, but the original remained here in England; and from thence the last edition of the work, has been both corrected and augmented. The second part was first printed at Leyden in 1625, 8vo. at London 1627, fol. again at Leyden 1639, 8vo. and several times since; but the most correct edition of the whole work is that published by Thomas Hearne from Dr Smith's copy, corrected by Camden's own hand, collated also with another manuscript in Mr Rawlinson's library (68). Both parts were translated into French by M. Paul de Belligent, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris; from which language it was translated into English by one M. D'Arcy, but with many errors (69). There have been several other translations, but none at all worthy of the author's admirable performance, and therefore it is much to be wished, that even at this distance of time, the same justice might be done to his History of Queen Elizabeth, that has been already done to his Britannia; the rather because a good translation of that work, illustrated with notes, and compared with the best accounts of those times, that have been since published, could not but be acceptable at this juncture, when no branch of Literature seems to have more admirers than History, and English History is more particularly distinguished.

(63) Ibid. p. 309, 310.

(64) Burnet's Reply to Varillas p. 59.

(65) Camd. Epist. p. 68, 73, 97, 139, 153.

(66) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 54.

(67) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

(68) In 8vo, without any Printer's name or place, A. D. 1717.

(69) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

[*S*] *Faithfully stated in the notes.*] The plain and naked account of the matter is this, that on the 27th of December 1616, complaint was made to the King, that Sir

affair made so much noise in the world, that, on the third of March following, the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal of England, met at the College of Heralds in Darby-place, and proposed various regulations, such as, the augmenting their salaries, removing their wives out of the college, and correcting other abuses, for recovering the credit, and maintaining the reputation, of that honourable society (*l*). Our author seems to have been, all this time, rather a calm spectator than a busy actor; even in matters that might have fallen properly enough within his province, yet he was extreamly reverenced by the wisest, greatest, and best men of his time, as appears very clearly from his own Diary. He spent his summers mostly at Chislehurst, and his winters at his house in Westminster, occupied in both places, as far as his infirm state of health would allow, in serious and useful studies, as is evident by the observations he set down relating to the weather, the appearance of comets, and other things of the like nature (*m*). Jan. 19, 1619, the Painters, Glasiers, and Stone-cutters, were summoned to the Herald's Office, in order to be made acquainted with certain regulations that had been thought necessary, in relation to the painting and otherwise representing of arms. On the tenth of February following, Mr Camden was seized with a dangerous distemper, vomiting blood to such a degree, that he swooned twice, but, by the care of his Physician, being twice let blood in three days, he grew better (*n*). In the month of June 1619, he had a warm dispute with his brethren, Garter and Norroy, Kings at Arms, who it seems took it amiss that he should appoint Mr Vincent to visit Lincolnshire, and Mr Philpot to visit Kent (*o*), the former of which it appeared was a misinformation; but notwithstanding he acquainted them with this, they complained to the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal against him, as if he had exceeded the powers granted him by his patent; but Mr Camden in his answer to the Earl of Arundel, in which the powers beforementioned are transcribed, gave such full satisfaction in this point, as, for any thing that appears, prevented any further trouble to him on this subject (*p*). In the beginning of the year 1621, he was sent for to Court, and consulted by the Lord Chancellor Bacon, in reference to the ceremonies to be used in creating him Viscount St Alban's, and on the twenty-seventh of January following, in consequence of what was then agreed on with him and Norroy King at Arms, the Chancellor was, with great solemnity, created Viscount St Alban's, the Lord Carew carrying the robe of state, the Lord Wentworth the coronet, and the Marquis of Buckingham supporting the new created Peer (*q*). On the first of May 1621 he went to Sanderherst, to look for the camp of the Emperor Alexander Severus, but could meet with no signs of it; this Emperor being killed in Britain at a place called Sisila, an opinion prevailed amongst many, that it must have been in that neighbourhood, but this was upon conjecture only, and without any kind of proof in the sentiment of our author (*r*). It appears plainly from hence, as well as from various other passages in his Diary, that he was still endeavouring to correct, improve, and augment his *Britannia*, a copy of which, with many such emendations and additions, was in the hands of Dr Thomas Smith (*s*). In the month of June in the same year, he was present at the execution of a very extraordinary sentence. On the last day of the term, about three in the afternoon, Sir Francis Mitchell, Knt. who had been deeply concerned in the monopoly, by which the innholders and keepers of publick houses were grievously oppressed, was brought by the Sheriffs of London into Westminster-Hall. Soon after came the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal, *viz.* the Lord Privy-Seal, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and the Earl of Arundel, several other Lords being present as spectators. Before these the prisoner was brought, then the sentence given against him in Parliament having been read with a loud voice, his spurs were broken in pieces by the servants of the Knight Marshal and thrown away, then his sword,

(*l*) See his Diary, March 3, 1617.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Memorabil. de seipso.

(*o*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 46.

(*p*) Camd. Epist. p. 352, 353, 354.

(*q*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 65, 66.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 70.

(*s*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms, had granted the Royal Arms of Arragon, with a Canton of Brabant, to George Brandon, who was the common hangman, at which His Majesty was highly offended. But upon strict enquiry, the fact came out to be, that Rafe Brookesmouth, York Herald, had actually drawn these Arms, which were not unlike those of Arragon and Brabant, and, by an emissary of his, imposing upon the credulity of Garter, for a fee of two and twenty shillings, procured the confirmation of them, and then caused them to be presented to the King (70). Thus Mr Camden plainly, clearly, and fully relates this story; but Dr Smith, who had seen a relation of this affair by another hand, gives us some farther circumstances, tho' he is so cautious, as to leave out Sir William Segar's name (71). He says, that the man who came from Brooke pretended, that he was in a mighty hurry, and was to embark that very day on board a ship for Spain, by which means he the more easily drew Sir William Segar, to confirm to him, what he called the Arms of his family. On the 30th of the same month, the whole affair was heard before the Commissioners appointed to execute the office of Earl Marshal, where York Herald openly took upon him the whole affair; and upon report of it made to the King; himself, for his malicious subornation, and Garter for his weakness and credulity in confirming those Arms for the sake of a little money, were both committed to the Marshalsea. On New Year's day a petition from Garter was exhibited to the King, together with a certificate from the Herald's Office, of his integrity and upright behaviour before this unhappy accident; upon which he was released, and soon after the friends of York Herald procured his discharge likewise (72). This plainly shews the restless and turbulent temper of the man and his *impious malice*, as Mr Camden calls it against his superior, and yet about two years afterwards, he dedicated a large work of his to King James, and to the Lords Commissioners *for* executing the office of Earl Marshal of *England*, who were then, Edward, Earl of Worcester, *Lord* Privy-Seal; Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, *Lord* Steward of the Household; George, Marquis of Buckingham, Master of the Horse; Charles, Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England; William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain; Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, all Privy Counsellors and Knights of the Garter (73).

(70) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 23.

(71) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 35.

(72) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 25. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 37.

(73) See an Account of that work in note [U].

[T] Which

sword, which was of silver and ought to have been gilded, was taken from his side; broke over his head, and also thrown away; lastly, he was pronounced to be no longer a worthy Knight but an errant knave, as had been done before in the case of Andrew de Harclay, when degraded by Anthony Lucy. The three Kings at Arms, during the whole proceeding, sat at the feet of the Lords Commissioners (*t*). On the last of August the same year, Mr Camden was seized with his old distemper of vomiting blood in the night, but happily recovered (*u*). He executed, during the course of the next year, as far as his strength would permit, all the duties of his function, but finding himself gradually declining, and his infirmities growing more and more upon him, he resolved to delay no longer the performance of what he had so long ago resolved upon; the founding an History Lecture at Oxford, and accordingly, in the month of May 1622, he sent down his gift by the hands of his intimate friend Mr Heather (*w*). This was declared by Dr Piers, Dean of Peterborough, and then Vice-Chancellor of the University, in full Convocation, whereupon the university sent him a publick letter of thanks, and because they understood Mr Heather was a person for whom he had a singular respect, they conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Musick, and the like degree they conferred upon Mr Orlando Gibbons, another friend of his, which civility procured them a new benefactor, and a new Lecture in Musick, founded by this Dr Heather (*x*). Thus Mr Camden amply fulfilled a vow he seemed to have made at the close of his Britannia, and provided for the study of Antiquity in succeeding times, which, by his writings, he had so much illustrated [*T*]. The first History Professor was Mr Degory Wheare, so appointed by Mr Camden himself, October 16, 1622, and he began to read on the sixth of January following, and he likewise granted the survivorship in the same Lecture to Mr Brian Twine, the famous Antiquary, in case he had out-lived Mr Wheare, but as he did not, the right came to the university (*y*). It was some time in this year, that his old antagonist, Rafe Brooke, York-Herald, having sent abroad a book which promised mighty things with respect to accuracy and correctness, Mr Camden thought fit to make some notes upon it, in which he detected a great many gross errors, but disdaining at his time of life to enter into new controversies, he did not publish it (*z*); yet it is very probable, that these notes were of use to his friend Mr Vincent, who attacked Brooke's work with great vigour, and therein shewed not only his own skill, but his gratitude and friendship to Mr Camden, which led us to mention it [*U*]. On the eighteenth of August, as he was

(*t*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 72.

(*u*) Ibid. p 74.

(*w*) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

(*y*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 64.

(*z*) Dr Smith tells us that he had seen Mr Camden's notes in the possession of Francis Sandford, Esq; of the Herald's Office.

[*T*] *Which by his writings he had so much illustrated.*] It appears plainly, as we have observed in the text, that he had this generous design in his thoughts about fifteen years before he carried it into execution, from the conclusion of the sixth edition of his Britannia, published in 1607, where he makes use of these words (74). 'Nothing remains now (having carried on this 'discourse through so many shallows of the ocean and 'the rugged rocks, as it were of Antiquity) but that, 'like the Mariners of old, who use to dedicate their 'tattered *sails* or a votive *plank* to Neptune, I also 'consecrate something to the *Almighty* and to venerable *Antiquity*. A vow which I most willingly make, 'and which, by the blessing of God, I hope to discharge in due time.' It is also evident, that he communicated his design to, and had the advice thereupon of, his best friends, from the following extract of a letter from Sir Henry Savile, dated from Eaton, of which he was Provost, November 3, 1621 (75). 'I think not amiss to advertise you, that by 'plain Will, without a Deed executed in life-time, no 'land will pass to a College or Corporation, as I have 'heard by my Counsel. I am sure, Merton-College 'hath felt it: for Doctor Huicke, Queen Elizabeth's 'Physician, whom you may have heard on, or peradventure known, by will left all his land of good 'value to his two daughters and their heirs; and for 'lack of heirs (as we understood, they died without 'any children both) all his said lands to Merton-'College, whereof he was Fellow, but Doctor Bickley 'laboured, as I have heard, much in it, and could 'recover nothing. So that you must fly to some such 'course as I advertised you in my last, or leave it 'upon Feoffees, men of sincerity and judgment, that 'your death do not frustrate your good intention.' Agreeable to the advice given him by his worthy and judicious friend, Mr Camden, by a Deed drawn by Sir John Walter, executed in due form of law, under his hand and seal (76), the 5th of March, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King James, *anno Dom.* 1621-2, and acknowledged before Sir R. Rich, Knight, one of the Masters in the High Court of Chancery, on the 14th of April following, made over all his right in the manor of Bexley, in the county of Kent, with all profits, emoluments, &c. arising therefrom to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars, of the University of Oxford, and their successors, with this proviso, that the profits of the said manor, which were computed to be of the yearly value of four hundred pounds, should be enjoyed by Mr William Heather, his heirs and executors for the space of ninty-nine years, from the death of the donor, during which time the said William Heather, was to pay to the Professor of History in Oxford, one hundred and forty pounds *per annum*, by half-yearly payments; and after the expiration of that term, the whole estate to be vested in that University. For which judicious and ample donation, he was by that learned body unanimously declared and received into the number of benefactors to the University (77). At the request of many of his friends, he appointed Degory Wheare, Master of Arts, Fellow of Exeter-College, his first reader, assigning him twenty pounds for the first year, forty for the second, and after the third, he was to enjoy the full stipend (78). He wrote and dedicated to his patron, a very learned treatise, which showed him to be every way fit for that office (79), which he held to the time of his decease, when the University elected in his room, Robert Waring, Master of Arts of Christ-Church, then senior Proctor of the University, August 2, 1647 (80); and he being turned out the next year by the Parliament Commissioners, Lewis du Moulin, Doctor in Physick, was substituted in his place, September 14, 1648, which gave him an opportunity of making the oration in praise of our author, which hath been beforementioned (81). In 1660, he was expelled by the Royal Visiters; and the University elected in his place, John Lamphire, M. D. and Fellow of New-College (82).

[*U*] *Which led us to mention it.*] It has been before observed, that Robert Glover, Esq; Somerset-Herald, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a man universally esteemed and admired for his great abilities in his profession (83), had made considerable collections, in relation to the descents of the Nobility of this kingdom, which were very injudiciously and incorrectly published by his kinsman and executor, Mr Thomas Mills, in 1610, which induced Rafe Brooke, York-Herald, to compose another work of the same nature, which he intituled, *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Viscounts of this Realme of England, since the Norman Conquest to this present year* 1619, *together with their Armes, Wives,* and

(74) Camden's Britannia, p. 1116.

(75) Epist. Camd. p. 314, 315.

(76) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 40.

(77) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 484.

(78) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 60.

(79) De ratione & methodo legendi Historias Dissertatio, 8*vo*, 1623.

(80) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 43.

(81) Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 71.

(82) Histor. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 43.

(83) Britan. in Comitatu Bercheriensi, p. 209.

was ſitting in his chair and very thoughtful, he ſuddenly loſt the uſe of his hands and feet; and

and Children, the Times of their Deaths and Burials, with many their memorable Actions; diſcovering and reforming many Errors, committed by Men of other Profeſſion, and lately publiſhed in print; to the great wronging of the Nobility and prejudice of His Majeſty's Officers of Armes, who are only appointed and ſworn to deal faithfully in theſe Caſes. Lond. 1619, fol. and again with corrections and emendations in the ſame ſize 1622; before this work, there is large collection of errors in Milles's book, detected with many ſevere remarks; and in his dedication to the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal, he complains bitterly, not only of Mr Milles, but of John Stowe, for an error committed in his Annals; and of one Mr Martin, who had written a hiſtory of the Kings of England; and the great deſign of his complaints was, to obtain a reſtraint upon the preſs, that nothing might be publiſhed for the future upon this ſubject, but by the licence of the Earl Marſhal, or of the Commiſſioners for the executing that office; not foreſeeing, that this was to attempt curing a ſmall inconveniency by a much greater; for books thus licenſed, however erroneous, would have been the only books publiſhed; and thus, inſtead of providing for the cure of the diſeaſe, he, like a true Quack, ſuggeſted the ſhorteſt method for rendering it incurable. It was to this book, that Mr Auguſtine Vincent Rouge Croix Purſuivant, wrote an anſwer under the title of, *A Diſcovery of errors in the firſt Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, publiſhed by Rafe Brooke, York-Herald,* 1619, *and printed herewith word for word according to that Edition, with a Continuance of the Succeſſions from* 1619, *until this preſent year* 1622; *at the end whereof is annexed, a Review of a later Edition by him ſtolne into the world* 1621. London, printed by William Jaggard, 1622, fol. It is dedicated to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was, by this time, become Earl Marſhal; and in this dedication, there is a ſtroke at York's prepoſſeſſion in favour of the family of his old patron the Earl of Eſſex, and his prejudice to the Howards. But whoever has a mind to ſee the true tendency of this controverſy, need only peruſe the following paragraphs from Mr Vincent's addreſs to Brooke, which ſtand at the entrance of his performance. 'It is true, when I firſt entred 'a novice into the world, I found it poſſeſt of a ſtrange 'admiration of Maſter *Yorke*, his name was grown 'a terror to men of his own profeſſion, and I, a young 'novice, could not but be carried with the multitude 'into the ſame opinion. Hee had then but newly ſet 'forth a book againſt Maſter *Camden*, artificially penned, and like a ſcholar; I know the Doctor's name 'that penned it. I then began to obſerve him, abroad 'ſaw him, though loved of few, yet feared of all; 'heard him ſing *Magnificat* of himſelf in *Pouls*, and 'all the walk bear the quire to him; beheld him 'marſhal funerals ſolemnly, which I thought was rare. 'In a word, others admired him; I adored him. 'This opinion bred in me an infinite deſire to be his 'diſciple; but that again ſeemed too high an ambition. The next point then was, ſeeing I might not 'have that beatitude to enjoy his preſence *in ſpecie*, 'yet to have the fruition of him *in ſpeculo* in his works. 'I preſently got into my hands his *Diſcoverie* againſt 'Mr *Camden*; came to it with fear and trembling, as 'one that comes to pull a locke from a lyon's maine; 'read him with reverence, and began to find ſome 'pretty reliſe in him, only methought his ſtyle was 'ſomewhat tart, but that I geſſed might proceede out 'of age: But entring further, and ſeeing him to grow 'from vinegar to gall, and from gall to venome, againſt 'ſo renowned and reverend a man, and the ſame mixt 'with pride, arrogancie, and admiration of himſelf; 'this began a little to ſhake my former conceite: 'theſe things (methought) did not ſo well ſute with a 'man that were truly learned; but yet theſe were his 'moralles (which are not alike tempered in all mens) 'this toucht not his *intellectuals*.

'I then grew bolder, and began to handle him 'neerer, labouring, by comparing their books, to ſatisfy myſelf, whether Maſter *Camden* were ſo blacke 'as hee had painted him, or not. I found for Maſter '*Camden*, that if he had erred, he had erred with authority. For *Yorke*, I ſaw no proofs, but *Pythagorian* proofes, inſtead of *ſcriptum eſt*, *ipſe dixit*; no record, no antiquitie, but his own antiquity of *forty years practiſe* in that ſtudy: this I liked not. Beſides, I noted in him not only *animum contradicendi*, 'a ſpirit of contradiction, but *ſtudium calumniandi*, a 'wilful humour of miſtaking, like *Hercules* in a play, 'that made monſters of ſtraw for himſelf to ſubdue; 'maliciouſly perverting and miſconſtruing what had a 'true and a right underſtanding: and, in further proceſs, diſcovered in him, by the bookes I ſearched, a 'great deal of *ignorance* and *inſufficiency*. Then I 'clearly found mine error, *Tune ille Æneas?* Is this, 'Mr *Yorke!* Are theſe the fruits of *forty years ſtudy?* 'I then damned my opinion, and hated myſelf for it, 'and that many-headed beaſt from whom I had received it, taking a document thereby never again to 'build my judgment, either in good or bad part, upon 'the vulgar, who ſet up ſhadows for ſaints, and 'adore wooden images which, in their true worth, 'were fitter to be made whipping-poſts, and blaſt with 'their breath, the truly vertuous and noble, of whom 'the world is unworthy.'

'Thus, Mr *Yorke*, have I ſhrieved myſelf to you, 'what progreſſe you have made, through my opinion, 'from the higheſt ſteppe to the loweſt, and in what 'termes you ſtood there, before your late-admired *Catalogue* came to light; ſo as now having thus given 'you a true glaſſe of my heart, I truſt you will be ſatiſfied, that it was not any humour of *envie* or *emulation* that drew me into this oppoſition; but, firſt, my 'zeal to truth, which I knew ſuffered in this diſcourſe; 'next, your own intolerable arrogance, and pride of 'conceite; your vilifying, and contempte of others, 'as if you had ſtoode on the toppe of *Powles*, and 'ſaw all men under you no bigger than *Jack Dawes:* 'your familiar vaine of detracting from the beſt and 'worthieſt men: your tongue gilding over no man's 'name, but that it left a ſlime behind it: And, laſtly, 'the knowledge and experience I had of your defects, 'and infinite diſtance from true ſufficiencie; and the 'juſt diſdain which burnt within mee, to ſee a fellow 'blowne up by a popular applauſe, and almoſt deified 'amongſt ſillie believers (as the ſtorehouſe of knowledge) whom I knew to be no better than the tombe 'of *Semiramis*, glorious without, and promiſing, by 'the inſcription, great treaſure within, whereas *Darius* 'opening it, found his expectation mockt with the 'ſight of a brainleſſe ſkull, and the reliques of dead 'carkaſſes. But admit *envie* had ſpurred mee on to 'this worke, doth that prove that what you writ was 'true? *Num quia ego claudas, tu recte incedis?* Cloze 'with me in this point: is that true, or no, which I 'have written in diſcovering of your falſhoods? If it 'be not, you are allowed your traverſe: if it be true 'that I ſay, what difference or choice is there of the 'perſon, whether *envie*, or *detraction*, or the Devil himſelf ſpeake it; truth being ever the ſame through what 'mouth, or from what minde ſoever it paſſe? In matters of charitie, it is true, we looke not what, but 'with what minde it is given: but in a verdict of 'truth it is not to be regarded with what minde but 'what is ſpoken. Neither can your *fifty years practiſe* give you privilege to write untruth by authority, '*or to ſet forth things that may appear untrue* without 'authority. But we (you ſay) *take upon truſt, and* '*are deceived in the names, beginnings, and titles of* '*families;*

—— Mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur ——

It is plain from hence, that the whole of this affair was nothing more than a continuation of the old quarrel between Brooke and Camden, and if it were not ſo plain, we might add ſome other convincing proofs. Brooke's motto to his Catalogue is, *Quam quiſque novit artem, in hac ſe exerceat*, the very ſame that ſtood before his book againſt our author. Mr Vincent's motto is, *Pro captu Lectoris habent ſua fata libelli*, the very ſame that ſtood before Mr Camden's *Britannia*. His title too is the very copy of Brooke's book againſt Camden, and the method he takes in refuting him, is likewiſe an exact tranſcript of his own. But what is more ſingular is, the recommendations prefixed to this book.

and fell down upon the floor, but without receiving any hurt, and soon recovering his strength got up again (a). The account of this misfortune was one of the last things that he committed to writing, it was followed by a severe fit of illness, which lasted to the ninth of November 1623, when he deceased at his house at Chislehurst in the county of Kent, in the seventy-third year of his age (b). By his Will, made his last birth-day, he disposed of what little he had left after founding his History Lecture, in charities to the poor, legacies to his relations, and some small memorials to his particular acquaintance, of which some account will be given at the bottom of the page (c) [W]. His body being removed to his house at London, was, on the nineteenth of the same month, carried to Westminster-abbey in great pomp, the whole college of Heralds attended in their proper habits, great numbers of the nobility and persons of the first distinction accompanied, and at their entrance into the church, the Prebends and other members received the corps in their vestments, with much solemnity, and conducted it into the nave. After the funeral sermon, which was preached by Dr Sutton, and was esteemed an excellent performance, they buried him in the south isle near the learned Casaubon, and over-against the celebrated Chaucer (d). Near the place a handsome monument of white marble was erected, with his effigies to the middle, and in his hand a book with *Britannia* inscribed on the leaves, under which there is an elegant inscription, but with a mistake as to his age, which is there said to be seventy-four, though he wanted almost six months of seventy-three (e). The university of Oxford also, in respect to a person whose breeding there did her so much honour, as well as out of gratitude for his noble benefaction, paid a remarkable tribute of various kinds of praise to the memory of this great man (f) [X]. His character is thus given us

(a) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 82.

(b) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 66.

(c) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(d) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 77.

(e) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(f) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 69.

book, under this title: 'The opinions and offices 'of sundry choice and qualified Gentlemen, friends to 'the author, touching this his Discoverie of Errors.' These gentlemen were Sir William Segar, Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms; Richard St George, Esq; Norroy King at Arms; Samuel Thompson, Esq; Windsor-Herald; Henry St George, Esq; Richmond-Herald; Henry Chitting, Esq; Chester-Herald; Sampson Lennard, Blewmantle Pursuivant; John Philpot, Rouge Dragon; Mr Richard Brathwayte, Mr John Bradshaw, Mr Stephen Clyve, and, to close all, a long letter from John Selden, Esq; which appears to be one of the most laboured and correct things he ever wrote. All I have to add to this long note is, that from the splenetick attack originally made by Rafe Brooke upon the *Britannia*, arose very great advantages to the publick, by the sifting and bringing to light as good, perhaps a better and more authentick account of our Nobility, than had been given, at that time, of those in any other country of Europe.

[W] *At the bottom of the page.*] He wrote his Will himself, upon his last birth-day, May 2, 1623: it having been his constant custom, as appears by his Diary, to spend that day in good works and pious meditations (84). In this his last testament, after a devout introduction, and bequeathing eight pounds to the poor of the parish in which he should happen to die, he bequeaths to Sir Fulk Grevile, Lord Brooke, who preferred him gratis to his office, a piece of plate of ten pounds; to the company of Painter Stainers of London, he gave sixteen pounds to buy them a piece of plate, upon which he directed this inscription, *Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux filius Sampsonis, Pictoris Londinensis dono dedit*; he bestowed the sum of twelve pounds on the company of Cordwainers or Shoemakers of London, to purchase them a piece of plate, on which the same inscription was to be engraved. To his cousin John Wyat, Painter of London, he bequeathed one hundred pounds; to Mr Camden of London, Silkman, ten pounds; and other legacies to his relations; to Mr Thomas Allen of Gloucester-hall in Oxford, he gave sixteen pounds. To Janus Gruter, Library-Keeper to the Elector Palatine, five pounds; and to Mr Harvey, Vicar of Chesilhurst, seven; to each of the six Heralds, four pounds; and to each of the Pursuivants, two pounds; to Sir Francis Leigh of Westminster, four pounds; to Sir Peter Manwood, four pounds; to Sir William Pitt, three pounds; to Mr St Loe Kniveton, three pounds; the like to Mr Chamberlayne and to Mr Limiter; to Mr Selden of the Temple, five pounds; to Mr Harding the Usher, four pounds. Several legacies to his servants and dependants. As to his books and papers he directs, that Sir Robert Cotton of Conington, should have the first view of them, that he might take out such as he had borrowed of him, and then he bequeaths to him all his printed books and manuscripts, except such as concern Arms and Heraldry, which, with his ancient seals, he bequeaths to his successor in the office of Clarenceux, provided, because they cost him a considerable sum of money, he gave to his cousin John Wyat, what the Kings at Arms, Garter, and Norroy for the time being, should think fit; and agreed also to leave them to his successor. Of this Will he constituted Dr Heather sole Executor, and appointed Sir Robert Cotton and Mr John Wise, Overseers, giving each of them ten pounds for mourning. It was proved on the 10th of November 1623, before Sir William Byrd, Doctor of Laws, by Doctor Heather his Executor (85). But it must be observed, that notwithstanding this disposition of his books and papers, yet Dr John Williams, then Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, procured all the printed books for the new library erected in the Church of Westminster (86). It is understood, that his collections in support of his history, with respect to civil affairs, were before this time deposited in the Cotton library; for as to those that related to ecclesiastical matters, when asked for them by Dr Goodman, son to his great benefactor, he declared he stood engaged to Dr Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who upon his death, translated his right to them to his successor, Dr Abbot, who actually had them, and intended to have published them. They came afterwards into the hands of Archbishop Laud, and are very reasonably supposed to have been destroyed, when his papers fell into the hands of Mr Prynne, Mr Scot, and Hugh Peters; for upon a diligent search made by Dr Sancroft, soon after his promotion to that See, there was not a line of them to be found (87).

[X] *To the memory of this great man.*] As soon as the news of his death reached Oxford, the learned Mr Degory Wheare, his learned Professor of History resolved to celebrate the memory of so worthy a man, by an oration, which he seems to have delivered only to such as attended his Lecture. This oration of his was delivered on the 2d of December 1623, and a short account is contained therein of the life and principal actions of the person, whose memory it celebrates (88). As it was so hastily composed, and as orators are generally speaking more attentive to the roundness of their periods, the propriety of their expression, and the elegance of their method, than to matters of fact; we may from thence very easily account for several inaccuracies and errors, that are to be met with therein. One thing however deserves particular notice, Mr Wheare tells us indeed, that Mr Camden had part of his education at Christ's Hospital, but he does not say that he received it from the charity; on the contrary, he seems to insinuate, that he was sent thither by his father, who from his very cradle had designed him a learned education; it is necessary to produce his own words, '*Eum pater à primis incunabulis rei litterariæ destinavit, cujus prima semina sub magistro nescio quo, in pædotrophio illo amplissimo quod Ædis Christi, Londini appellatur, imbibit, inde Scholam Colettianam, ad Divi Pauli sitam petiit.*' Dr Smith gives a different

(84) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 57, 70, 79, 82.

(85) A Collection of curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries, in the Append. No. 2.

(86) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(87) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 66, 67.

(88) Printed first at Oxford in 1628 4to, inserted afterwards in the Latin Collection of select Lives, by Dr W. Bates.

us in few words by an excellent writer, to which little can be added. 'In his writings 'he was candid and modest, in his conversation easy and innocent, and in his whole life 'even and exemplary (g).' The high reputation his writings acquired him amongst foreigners, is at the same time a tribute to his merit, and to the glory of this nation, which owes to few of her worthies in the Republick of Letters, more than to him, whose fame extended throughout Europe, and yet escaped the rage of Criticks wherever it came. This was certainly owing, in a great measure, to the sweetness and candour of his temper, which so qualified his learning, that in foreign nations all were ready to commend, and none cared to dispute with him. All this might be easily taken for fond partiality, or for downright flattery, if all who are acquainted with the writings of our author, were not fully sensible, that if we had said even more than this, it might have been supported by indisputable evidence, and also by the testimony of a cloud of witnesses, from amongst those, who, in that age, were esteemed first-rate writers (h) [Y]. But notwithstanding all

(g) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(h) Censura Celebrium Authorum, p. 619.

a different turn to this; and on the very circumstance of his having been at this school infers, that he must have lost his father early, and have been educated there on the foundation as an orphan (89). That he was educated there, seems to be a fact out of doubt; for otherwise, I cannot imagine, that Degory Wheare would have advanced it; but that he was upon the foundation as an orphan of the city of London, is not agreeable to what Wheare says, or to many other circumstances. But to proceed; the University, out of regard to the benefaction they had received from him, directed, that a publick oration should be made to his honour, before the whole University; to which office, Zouch Townly of Christ-Church was assigned, a man remarkable for his parts and eloquence, as well as his perfect possession of the Latin tongue in it's utmost elegance and purity. There was upon this occasion, a prodigious concourse of the learned of all ranks, many drawn by the fame of the speaker, but more by their respect for the memory of that great man, of whom he was to speak. He discharged his duty upon this occasion, in a manner worthy of himself and of Camden; it is a lofty and magnificent piece of eloquence, which carries the glory of it's subject as high as human genius could raise it, and has been therefore always esteemed as lasting a monument to the praise of Camden, as that in Westminster-Abbey (90). The University went still farther, the verses written to celebrate the praise of the deceased by the disciples of the Muses in her precincts, were collected into a book, and published in the succeeding year, together with the oration last mentioned, under the title of *Insignia Camdeni* (91). But even this was not all, they were desirous of honouring him to the very utmost of their power; and therefore, in a full and solemn Convocation, held on the 18th of December, it was decreed by the unanimous consent of the whole Academical Senate, that Camden, *for his most noble munificence towards the University of Oxford*, should be inserted into the roll of their benefactors, in order to be commemorated at the stated solemnities, with the rest of the benefactors to this ancient source of Literature, whether Kings, Queens, Prelates, or Nobles, who were in this manner remembred; and who, however unlike in other respects, and unequal in rank to each other, were in this both like and equal, that they laboured to promote piety and virtue, by encouraging learning and facilitating study (92). It is very remarkable, that, on the one hand, Mr Camden, who had not been over kindly used by the University, when he was a member of it, who does not seem to have taken much notice of the offer of a degree, when he went thither on account of Sir Thomas Bodley's funeral (93), and who seems to have declined the title of Doctor, as he did of Knight afterwards (94), should contribute in so generous a manner, and by so useful a foundation, to the splendor of that illustrious body; and, on the other hand, it deserves our notice, that the same University which had been so frugal, I had like to have said something more, of her favours to him, when a young man, who had no other claim to them than from his merit, should afterwards be so profuse of them to his friend when he waived accepting them himself, and think no honour too great for the memory of one who it is true had enriched them by his benefaction; and which was still more, had done them so much credit by his education.

(89) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 2.

(90) Ibid. p. 83.

(91) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 485.

(92) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 69.

(93) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 482.

(94) Epist. Camdeni, p. 188. Ibid. p. 329.

[Y] *Were esteemed first rate writers.*] It may not be amiss to set down a very few only out of the almost numberless authorities, that without any difficulty might be assembled in proof of this point. The famous Justus Lipsius, upon a certain occasion, speaks thus to our author (95). 'I take thee, William Camden, 'for my Judge, who lately, by the clear sun of thy un- 'derstanding, hath dispelled the mists which over- 'whelmed thy Britain.' The celebrated Joseph Scaliger, in one of his most learned works, and which will preserve his memory as long as any respect is paid to learning, speaking of a certain point in Antiquity, says (96), 'It may be proved by a stone that was lately 'digged up in Britain, and which is produced by the 'most learned Camden, in his admirable performance.' In his Epistles also, he speaks with raptures of our author, and tells his English friend to whom his Epistle is addressed, 'That he wanted time to inform that 'learned man himself (97), how much he thought 'himself obliged to him for his benevolence in send- 'ing it him.' The most celebrated *Isaac Casaubon*, writes to him in the following terms (98). 'It is not only 'the English, most learned man, who are for ever bound 'to you for this great work (*Britannia*), but all, 'and every one, let them reside where they will, who 'are friends and lovers of ancient History. Amongst 'which, since I have presumed to insert my name, I 'would have you persuaded, that no man can be 'more studious in the perusal of your works. All 'things in your writings please me extremely, the 'good sense, diligence, learning, but above and be- 'yond all, the sagacity of your judgment.' Paulus Merula, speaking of the assistance he had received from the learned, expresses himself thus (99): 'Out of Ger- 'many I returned home, through France and England, 'where William Camden was to me of more use than 'all the rest.' Thuanus writing to him for the helps that he expected from him, makes use of these very strong expressions (100); 'Write, and do not deny your 'counsel to a friend that stands in need of it. Hints 'are sufficient from you, nor is it necessary that you 'should be at any pains in digesting them. Whatever 'you write will not only have the weight of advice, 'but the force of a command; the next part of my 'history, which is already printed, will shew you 'how much I value, as indeed I ought, your instruc- 'tions.' The industrious Andrew du Chesne, speaking of the assistance he received from him, says (101), 'I received from that worthy Englishman, whose name 'stands so high in the list of men of letters, William 'Camden, several MSS. &c.' Instead of extending this note farther, we will conclude in the words of a great Prelate of our own (102); 'To be particular, 'says he, in his acquaintance, would be to reckon up 'all the learned men of his time. When he was 'young, learned men were his patrons; when he grew 'up, the learned men were his intimates; and when 'he came to be old, he was a patron to the learned. 'So that learning was his only care, and learned men 'the only comfort of his life. What an useful and 'honourable correspondence he had settled, both at 'home and abroad, does best appear from his letters; 'and with what candour and easiness he maintain- 'ed it, the same letters may inform us. The work 'he was engaged in for the honour of his native 'country, gained him respect at home, and admiration 'abroad, so that he was looked upon as a common 'oracle; and for a foreigner to travel into England 'and return without seeing Mr Camden, was thought 'a very gross omission. He was visited by six Ger- 'man Noblemen at one time, and at their request wrote 'his Lemma in each of their books, as a testimony 'that they had seen him.'

(95) Epist. Camd.

(96) In Animadversionibus in Chronologica Eusebii ad an. 1213, Amstelodami, 1658, p. 228.

(97) Epist. ad Richard. Thomponem, Lugduni Batav. p. 500.

(98) Epist. Camd. p. 60.

(99) In Præfatione ad Ennii fragmenta, Lugd. Batav. 1595.

(100) Epist. Camd. p. 68.

(101) In Præfat. ad Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiquos. Lutet. Paris. fol. 1619.

(102) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

[Z] At

all his great merit, and it's being so generally, one might say universally, confessed, yet we should have known what related to him very imperfectly, and in a very superficial manner, if it had not been for the pious care, and indefatigable labour, of the worthy Dr Thomas Smith (*i*); who not only published a very curious and comprehensive Life of our author, but, with incredible pains and industry, collected a great number of letters written to Mr Camden, by the most judicious, as well as most learned, men, of other nations, besides our own; and who likewise drew together abundance of small pieces that fell from our author's pen, and which well deserved to be transmitted to posterity, and of which, as it is very requisite, some notice shall be taken at the bottom of the page [Z]. That we might give an article of such consequence with all the advantage possible, we have been careful in perusing what had been hitherto done in this way, and by comparing the facts with his own writings, have detected and rectified various mistakes, which hitherto had passed current even with the learned world. But besides these, we have met with some other circumstances, memorials, and remarks, that may deserve the reader's attention, and yet could not well be reduced into the general representation of his

(*i*) He not only published our author's Life and Letters, but left his Annals, corrected by his own hand, to Mr Hearne, who published them.

[Z] *At the bottom of the page.*] The first of the pieces of Mr Camden, published by Doctor Smith, is in Latin, and bears the title of (103) *Gulielmi Camdeni Annales, ab anno* 1603, *ad ann.* 1623; but the running title is *Gul. Camdeni regni regis Jacobi* I, *annalium apparatus*, i. e. A draft of William Camden's Annals of the reign of King James I. We have the following account of this work from Mr Anthony Wood (104). 'The Annals of King James, reach from the death of 'Queen Elizabeth, 24th of March 1602-3 to 18th of 'August 1623, and no farther, because the author be'ing then very ill in body (remaining in that condi'tion till his death) he could not well continue them any 'farther: so that these memoirs want more than for 'a year, to the end of the reign of James I. These 'Annals are written with the author's own hand in 'fol. being only a skeleton of a history, or bare 'touches, to put the author in mind of greater matters 'that he had in his head; had he lived to have di'gested them in a full history, as that of Queen 'Elizabeth. The original came after his death into 'the hands of Mr John Hacket, afterwards D. D. and 'at length Bishop of Litchfield; who, as I have been 'divers times informed, did privately convey it out of 'the library of the author; Hacket being then a 'Master of Arts of some years standing. This ori'ginal being communicated by the said Dr Hacket, 'while he was living at Litchfield, to Mr (afterwards 'Sir) William Dugdale, then Norroy King at Arms; 'he, contrary to the Doctor's knowledge, took a copy 'of it, which I have seen and perused at Sir William's 'house, called Blith-hall in Warwickshire; but there'in I found many mistakes, as it afterwards more 'evidently appeared to me, when that transcript was 'put into the *Ashmolean Musæum*; another copy I 'have seen in the hands of Sir Henry St George, 'Clarenceux King at Arms, which having been trans'cribed by one that understood not Latin, there are 'innumerable faults therein, and therefore not at all 'to be relied upon. After Dr Hacket's death, the 'original was put into the library of Trinity-College 'in Cambridge, where it now remains.' It appears plainly from hence, that Mr Wood really thought these were Mr Camden's materials for the writing the Annals for King James's reign; but whoever shall consider, them attentively, will perceive, that he had no such intention, amongst many others, for these reasons. In the first place, they are very unequal; in some years there are memoranda to every month, and almost to every day of the month; in others, there are only a few months; and in the year 1609, the dates are in February, March, and June only, and there are not above ten articles in the whole year. In the next place, they are very improperly digested for such a purpose; many things of great moment are omitted; many of little importance are set down. In those years, in which he is most copious, these trivial matters abound most. As for instance, in the year 1615, he sets down, that in the month of February there was hard frost (105), and a great deal of snow; more especially on the 12th, and on the 14th; and that the frost did not break till on the 26th. March 13, the first part of his Annals went to the press; on June 8, they were published (106). The month of July, was very dry throughout to the 31st, when it rained very hard (107). One sees plainly from hence, that he did not intend this for a publick history. As he had more leisure, he enlarged his Diary; but then it appears, that he set down only those things that concerned himself, his friends, or his office, as King at Arms; as he grew infirm, he set down when he was taken ill, when he went out of town, when he returned to it: and, in a word, whatever else occurred to him, that he thought worth remembring; as for instance, 'April 8, 1618, 'There was a great foot-race run, at which, tho' it 'was a dull day, the King was present, the mob was 'very great; and one J. Hubbard, son to the Lord 'Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, who married 'Viscount Lisle's daughter, was very much hurt (108).' It is true true, that to give these more the air of Annals, almost all the passages of this sort are thrown out in the English translation; but by this means the cheat, or at least the mistake is carried on, and unwary people are led to believe, that from such notes as these, our author intended to compose the Annals of the reign of King James, which is equally injurious to truth and to the memory of Mr Camden. What they really were, and how far they may be of use, that judicious Prelate we have so often quoted, has told us (109). 'From the end of Queen Elizabeth to his 'own death, he kept a Diary of all (rather, of many of) 'the remarkable passages in the reign of King James. 'Not that he could so much as dream of living to 'make use of them himself at that age, and under 'those many infirmities, which a laborious life had 'drawn upon him. But he was willing however, 'to contribute all the assistance he could to any that 'should do the same honour to the reign of King 'James, which he had done to that of Queen Elizabeth. 'If this were practised by persons of learning and 'curiosity, who have opportunities of seeing into the 'publick affairs of a kingdom, what a large step 'would it be towards a history of the respective times? 'For after all, the short hints and strictures of that 'kind, do very often set things in a truer light than 'regular histories, which are but too commonly written 'to serve a party, and so draw one insensibly out of 'the right way. Whereas, if men are left themselves 'to make their own inferences from simple matters of 'fact, as they lay before them; tho' perhaps, they 'may often be at a loss how to make things hang 'together; yet their aim shall be still true, and they 'shall hardly be mistaken in the main. One single 'matter of fact, faithfully and honestly delivered, is 'worth a thousand comments and flourishes.' To this piece we find annext, a leaf of an English Diary, for the years 1603, 1604, and 1605; but it is remarkable, that they do not at all agree with the Latin Diary. There is a loose leaf also of very short hints, relating to his own life. Then follow two short discourses, upon the etymology, antiquity, and office of the Earl Marshal of England. His verses come next; and first his Latin Poem, in praise of the famous Roger Ascham, written in compliment to his friend Dr Grant. Another Latin Poem follows, intitled, *Hibernia*; then his excellent Epigram, in praise of Hakluyt's Voyages; and lastly, an Epigram on Sir Clement Edmund's translation of Cæsar's Commentaries; all these are in Latin, as are also the collection of Epitaphs, written by him; which are ten in number. The most remarkable, is that for Mary Queen of Scots, which probably was intended for her tomb in Westminster-Abbey; on which there is now a larger, but far less elegant inscription.

(103) In the same Volume with Camden's Life and Letters.

(104) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(105) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 11.

(106) Ibid. p. 12.

(107) Ibid. p. 13.

(108) Ibid. p. 31.

(109) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

his life and writings, and therefore, that they might not be lost, we have thrown them into a note [*AA*]. The great pains taken by the accurate Mr Bayle, the judicious Father Niceron,

[*AA*] *We have thrown them into a note.*] There is great reason to believe, that notwithstanding our author's warm love of Antiquities, the first work he projected, was a regular History of England, from the Norman Conquest, in Latin. He tells us so himself pretty plainly; and from the specimen he has given us (110) of his abilities in that way, we have the greatest reason to regret, that he did not prosecute his design; for if he had, we should certainly have seen an English History equal in point of composition to Buchanan's boasted History of Scotland; and much superior to it, in all other respects. His turn for Latin Poetry was admirable, and the marriage of *Tame* and *Isis*, inserted in the *Britannia*, and which is certainly his own, does as much honour to the quickness of his fancy, the beauty of his expression, and the harmony of his numbers, as the rest of that noble work does to his judgment, industry, and learning. But it seems he was afraid of being thought to apply himself to these kind of lighter studies, which might be thought inconsistent with the gravity of his employments, and the seriousness of his temper. At least, this we may have leave to guess from what his worthy and grateful scholar, Benjamin Johnson, tells him in the Dedication of one of his Comedies (111). 'There are, no doubt, 'a supercilious race in the world, who will esteem all 'offices done you in this kind an injurie; so solemn 'a vice it is with them, to use the authoritie of their 'ignorance, to the crying down of poetry or the pro-'fessors of it. But my gratitude must not leave to correct 'their error, since I am none of those that can suffer 'the benefits conferred upon my youth to perish with 'my age. I pray you accept this, such wherein, 'neither the confession of my manners shall make you 'blush, nor of my studies repent you to have been 'the instructor.' The reverence and gratitude of Mr Johnson, was farther expressed in other of his works; and indeed, there have been few men of learning, who met with such general respect from their contemporaries, as Camden did. The famous Spenser, in an excellent poem of his, intitled, *The Ruins of Time* (112), has a very fine stanza, to the honour of this learned man, which was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and is therefore referred to the same that he acquired by his *Britannia*; it runs thus:

(110) Britan. in Norman.

(111) See the Dedication of Ben. Johnson's play, *Every man in his Humour*.

(112) Spenser's Works, Vol. VI. p. 1466.

Camden, the nourice of Antiquity,
And lanthorn unto late succeeding age
To see the light of simple verity,
Buried in ruines, through the great outrage
Of her own people led with warlike rage:
  Camden, though time all monuments obscure,
  Yet thy just labours ever shall endure.

Nor does it appear, that he was less respected by persons, who perhaps in some things differed from him in opinion; as for instance, the famous Mr Bolton (113), so well known to the world, by his excellent book, intitled, *Nero Cæsar*; a good Historian himself, and a profound Antiquary, but withal a Papist, complimented him in the following manner, upon Sir William Segar's and Sir Richard St George's being knighted, who were Garter and Norroy Kings at Arms.

(113) Epist. Camd. p. 188.

'Right worthy Sir,

'THO' your brother Kings have out-gone you 'in the honour of Knighthood, they shall ever 'come behind you very far in the greater honour of 'immortal fame. Some ascribe it to ambition in you, 'that you are not a Knight (for you know how pre-'posterously witty the wits of our time are on other 'men's actions and abstinencies) as thinking the neg-'lect thereof an higher point than the acceptance. 'Others to pusillanimity; and we your friends to your 'modesty; which I am angry with, notwithstanding, 'because it hath deprived us of some splendour, and 'comfort in our friend's advancement.'

In another work of his, intitled, *Hypercritica* (114), in which, without question, he has advanced as many judicious observations, in reference to English History, as are any where to be met with, very justly reproves a great error of some learned men, in altering proper names, that they might make a more classical appearance in their Latin; and takes an opportunity from thence, to pay a very handsome compliment to our author, for his wise caution, in this particular; the passage is curious, and the book scarce, the reader therefore will not be displeased to see it. 'He who 'would compose a *Corpus Rerum Anglicarum*, a ge-'neral *History* of *England* in Latin, hath no other 'rules to follow, but such as he who writes it in Eng-'lish. One thing nevertheless, is primely needful by 'our Latin Historiographer to be consulted of and 'determined, because I have observed much perplexity 'rising out of the right or erroneous practice thereof. 'The difficulty therefore is, what to do in our Latin 'History, with names of persons, things, or places, 'which are not filed down to the smoothness of Latin 'sounds, or rules of termination. *Lucian* notes a ri-'diculous curiosity in one Historian, who affecting 'Attick elegancy, would needs fashion Latin names to 'the Greek garb, either by translation, by allusion, or 'transportation of letters. By translation, as in call-'ing *Saturninus*, *Chronius*; by allusion, as in calling '*Fronto*, *Frontis*; by *Metathesis*, or transportation of 'syllables or letters, in calling *Titianus*, *Titanius*. In 'this fine and meer schoolish folly, after that, *George* '*Buchanan* is often taken, not without casting his 'reader into obscurity. For in his Histories, where 'he speaketh of one *Wisehart*, so little was his ear 'able to brook the name, as that translating the sense 'thereof into Greek, of *Wisehart*, comes forth unto 'us, *Sophocardius*: and *Wisehart*, whose name it was 'intended should live, was quite lost, or must be sought 'for out in Lexicons. The better care of that polite 'and eloquent *Scot*, had been of truth and loyalty. 'All our Historians, *ad unum* (for ought I can re-'member) follow the plain prolation and truth of pro-'per names; and so doth the most approved and learn-'ed Philologer and Antiquary of our nation, Mr *Cam-'den*.' His friends also who had given him countenance and assistance in the earlier part of his life, maintained the same warmth of affection for him, even in their own old age and his, which might appear from Sir Henry Savile's earnest invitation of him to Eaton, that they might spend their declining years together; from the letters of the Bishop of Gloucester, and from those of Mr Thomas Allen, both his ancient and constant friends. We will however content ourselves, with transcribing only a short one, from Dr Francis Godwin, then Lord Bishop of Hereford (115), which, tho' written in English, is penned in the true spirit of Antiquity, and would have made no inconsiderable figure in the collections of Cicero or Pliny. 'Last *Easter* 'term I was in *London*, and sought you, but had not 'the good hap to find you. It discontented me not a 'little, I had no other errand but to see you. I love 'you, nay, I honour you. We now grow old and 'sickly. I am afraid we shall never meet. *Fiat vo-'luntas Domini.* But what becomes of your second 'part of *Elizabetha*? How fain would I see it out! 'Let it not die. Live you long. *Faxit.* You shall 'live the longer, if the world may see it, if per-'chance the world hath not already seen that of you, 'which shall make you immortal even in this world, 'except so far forth, as the world itself is mortal. Al-'though, why do I put in that *perhaps* of that which 'is *extra aleam*? You see how delighting to talk 'with you, I had rather to talk idle, than to say no-'thing. *Camdeno meo salutem plurimam. Vale.* Whit-'borne, October 9, 1620.' As to his reputation in his last profession, that of a King at Arms, he carried it so high, that such as meant to recommend their labours to the world in matters of that nature, knew no better or more succesful method, than by courting his protection, as appears from the following words of Mr Milles (116), in his Dedication of Glover's, alias Somerset's, Account of the Nobility; 'Learned William 'Camden, whom vertue her self for piety and probity, 'and honouring *Greate Britaine*, hath crowned a King 'of Arms.' But in all probability, this complement cost Mr Milles very dear, for one may reasonably suppose it put Brooke upon attacking him, so that all that followed

(114) Address the 4th, Sect. v.

(115) Epist. Camd. p. 308.

(116) Catalogue of Nobility, Lond. 1610, fol. in his Dedication to Robert Earl of Salisbury.

Niceron, the several editors of Moreri's Dictionary, and other foreign writers, seem to lay us under a necessity of endeavouring to improve to the utmost, an article which has been, and ever will be, an ornament of every collection of this sort, at the same time that it contributes not a little to illustrate, various important points relating to our Civil History, to the memoirs of other learned persons, and other valuable purposes that naturally coincide with a design of doing justice to the memory of a man, distinguished not by the excellence only, or by the extent, but by the variety also of his knowledge.

followed was but a continuation of the old quarrel, which was kept on foot, from first to last, for very near thirty years. The industrious John Stowe, was also a client of Mr Camden's, who afforded him both countenance and assistance in the prosecution of his labours, for which reason he had a plentiful share of abuse bestowed upon him in Brooke's writings (117), who, charges him with making a transcript of Leland's Itinerary, for the use of Mr Camden, who, as he pretends, allowed him an annual pension for this as long as he lived. His favours to John Philipot and Augustine Vincent, have been already remembered; and indeed it must be allowed, that no man was more communicative to his friends, or more ready to do them honour upon all occasions, as appears from the frequent mention he makes of John Johnson, an excellent Poet and learned Antiquary of Scotland; many of whose verses with high commendations he has inserted in his *Britannia*. But neither his extensive learning or his high reputation could defend him from the envy of his enemies while living, or his memory from insults after his death. A Church Historian (118), without naming him, has taken great pains to insinuate things to his prejudice; and tho' he lay directly in his way, has avoided mentioning his name with praise, which to a degree of fulsomeness he has bestowed upon persons of far less merit. Dr Smith gives us a much stronger instance of an extravagant and ill-grounded resentment, which induced a certain young gentleman (119) of very good family, who thought the reputation of his mother hurt by somewhat that Camden has delivered of her in his History, could find no other way to be revenged, than by breaking off a piece from the nose of his statue in Westminster-Abbey. An action as mean and base, as it was wicked and unjust. It seems, that Anthony Wood (120) had not taken notice of this circumstance, for he seems to attribute the injury done to Camden's statue to some accident that happened at the solemnity of the pompous funeral of the last Earl of Essex, General of the army raised by the Parliament against Charles I. But posterity hath done ample justice to his merit, paying the highest credit as well as reverence to his works, and looking with a just indignation on such low attempts as these to tarnish his reputation. Whoever would see an elegant panegyric in the form of a monumental inscription, worthy of Camden's learning, prudence, and impartiality, may find it drawn by the pen of that admirable Master of Latin eloquence, Thomas Farnaby (121); or if verses be more agreeable, in the poetical inscription under an original picture of our author bestowed on the University of Oxford by Degory Wheare (122), in memory of his patron, and placed in the school (123) where the History Lecture by him founded, is still publickly read; and may it be till all Histories fail! E

(117) In his Second Discovery of Errors in the much commended Britannia, p. 97.

(118) Fuller's Ch. Hist. under the year 1535, p. 198.

(119) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 75.

(120) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I, col. 485.

(121) Prefixed to the third Vol. of Mr Hearne's edit. of Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

(122) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 71.

(123) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 43.

CAMPBELL, an ancient and noble family in the kingdom of Scotland, the present chief of which is his Grace the Duke of Argyll, and of which family are besides, the Earls of Loudon and Braidalbane; as there were anciently Earls of Athol, and Irvine, of this name, to which also the earldom of Islay belonged, in the person of the present Chief, who by his own merit acquired it, till swallowed up in his superior title of Argyll. As to the antiquity of this house, the best proof of it, is the difficulty that occurs in speaking of the origin of this illustrious line. It is very well known, that the Bards and Sanachies were the ancient Heralds of that, and indeed of this country, and that they preserved the memory of families, the Chiefs of which had distinguished themselves in war, in their songs; or to give them a better title, of which they are not at all unworthy, their lyrick odes, and transmitted an account of their descents by tradition. That this kind of authority is evidence sufficient to establish historical facts, is what we dare not determine, but we may be permitted to say, without being suspected of partiality for such kind of testimony, that if it ought to be admitted in any case, this of genealogies may claim the preference, as being that, of all others, in which they were most scrupulous, and therefore best deserved to be believed. By these then it has been remembered, one dares not say recorded, that this family were Lords of Lochow in Argyleshire, in the reign of Fergus II, the restorer of the monarchy of Scotland, in the very beginning of the Vth century. It is not, however, pretended, that they were then distinguished by the same surname as now, on the contrary we are told, these old Lords of Lochow, were known to the world by the name of O-Dwbin, or rather O-Dwin, or Macdwine, for which last name there is some authority, since, by a charter granted to Colin Campbell of Lochow, by King David II, ratifying the alienation made by Christian, daughter and heir of Sir Dougal Campbell, his great uncle, of the lands of Craignish, it is declared, that the said Colin Campbell shall hold those lands of the King and his heirs, in as ample a manner as his ancestor Duncan Macdwine held the barony of Lochow. We are told, on the authority of the Sanachies beforementioned, that this appellation was assumed by Diarmed O-Dwin, one of their ancestors, a brave and warlike man, and in the Irish language his descendants are called to this time Scol Diarmed, that is, the posterity and offspring of Diarmed. From this Diarmed O-Dwin the Bards have recorded a long series of the Barons of Lochow, who, they tell us, were very renowned both for conduct and valour. Paul O-Dwin, Lord of Lochow, called Paul in Spuran, so denominated from his being the King's Treasurer, having no male issue, his estate went to his daughter Eva, who married Gilespick O-Dwin, a relation of her own, who changed the name first from O-Dwin to Campbell, to perpetuate the memory of a noble and heroick piece of service performed by him to the crown of France, in the reign of King Malcolm Canmoir. By this Lady he left a son Duncan, who was Lord of Lochow, and was the father of Colin, and he again of Archibald, and he of Duncan Baron of Lochow. His son and

successor

successor was Archibald Campbell, Knight, Lord of Lochow, who was the father of Sir Colin Campbell, a person who distinguished himself, as well by the acquisitions he made to his estates, as by his great actions in war, from whence he obtained the surname of Moor, and from this Colin it is, that the head of this illustrious family is stiled by the Irish Mac Collan More. He was slain in a conflict with a powerful neighbour of his, the Lord of Lorn, which created a feud between the two families, that lasted till they were united by marriage. His son, Sir Nicol or Neil, was honoured with that dignity by King Alexander III, and was one of the great men of Scotland, summoned to Berwick by King Edward I, and submitted for a time to John de Baliol, as did also his brother Sir Donald Campbell of Redhouse, from whom the noble family of Loudon is lineally descended. But when Robert Bruce asserted his title to the Crown, Sir Neil Campbell joined him very early, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the Lord of Lorn, reduced that country to his obedience. He was amongst that handful of loyal subjects, who were present at the coronation of King Robert at Scoon in 1306, and when many deserted him, Sir Neil Campbell, to his immortal honour, entered into an association with Sir Gilbert Hay and Sir Alexander Seton, wherein, in a most solemn manner, they bound themselves to defend, till the last period of their lives, the liberties of their country, and the right of Robert Bruce their King, against all mortals, French, English, and Scots, to which they appended their seals at the abbey of Cambuskenneth, 9 Sept. 1308. He was appointed also one of the Commissioners on the part of Scotland, to treat of a piece in 1314 with the English, which negociation, though it was not altogether successful, procured however a release or exchange of prisoners, and amongst the rest, of the Lady Mary Bruce, the King's sister, whom Edward I. had not only imprisoned, but caused to be carried about in a cage, for Walter Cumine. Sir Neil Campbell, Lord of Lochow, was the next year present in the Parliament held at Air, in which the Crown was entailed upon Robert Bruce and his heirs, at which time Sir Neil obtained a grant of several lands for his good services, and as a still higher mark of his Sovereign's confidence and esteem, his sister, the Lady Mary Bruce before mentioned, in marriage, but he did not long survive this high honour. He left two sons, of whom the second, John Campbell, was, by King David II, honoured with the high title of Earl of Athol, but he dying without issue, the title became extinct in his family. Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow attended Edward Bruce in his expedition into Ireland in 1316, when he took the title of King of that country. He also faithfully adhered to King David Bruce during all his troubles, and re-taking for him the castle of Dunoon, which for some time was in the hands of the English, he was made hereditary governor of that fortress, which still remains in his family. He deceased in 1340, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, who was also remarkably attached to the house of Bruce. His eldest son, Colin, was in great favour with King Robert II, and was employed by him to restrain the Highlanders, who infested the western provinces of Scotland, which he did so effectually, that he obtained a grant of several lands for that service. He was succeeded by his eldest son Sir Duncan Campbell, a man equally famous for his valour and wisdom, who married the lady Margery Stewart, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, and by his interest with Murdoch, Duke of Albany, he prevailed upon him to ransome and restore King James I, who had been many years prisoner in England. This signal service, the dignity of the person to whom it was rendered, will not allow us to stile it an obligation, made such an impression upon the King's mind, that he considered him ever after as one of the most deserving of his subjects, received him into his Privy-Council, and made him Lord Justice and Lieutenant of the shire of Argyll. He was continued in his offices by King James II, to whom he adhered faithfully in all the troubles which disturbed the beginning of his reign, in consideration of which he was honoured with the title of Lord Campbell, *Anno Domini* 1445. He was the first that took the title of Argyle, though he as often used his old title of Lochow, and was a very charitable and religious person. He had by the Lady Margery Stewart beforementioned, three sons; the eldest, Cælestine, died without issue in his father's life-time; the second, Archibald, also died before him, but left issue by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Somerville, a son who succeed his grandfather; his third son was Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie, ancestor to the Earls of Braidalbain. He had also three sons by his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Sir John Stewart, natural son to King Robert III. This Duncan, Lord Campbell, died in 1453, and was succeeded by his grandson Colin, who, being in his minority, had for his guardian, his uncle Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie beforementioned. King James II, as well out of regard to the exemplary loyalty of his family, and the singular services of his father, as for the promising parts of this young Nobleman, raised him to the title of Earl of Argyle in 1457. In the succeeding reign of James III, he was sent Embassador to Edward IV. of England in 1465, being then Master of the Houshold, and was afterwards honoured with the highest offices in the State, being constituted Lord Privy Seal and Lord High Chancellor. He was also Embassador at the Court of France, with other persons of the first quality, and was present at the sealing and swearing to the League made with Charles VIII. at Paris, July 9, 1484. Upon his being appointed one of the Embassadors to King Henry VII, to procure his interposition to asswage the troubles then broke out in Scotland, he resigned his office of Lord Chancellor. He had

no

no share or concern in the Civil War, in which his Royal Master fell; but after things were in some measure settled, he was again made Lord Chancellor, and continued to the time of his death, which happened in 1493, in possession of that high office. He married the Lady Isabel Stewart, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of John, Lord Lorn, upon which he took that title and the arms of the family; and, as a confirmation of his title, procured the resignation of Walter Stewart of Innermeath; and by deed, dated the 17th of April 1470, entailed that honour on Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie and his heirs male in case his own failed, on account, not only of his being instrumental in procuring him that marriage, but also because the said Sir Colin had before married another of those co-heiresses. His eldest son, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was in great favour with his sovereign King James IV, by whom he was made Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Houshold; and having the honour to command the van-guard of the Royal army, fell valiantly fighting with his most gracious Master, in the fatal battle of Flowden, September 9, 1513. His eldest son, Colin, Earl of Argyle, was one of the four Counsellors of the Regency to King James V. in 1525; and in 1528, he was constituted Lieutenant of the Borders and Warden of the Marches, and had also an ample confirmation of the hereditary Sheriff-ship of Argyleshire, Justiciary of Scotland, and Master of the Houshold, by which those honours became vested in his family. He deceased in 1542, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, who was one of the Lords that entered into an association to oppose the intended match, between the young Queen Mary and King Edward VI. of England, dated July 4, 1543. On the breaking out of the war with England, he distinguished himself greatly in the battle of Pinky, and at the siege of Haddington. He was the first of this noble family who embraced the Protestant Religion, of which he was a most sincere and zealous professor, and recommended the promoting thereof, and the suppressing Popish superstition, to his son and successor, when he was upon his death-bed. He married first, Lady Helen Hamilton, daughter of James, Earl of Arran, by whom he had his eldest son and heir, Archibald; his second wife was, Mary, daughter to William Graham, Earl of Monteith, by whom he had Sir Colin Campbell of Buchuan. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, succeeded his father in 1558, being a person of great parts and prudence, he was sent over to the Queen in France, the year after his father's death, to supplicate her in favour of the Protestant Religion. He concurred with other persons of quality and distinction, in taking such measures as were necessary for promoting the Reformation, and was very instrumental in procuring it to be settled by authority of Parliament; and by the assistance of Elizabeth, Queen of England, he was also very successful in obliging the French to quit Scotland. In the year 1561, when Queen Mary returned from France, and constituted a new Privy-Council, of which the Earl of Argyle was a member, it is very observable, that he had no concern whatever, in any of those intrigues and insurrections, which happened soon after. He did indeed, upon the Queen's marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, enter into a bond or association, for the defence of the Prince, afterwards King James VI, and was present at his coronation, when he carried the sword of State. But being afterwards informed, that the Queen's resignation was far from being voluntary, he laboured to restore her, and was General of her forces in the battle of Langside, near Glasgow, in 1568, where they were defeated; but however, his Lordship remained firm to the Queen, as long as there was any probability of doing her service. After the death of the Earl of Lenox, who was Regent, and the election of the Earl of Mar to that high office, the Earl of Argyle was constituted Lord High Chancellor, by whose great moderation, as well as through the high esteem in which he stood with men of all parties, the peace of the kingdom was restored. His Lordship died possessed of this great office, September 12, 1575, without leaving any issue, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Colin Campbell beforementioned, who, having always distinguished himself, by a close and steady attachment to the cause of King James VI, and having been very instrumental in securing to him the full and free administration of the government, when he was of fit age to take it into his own hand, His Majesty was graciously pleased to admit him of his Privy-Council; and on the 16th of August 1579, he took the oath of office, as Lord High Chancellor, which he executed with the universal approbation of the whole kingdom, to the time of his decease, in 1584; he married first, Jane Stewart, daughter of Henry, Lord Methven, by whom he had no issue; and after her decease, the widow of James, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, by whom he had two sons, Archibald and Colin. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was distinguished by his military genius, as well as by his constant and loyal adherence to his sovereign, whose forces he commanded at the battle of Glenlivet, in 1594, against the Earls of Huntley and Errol; he afterwards suppressed the Mac-Gregors, and a more formidable insurrection of the Macdonalds in 1614, for which services he had a grant made him of the country of Kintyre, which was confirmed by an Act of Parliament. In 1618, he went over to Spain, and entered into the service of that Crown, remaining abroad many years, till at length, he obtained His Majesty's permission to return, and died at London, in 1638. This noble Earl was twice married, first, to Anne, daughter and heir of William, Earl of Morton, by whom he had his successor and four daughters. His second wife was, Anne, daughter to Sir William Cornwallis, by whom he had a son, James, who, in 1622, was created Lord

Kintyre by King James VI; and afterwards by Charles I, by letters patents bearing date, March 28, 1642, created, Earl of Irvine (*a*); of his eldest son and successor, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, and afterwards Marquis; we shall speak in the next article.

(*a*) This article is extracted from several manuscript accounts in the hands of the author, and has been compared with the article in Collier's Dictionary, transmitted by direction of the Duke of Argyle, father to the late and present Duke, as also with Crauford, Nesbit, &c.

CAMPBELL (Archibald) Earl and Marquis of Argyle, was the son of Archibald Earl of Argyle, by the Lady Anne Douglas, daughter of William Earl of Morton (*a*). He was born some time in the year 1598, and was very carefully educated, suitable to his high birth and great interest in his country. He was, though very young, with his father in the field, when the dangerous insurrection of the Macdonalds was suppressed (*b*), and after his father went abroad, the care of the West Country, and more especially of the Protestant interest therein, devolved in a great measure on the Lord Lorn, the constant title of the apparent heirs of this noble family. As he came very early into the world, and had the eyes of many upon him, so he was extreamly cautious in his conduct; and having been educated in the profession of the Protestant religion, according to the strictest rules of the Church of Scotland, as it was established immediately after the Reformation, he was sincerely and steadily devoted thereto, perhaps with a degree of zeal rather too fervent; but however, he neither changed, or ever pretended to change, his sentiments, but made it the great business of his life to support that Church, and the constitution of his country, as he understood it to be settled by law (*c*). In these principles he was strongly confirmed by the advice, concurrence, and assistance, of many persons of great quality and fortune, who afterwards changing their sentiments, were obliged to sustain their own characters at the expence of his (*d*). It is a clear and full proof of his great parts and wise conduct in that season of life, when men are usually famed for other qualities than discretion, that in the year 1626, his Majesty was pleased to call him to the high office of a Privy-Counsellor, his father being then living, and himself, consequently, no Lord of Parliament (*e*). At this time there is no doubt that he made great professions of loyalty to his Prince, by which must be understood, such attachment to his person, and submission to his will, as was consistent with the laws of the land, and might contribute to the good of the people. It is also clear, that his Lordship was not at all tainted with the predominant vice of those times, that of aggrandizing himself at the expence of his neighbours, or of the Crown, for in 1628, we find he surrendered to the King, as far as in his power lay, the office of Justice-General of Scotland, which was hereditary in his family, reserving to himself and his heirs, the office of Justiciary of Argyle, and the Western Isles, and wherever else he had lands in Scotland, which agreement was afterwards ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament (*f*). It does not appear, that his Lordship took any great share in the differences and disputes that happened in Scotland from that time, till the year 1633, when His Majesty came to visit his native and hereditary kingdom; at which time, it is certain, that the Lord Lorne stood as high in His Majesty's favour, as any man of quality in his country, and higher marks of duty and submission to the Royal will, could be hardly expected, than was shewn by his father and himself, in submitting the decision of the differences unhappily raised between them to the King's pleasure; of which, a certain great Historian (*g*), has given a very guarded and circumspect account, which, when fully explained, will not appear so much to this noble person's discredit, as at first sight it seems [*A*]. It is on all hands

(*a*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 354.

(*b*) Spotswood's History of Scotland, p. 539.

(*c*) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 42.

(*d*) See the Instructions from his Majesty's Council to the Lord Justice Clerk, in Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 36.

(*e*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(*f*) See the article of Argyle in Collier's Dictionary. Collins's Peerage of England, p. 444. Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

[*A*] *As at first sight it seems.*] There is no doubt, that so much of the Earl of Clarendon's History, as relates to facts, that fell immediately under his own cognizance, may be writ with great exactness, and much regard to truth; but without any imputation on his character, it may be affirmed, that where he took things upon the credit of other people, he might be imposed upon, or mistaken. He does not mention the Earl of Argyle till after the first Pacification, and then he gives us an account of things that happened several years before, when his Lordship was only Lord Lorne; and the account he gives us is such a one, as shews us he had received it in conversation from those who were of a party opposite to Argyle; but as this seems to be the foundation of all the reflections cast upon this Nobleman, we will examine it more particularly. The Earl of Clarendon then writes thus (1). 'The people 'of Scotland being now reduced by them to a more 'implicit obedience, and no body daring to oppose the 'most extravagant proceedings of the most violent per'sons in power, they lost no time, as hath been said, 'to make all preparations for a war they meant to pur'sue. Most of the King's Privy-Council, and great 'Ministers, who (though they had not vigorously per'formed their duty in support of the regal power) till 'now had been so reserved, that they seemed not to 'approve the disorderly proceedings, now as frankly 'wedded that interest as any of the leaders, and quick'ly became the chief of the leaders. As the Earl of 'Argyle, who had been preserved by the King's im'mediate kindness, and full power, and rescued from 'the anger and fury of his incensed father, who being 'provoked by the disobedience and insolence of his 'son, resolved so to have disposed of his fortune, that 'little should have accompanied the honour after his 'death. But by the King's interposition, and indeed 'imposition, the Earl, in strictness of the Law in Scot'land, having need of the King's grace and protection, 'in regard of his being become Roman Catholick, and 'his Majesty granting all to the son which he could 'exact from the father, the old man was in the end 'compelled to make over all his estate to his son, re'serving only such a provision for himself as supported 'him according to his quality, during his life, which 'he spent in the parts beyond the seas. The King 'had too much occasion afterwards to remember, that 'in the close, after his Majesty had determined what 'should be done on either part, the old man *declared* '*he would submit to the King's pleasure, though he be*'*lieved he was hardly dealt with*; and then with some 'bitterness put his son in mind of his undutiful carriage 'towards him, and charged him *to carry in his mind* '*how bountiful the King had been to him, which yet,* '*he told him, he was sure he would forget*; *and there-*

(1) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

hands agreed, that the King had then, ſo good an opinion of his Lordſhip, as to think the power and influence of his family in Scotland, could not be repoſed in ſafer hands than his, otherwiſe, he would not in juſtice to himſelf and his poſterity, having it ſo much in his power as he had, have diſpoſed of it, as he did (*b*). The part his Lordſhip afterwards acted, was that of a good patriot, which he all his life-long underſtood to be that of a good ſubject; and if he did not give into all the projects of the King's Miniſters, it muſt be allowed, that his conduct was both open and uniform, and that he concurred with the greateſt and wiſeſt men, in that kingdom (*i*). It is alſo very certain, that ſome of thoſe Miniſters acted a very double part; and while they made the King believe, that the ſcheme of Archbiſhop Laud, for introducing an abſolute uniformity in religion, was a thing very practicable in Scotland; they not only knew it not to be ſo, but even put the King upon theſe meaſures, with a deſign to render it more impracticable (*k*). How juſtifiable ſuch a conduct as this might be, is not our buſineſs to determine; but moſt certainly the conduct of Lord Lorne, was infinitely more agreeable to the ordinary rules of juſtice and morality; for he adhered conſtantly and ſteadily to the principles he profeſſed; and openly and fairly oppoſed thoſe deſigns, which the Miniſters meant ſhould miſcarry, while they ſeemed to approve and promote them (*l*). It is very likely, that in ſuch a ſituation of things, the method his Lordſhip took, might expoſe him to miſrepreſentations to his ſovereign, and that his behaviour, however open and candid, might be liable to miſconſtruction; but at this diſtance of time, when all prejudices, either are or ought to be buried, it is not eaſy to conceive upon what grounds it ought to be cenſured or condemned. He was far from being very active or buſy; on the contrary, he took no greater ſhare in the management of publick affairs, than the poſt which His Majeſty had aſſigned him, rendered abſolutely neceſſary; and though his name be found to ſeveral Remonſtrances of the Privy-Council, and other acts of a like publick nature (*m*); yet at a time, when he had neither power nor influence, and when his enemies were poſſeſſed of both, in the higheſt degree, he challenged them to ſhow, that he had any concern in thoſe ſecret conſultations, or any ſhare in the political intrigues, which created the higheſt diſputes of thoſe times, and which brought ſo many miſeries and miſfortunes upon his country (*n*). It is indeed true, that there were great feuds and jealouſies in Scotland; and therefore, it cannot be wondered, that notwithſtanding all his care and caution, a man of his great quality ſhould have, both open and ſecret enemies

(*b*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 468.

(*i*) Crauford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland, p. 180.

(*k*) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

(*l*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 38.

(*m*) See moſt of thoſe acts in the book laſt cited.

(*n*) Appendix to the firſt Vol. of Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

' *upon ſaid to his Majeſty, Sir, I muſt know this young man better than you can do; you have brought me low that you may raiſe him, which, I doubt, you will live to repent, for he is a man of craft, ſubtlety and falſehood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do you miſchief, he will be ſure to do it.* The King conſidered it only as the effect of his paſſion, and took no other care to prevent it, but by heaping every day new obligations upon him, making him a Privy-Counſellor, and giving him other offices and power to do hurt, thereby to reſtrain him from doing it, which would have wrought upon any generous nature the effect it ought to have done. The Earl (for his father was now dead) came not to Edinburgh during the firſt troubles; and though he did not diſſemble his diſpleaſure againſt the Biſhops, becauſe one of them had affronted him in truth very rudely, yet he renewed all imaginable profeſſions of duty to the King, and a readineſs to engage in his ſervice, if thoſe diſorders ſhould continue, but after the Pacification, and diſbanding of the King's army, and the Covenanters declaring, that they would adhere to the Acts of the Aſſembly at Glaſgow, he made haſte to Edinburgh with a great train of his family and followers, and immediately ſigned the Covenant, engaged for the proviſion of arms, and raiſing forces, and in all things behaved himſelf like a man that might very ſafely be confided in by that party.' In the firſt place it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the old Earl of Argyle had been the beſt part of his life a very warm and zealous Proteſtant, had fought againſt the Huntley family, and afterwards againſt the Macdonalds, partly on account of religion (2); yet drawn aſide by his Engliſh lady, who was a Papiſt herſelf, and deſcended of a rebellious family, he went abroad into the Spaniſh ſervice commanded their troops in the Low Countries, and was even ſuſpected of carrying on ſome correſpondencies with the Macdonalds, whom he had diſpoſſeſſed of their lands for treaſon, [illegible] had received ſome grants of them from the Crown (3). By this means he totally loſt King James's favour, who, as Archbiſhop Spotſwood ſays, could not endure an apoſtate Papiſt, and was publickly denounced a rebel (4). It might very well happen, that when this old Lord returned home, which he did after an abſence of ten years, he might be very angry with his ſon, and yet that ſon be in no great fault, unleſs adhering to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Conſtitution of his Country, were faults. It is not eaſy to conceive, when or where this diſcourſe happened. If it happened at all, it is moſt probable in the year 1628, when Lord Lorne reſigned his Poſt of Juſtice-General (5), which might be a good reaſon for the King's being very kind to him. Neither had the Earl his father any reaſon to complain of his Majeſty, who, though his ſon, by his ſecond marriage, was then in foreign ſervice, honoured him with a title, and ſecured to the Earl himſelf a rent-charge, which, conſidering the circumſtances he was then in, was all he could expect (6). Biſhop Guthrie, who ſeldom miſſes an occaſion of ſpeaking ill of the Earl of Argyle, mentions the King's favours to him largely (7); but ſays not one word of his father's quarrel with him; which, had it been true, he was the moſt likely man in the world to have heard; and had he heard it, no man ſo likely to repeat it. On the whole therefore, there is great reaſon to doubt the fact, which muſt have been related upon hearſay, and is related without any mention of the author; and in words too that viſibly belong to the perſon who tells the ſtory. But ſuppoſing the fact to be true, the King made a very right judgment of it, in ſuppoſing it the effect of paſſion, for the Earl had not ſeen his ſon for many years; and his Majeſty knew enough of Lord Lorne, before this could poſſibly happen, to make him a Privy-Counſellor (8), which it does not appear that he ever repented of, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter. As to the craft and cunning charged upon this Nobleman, it muſt be referred to the opinion that the writer had of him, for his Lordſhip never acted a double part, but openly declared his principles from the beginning, and adhered to them to the ſcaffold. Biſhop Guthrie, who knew his Lordſhip very well, is ſo far from charging him with craft, that at the cloſe of theſe tranſactions (for Lord Clarendon's period takes in the compaſs of ten years) that is, when the Earl joined the Covenanters, he obſerves, that he declared himſelf more poſitively than could have been expected from a man of his prudence (9). This is ſo true, that ſome of his Lordſhip's Letters, lately come to light, very fully prove, he made no ſecret of his ſentiments, but very plainly told the great Earl of Strafford (10), That as he meant all duty to the King, ſo he thought that duty beſt ſhown by maintaining the Conſtitution of his Country in Church and State.

(2) Balfour's Annals, under the year 1614.

(3) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 540.

(4) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, ubi ſupra.

(5) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(6) Supplement to Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(7) Guthrie's Memoirs of Charles I. p. 12.

(8) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 38.

(9) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs p. 42.

(10) Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 187, 220, 290.

[B] *Should*

(o) The Bishop of Dunkeld's Memoirs, p. 19. Supplement to Archbishop Spotswood's Church Hist. MS.

(p) See the Marquis of Argyle's Answer to the inditement against him before the Parliament of Scotland, in 1661.

(q) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 52.

enemies; and very certain it is, that he did not want for both (o). The latter were most dangerous, for they were continually suggesting, that his Lordship was a Covenanter in his heart, which was a necessary distinction; for though it might seem strange to an English reader, yet it is undoubtedly true, that his Lordship never signed any Covenant, till the King commanded him so to do (p). When by his father's death, he became Earl of Argyle, his superior title gave him somewhat greater authority, but he employed it the same way; and that was, in keeping the country quiet, and seeing the laws put in execution. He still acted and conferred with the Council, and did there as much service to His Majesty, as any of them, notwithstanding he was represented as the very chief of the Covenanters. The Marquis of Hamilton, was then the King's Commissioner in Scotland; he was directed by, and corresponded solely with, Archbishop Laud; and in appearance, at least, he laboured to introduce that Prelate's scheme of government (q), against the voice of the whole nation; and when this could not be effected, the King was induced to enter into a war against them, which, as it was calculated to bring great distress upon the nation in general, so great care was taken by Laud's party, that the Earl of Argyle should have his share of it in particular [B]. But notwithstanding their projects were well laid, yet it

(11) Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

(12) Balfour's Annals, Vol. II. in the University Library at Glasgow.

(13) Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 325.

(14) Ibid.

[B] *Should have his share of it in particular.*] It must be very evident, to any who will take the pains to enquire into the transactions of those times, that the cause of all the disputes in Scotland was Archbishop Laud's being deceived (11), as to the state of that kingdom, and resolving to force upon them forms and ceremonies in religion, to which they were averse. In order to this the King was perswaded to make war upon that nation; and though the Earl of Argyle had conducted himself so cautiously, as to have given far less provocation than many others of the nobility of that country had done; yet the Earl of Antrim, an Irish Papist, was encouraged to raise an army of his own people to attack the Western Islands, and the countries under the influence of the Earl of Argyle; which, if he could conquer, he was to have all, or at least the best part of them, for his pains (12). One ought to have good authority to support such an assertion; and I think such a one is produced, when one names the Earl of Strafford, who, in a letter dated April 16, 1639, directed to Sir Henry Vane, speaks thus (13): 'It is 'over evident his Majesty hath been wofully served by 'his Ministers in Scotland; and if those play'd their 'parts ill which surrendered the castle of Edinburgh, 'they did still worse who have on this side done the 'like for that of Dumbarton, a place, indeed, of infi'nite great consequence, all rightly considered. It is 'reported to have been taken by the wiles of the Earl 'of Argyle, who now is, they say, possessed of it, 'and I believe will thence intend all the conduct of 'those affairs on this side the kingdom. I will war'rant you, the Earl of Antrim's tenants wish them'selves, with all their hearts, well secured from the 'ill of him, for all their own Lord's professions to in'vade and beat that other Earl, forth of the Isles this 'instant summer. It should seem to me, for I was 'not of this council, my Lord Marquis of Hamilton, 'and my Lord of Antrim, had to his Majesty under'taken the business before the Earl of Antrim's coming 'forth of England, consequently before Argyle was de'clared Covenanter. My Lord of Antrim was, for 'his reward, to have had a share of his estate. What 'other shares there were, any, or none, in truth I 'know not. Now, howbeit, this was carried very se'cretly to us on this side, yet Argyle got knowledge of it 'there, and certainly occasioned him to declare himself 'sooner for the Covenant, than otherwise, perchance, 'he would have done: But whether that had been 'better or worse for his Majesty's service, I am not 'able to judge.' What sort of an undertaking this was, and what were the consequences likely to follow on it, we may gather from another letter of the same noble person's, in which he gives Secretary Windebank a very large detail of a conversation that passed between himself and the Earl of Antrim, upon this business (14). 'His Lordship, says he, mentioned certain propositi'ons by his Lordship made, and directions and authority 'by his Majesty given, at his last being in England, con'cerning his Lordship's going upon the Isles of Scotland; 'that in conformity thereunto he had quietly expected 'the signification of his Majesty's pleasure, nor stirred 'at all till the receipt of my letter, complained of the 'suddenness and shortness of the warning, but told me, 'that instantly, upon the receipt of his Majesty's letter 'he had sent to the O Neales, O Haras, the O Lur'gans (if I mistake not that name) the Mac Gennisses, 'the Mac Guyres, the Mac Mahons, the Mac Donnels, '(as many Oe's and Mac's as would startle a whole 'Council-board on this side to hear of) and all his 'other friends, requiring them, in his Majesty's name, 'to meet him with their forces, so as this business is 'now become no secret, but the common discourse, 'both of his Lordship and the whole kingdom. That 'he had bought boards, and given order for making 'of long boats for the transportation of his men, and 'was now come to ask my advice and counsel.' What the sentiments of this great Statesman were, of Antrim's undertaking, and how wise a scheme he took this of the enemies of the Earl of Argyle's to be, may be seen by another paragraph in the same letter. 'In sum, I must needs say, his Lordship shuffles the 'pack dexterously enough, if pretending to make a war 'at his own cost he can thus presently and totally shift 'off the charge upon the King, deal himself a Gene'ral-ship at sea and land, a Command of the King's 'armies, his ordnance, his arms, his stores, his ship'ping; make all his own officers, new levies as like 'him best, and procure a good horse troop for his 'brother. Old *Ned Coke* would have here said, *God 'is my witness, these are strange things to me.* But 'now, all this for what? Marry, for ought I either 'hear, or can foresee, to enable his Lordship, to go 'upon the Isles there, to recover for himself those 'great Seigniories belonging unto his ancestors, and 'say all the new possessors be Covenanters, which yet 'appears not; and that he do conquer the country '(for not a less word than conquest comes from us), 'what shall his Majesty, or any other man, save him'self, be the better? Indeed it troubles me to ima'gine, how his Lordship may think of us, all his Ma'jesty's Ministers, whilst he feeds himself with the 'hopes to carry out from amongst us his own ends and 'benefits, thus in sovereignty, and under a colour of '*doing a service to the Crown*, apply all to his own 'private use.' To these observations this very great and very knowing man, adds several queries, of which we will take notice only of three. 'What sudden 'outrage may be apprehended from so great a number of 'the native Irish, children of habituated rebels, brought 'together without pay or victual, armed with our own 'weapons, ourselves left naked the whilst? What scan'dal to His Majesty's service, it might be in a time 'thus conditioned, to employ a General; and a whole 'army, in a manner Roman Catholicks? What 'affright or pretence this might give for the Scotish, 'who are at least fourscore thousand in those parts, 'to arm also under colour of their own defence, to 'set the whole kingdom into a tumult, which might 'be the matter of sad and desperate effects?' These remarks will appear still more pertinent, when we consider, that within two years after the great Irish Rebellion broke out; which without doubt, was chiefly owing to that indulgence given the Papists, under the latter part of the Earl of Strafford's government, much against that great man's will, and to the much greater indulgence that was allowed them afterwards, by which they came to know and feel their own strength; at the same time, that they persuaded many people in the administration, that none were better friends to the government, than themselves; which, besides the dismal

it was disappointed. The Earl of Argyle, wrote a large vindication of his own conduct, and sent it to Court; the only answer which the King gave it was, that he should be glad to receive his vindication from his own mouth (r). The Marquis of Hamilton, was then sent with a force by sea; but finding that it was no way capable of dealing with a nation, that were in a manner united against the measures he was to impose, he first entered into some conferences with the Earl of Argyle, and other Lords, himself, and then advised a treaty with the King, who was in the field. This brought about the first Pacification in the month of June 1639, to which, by the advice of Laud, the King consented (s). It was not long after this, that His Majesty sent for the Earl of Argyle, and ten or twelve more of the principal Nobility to London. This was thought an extraordinary thing in Scotland; and those intrusted with the government there, would not on any terms suffer all the Lords to go, but sent up the Earls of Montrose, Loudon, and Lowthian, which was very ill taken by the King, who was persuaded by some about him to think, that it was showing a great disrespect to, and want of confidence in, him (t). It is very possible, that the Lords might not wholly confide in the honour and sincerity of those who had then the King's ear; and some small reason they had for this diffidence, from the usage the Earl of Loudon met with, who very narrowly escaped losing his life, and was actually imprisoned in the Tower of London (u), notwithstanding the King's safe conduct. These violent measures brought on another war with Scotland, to which the King is said to have been principally excited by the Earl of Traquair, who was then the King's Commissioner to the Parliament; and in the spring of the year 1640, the King marched against the Scots with a great army; but the Scots were well provided, and instead of waiting till they were attacked, marched into England with an army, and were so successful, that a new treaty was set on foot at Rippon, in the month of September (x); and this produced a second Pacification, in which the King granted all the demands of the Convenanters, yet in all these affairs, it does not appear, that the Earl of Argyle took any great share (y). By this time, the discontents in England were risen to a great height, and His Majesty being desirous to see one of his kingdom's thoroughly settled, took a sudden resolution of going to Scotland, where, with his nephew, the Elector Palatine, he arrived on the 12th of August 1641 (z). At this time, he directed the Marquis of Hamilton, whom he greatly trusted, to enter into a close correspondence with the Earl of Argyle, in which he seems to have formed a right judgment of both their tempers; for though the Marquis always professed the highest loyalty to his Master, yet he had a great concern for his country; and the Earl, though he avowed the utmost steadiness to the Constitution, yet at the same time affirmed, he had the warmest affection for his Prince (a). This conjunction had very probably brought about an entire and effectual settlement in that kingdom, if some persons who were willing to have the entire management of it, had not formed a design against the lives of both these Noblemen, in the middle of the month of October, which obliged them to quit Edinburgh for their own safety (b). It is on hands all agreed, that the King had nothing to do with this strange action; but it is also agreed, that the matter of fact is out of dispute, and that such a design there really was [C]. This gave great interruption

(r) Supplement to Archbishop Spotswood's Ch. Hist.

(s) Warwick's Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 135.

(t) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 43.

(u) Sir John Scot's staggering State of the Scotch Statesmen, from 1550 to 1650. Crauford's Lives of the great Officers of State, p. 201.

(x) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 151.

(y) Appendix to Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

(z) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 512.

(a) Supplement to Archbishop Spotswood's Ch. History.

(b) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 98.

dismal consequence it had, in amusing the King and his Ministers, produced an evil still more dangerous; that of giving a reasonable jealousy, that either they secretly favoured the Papists, or were deluded and amused by them (14); so that in either case, those that meant sincerely well to the Protestant cause, saw they were under an absolute necessity of taking care of themselves; and as this was a *just and reasonable*, so it is the real and true apology for the Earl of Argyle, and the Covenanters in Scotland; so far as they acted according to law, and by that authority, which His Majesty himself had established, when he was last in that kingdom (15).

[C] *That such a design there really was.*] We have three very different accounts of this matter of fact; the first is that of Bishop Guthrie (16), who says, That the Earl of Argyle had information given him by one Colonel Stewart, that the Earl of Crawford and some other persons had framed a design against the life of the Marquis of Hamilton and his own; and upon this these two Lords retired from Edinburgh, with a view, as he would have it, to make the Parliament rise in confusion; and he adds, that this was prevented by the King's going to the House, where he made a bitter speech against the Marquis of Hamilton. The second is from Bishop Burnet (17), who says, That the two Lords had an account of such a design; but without naming the authors, and having this account only from one witness, they had it not in their power to prove it in a legal manner; and this made them retire from Edinburgh, that they might provide for their own safety, as having no other way to provide for it. He also agrees, that this had very ill consequences with respect to publick affairs; but that upon enquiry the fact was justified, and it plainly appeared those two Noblemen had good reason for what they did; and if they had not, the Parliament that continued sitting in their absence, would have called them to a severe reckoning for it. The third is that of the noble Historian, who is very clear in it; and after showing, that Montrose deserted the Covenanters, because the Earl of Argyle had more interest with them than he, goes on to relate the whole story with great plainness and perspicuity (18). 'After His Majesty's arrival in 'Scotland, says he, by the introduction of Mr William 'Murray of the Bed-chamber, Montrose came private-'ly to the King, and informed him of many parti-'culars, from the beginning of the Rebellion; and '*that the Marquis of Hamilton, was no less faulty 'and false towards His Majesty, than Argyle*; and 'offered to make proof of *all in the Parliament*; but 'rather desired *to have them both made away*, which 'he frankly undertook to do: but the King abhorring 'that expedient, though for his own security, advised '*that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament.* 'When suddenly, on a Sunday morning, the city of 'Edinburgh was in arms; and Hamilton, and Argyle, 'both gone out of the town to their own houses; 'where they stood upon their guard; declaring pub-'lickly, *That they had withdrawn themselves, because 'they knew that there was a design to assassinate them; 'and chose rather to absent themselves, than by stand-'ing upon their defence in Edinburgh (which they could 'well have done) to hazard the publick peace, and se-'curity of the Parliament; which thundered on their 'behalf.* The Committee at Edinburgh dispatched 'away an express to London, with a dark and perplex-'ed account, in the morning that the two Lords had 'had left the city; with many doubtful expressions, 'what

(14) Enquiry into the Share King Charles I. had in the conduct of the Earl of Glamorgan, p. 300, &c.

(15) Sir James Balfour's Annals, 1641.

(16) Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 86, 87.

(17) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 186.

(18) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 98.

interruption to the King's affairs, and put a ſtop to the ſettlement between him and the nation; but as the Hiſtorian of the Hamilton family acknowledges, the deſigns of the two Lords were perfectly ſincere; and as the Marquis meant nothing but the King's ſervice, ſo, to uſe that Hiſtorian's own words, Argyle expreſſed a hearty concurrence in it (*c*). At this juncture, His Majeſty had Preſbyterian Divines about him, profeſſed a willingneſs to ſettle the Church of Scotland according to the deſires of that nation; and was ſo well pleaſed with the openneſs and plainneſs of Argyle's behaviour, that, by letters patent bearing date November 16, 1641, he created him Marquis (*d*). It is very true, that ſome of our Hiſtorians ſay, the King went at this time down to Scotland, to make a deed of gift of that kingdom with his own hands (*e*), which is an expreſſion not eaſily to be underſtood; another has been uſed, which is much plainer, and I *believe* nearer the truth; that in the end of November, when he quitted that kingdom, he went from thence a contented King, and left behind him a contented people (*f*). How the ſcene was afterwards changed, is another affair. At this juncture, there happened a tranſaction, which ſhows, beyond all manner of doubt, that the Marquis was underſtood by the whole world, not only to be in the King's favour, but to be thoroughly aud heartily inclined to his ſervice. The Iriſh Rebellion was juſt broke out, upon which the Scots, as well as the Engliſh Parliament, reſolved to ſend forces thither to ſuppreſs it; and the former determined the Marquis of Argyle ſhould command theirs; but that firſt, in conjunction with the Earl of Loudon, he ſhould go to London, to mediate between the King and the Engliſh Parliament; with both which meaſures His Majeſty was perfectly well pleaſed; but the Parliament being jealous of the Marquis's attachment to the King, civilly declined it, by declaring, that they looked upon the Marquis's preſence in Scotland, to be then indiſpenſably neceſſary. At the beginning of the enſuing year, the Scots, as a nation, had very much in their power; for in the differences between the King and the Parliament of England, that ſide to which they joined themſelves unanimouſly, was ſure to prevail. This was a thing ſo plain, and withal ſo certain, that both His Majeſty and the Parliament, ſaw and knew it; and therefore both ſides began to court the Scots, with all the pains imaginable (*g*). The Marquis of Hamilton very prudently repreſented to the King, that this was an affair of a very nice nature; that His Majeſty's having a party in Scotland, would be the ruin of him; but if His Majeſty could gain the whole nation, the Parliament muſt ſubmit to reaſonable terms; and when he had ſtated this difficulty, he offered to go and make uſe of his beſt endeavours to get over it (*h*). The King accepted his ſervice, and ſent a letter by the Earl of Lanerick, brother to the Marquis, to his council in that kingdom, who in the laſt Parliament had been declared Conſervators of the peace, dated September 18, 1642. The Marquis of Hamilton, according to his promiſe to the King, addreſſed himſelf to the Marquis of Argyle, with whom he was then in great friendſhip; and by their joint labours a reſolution was obtained, to ſend the Marquis of Hamilton to Holland, to engage the Queen to come over to Scotland, on a promiſe of ſecurity for her perſon, and the free exerciſe of her religion, for herſelf and family, offering to aſſiſt Her Majeſty in mediating with both Houſes; and in caſe they refuſed to make a ſettled and ſolid peace upon reaſonable terms, they undertook, that the whole force of Scotland ſhould engage for the King againſt them (*i*). The King at firſt, ſeemed not only ſatisfied but overjoyed with this, but ſome about him ſoon filled his head with jealouſies, that the Scots took too much upon them, upon which the King let this propoſition fall; and tho' the Queen, who was extremely pleaſed with it, procured the Marquis of Hamilton to be created a Duke, on the merit of this ſervice, which was the greateſt he ever did, or indeed could do, yet ſhe could not hinder his being perſecuted afterwards, and ſent priſoner to Pendennis-caſtle, as a traytor (*k*). After this, the

(*c*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 187.

(*d*) Appendix to Wodrow's Ch. Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 14.

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 101. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 513.

(*f*) Balfour's Memoirs, Vol. II. in which it is aſſerted, that this was a common ſaying in Scotland at that time.

(*g*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 265. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 195. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion.

(*h*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 200.

(*i*) Idem, ibid. p. 201.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 387. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 124.

' what the end of it would be; not without ſome dark ' inſinuations, as if the deſign might look farther than ' Scotland. And theſe letters were brought to London, the day before the Houſes were to come together, after the receſs; all that party taking pains to ' perſuade others, that it could not but be a deſign to ' aſſaſſinate more men than thoſe Lords at Edinburgh. ' And the morning the Houſes were to meet, Mr Hyde ' being walking in Weſtminſter-hall, with the Earl of ' Holland and the Earl of Eſſex, both the Earls ſeemed wonderfully concerned at it; and to believe, ' *that other men were in like danger of the like aſſaults*; ' the other, not thinking the apprehenſion worthy of ' them, told them merrily, *That he knew well what* ' *opinions they both had of thoſe two Lords, a year or* ' *two before, and he wondered how they became ſo* ' *altered*; to which they anſwered ſmiling, *That the* ' *times and the Court was much altered ſince*. And the ' Houſes were no ſooner ſat, but the report being ' made in the Houſe of Commons, and the Committee's ' letter from Scotland being read, a motion was made, ' *To ſend to the Houſe of Peers, that the Earl of Eſſex,* ' *who was left by the King General on this ſide Trent,* ' *might be deſired to appoint ſuch a guard, as he* ' *thought competent for the ſecurity of the Parliament,* ' *conſtantly to attend while the Houſes ſate; which was* ' *done accordingly*; and continued till they thought fit ' to have other guards.' We ſee plainly from hence, what terrible conſequences attended theſe over forward and violent reſolutions, which were not put in execution, merely from the juſtice and tenderneſs of the King's nature; for it is very obſervable, that though the Hiſtorian does not in the leaſt diſpute the fact, yet he acknowledges, that himſelf treated it at the time, as a very light matter; and would have perſuaded the Lords, that there was a time, when they would not have been ſo much concerned for the ſafety of theſe Scotch Noblemen; which, not to ſay a harſher thing of it, is a very extraordinary expreſſion; and very plainly ſhews, what ſtrange expedients ſome Politicians at that time thought not altogether *unjuſtifiable* to carry their points; and if by degrees, others were either taught or forced to follow their examples, they could not, upon their own principles, judge it inexcuſable. In the former note, we have ſhown, that there were thoughts of ſtripping the Earl of Argyle of his eſtate; in this, it has been proved, that a deſign was formed againſt his life; when he was ſo far from having forfeited the King's confidence, that after this he created him, in publick teſtimony thereof, a Marquis.

[D] *With*

the affairs of Scotland took the worst turn possible for the King; he had owned the Conservators by the letter beforementioned, notwithstanding which, he was prevailed upon to grant a commission to the Earl of Montrose, which threw that kingdom into a Civil War; the King's authority being claimed on both sides (*l*). The share the Marquis of Argyle had in this, belongs to the General History of those times; and therefore, we shall not meddle with it here, farther than to observe, that in 1644, Antrim, who was created a Marquis for that very purpose, sent over a great body of his Irish Papists, who wasted and destroyed all Argyle's estate; and, which was worst, killed most of his people (*m*). In the course of this period, Argyle was constantly employed by the Parliament, and had their authority for every thing he did, particularly in respect to a journey he made to Ireland; at his return from which, he found the King in the hands of the Scots army at Newcastle, in which it is certain that he had no hand; but upon his repairing thither, he had access to (*n*), and was very kindly received by, His Majesty. This was in 1646, and upon that occasion it was thought necessary by the Parliament of Scotland, that he should repair to London, with instructions to their Commissioners. At this very time, he was instrusted by his Royal Master with a secret commission of the greatest importance, which he executed with much dexterity, diligence, and fidelity (*o*) [*D*]. Yet his conduct at this very time has been grievously censured by those who, it seems, were not in the secret, and were unacquainted that the measures he took, were not only most for the King's service, but had also His Majesty's approbation (*p*). As to what afterwards passed with respect to the terms made with the army from Scotland, and the measures taken in reference to the disposal of the person of King Charles I. we find many things said in our histories, as to the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle, but they are asserted only without any proofs (*q*); and this noble person himself, at a time when, if there had been any such proofs in the power of the persons who have asserted these things, or of any other, they might certainly have been produced, declared in terms the clearest and most positive that could be framed, he had no interest or concern in them whatever, but studiously avoided interfering in any manner, in matters which he foresaw it was impossible in the nature of things should ever end otherwise than they did, or be by him wrought to produce what he could wish. His Lordship's declaration under such circumstances as to his own behaviour, which he must certainly best know, will, to any reasonable man, seem as much deserving of credit, as what others have asserted from their own notions and conjectures, and without pretending to produce any kind of evidence whatever [*E*]. In the succeeding year, when the Duke of Hamilton undertook to lead an army

(*l*) Hist. of the CivilWar, p. 395.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 439. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 141.

(*n*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 283.

(*o*) See a large account of this in note [*D*].

(*p*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 496. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 181, 184. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 294, 295.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 537. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 645. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 215.

[*D*] *With much dexterity, diligence, and fidelity.*] The account which the Earl of Clarendon gives of what passed after the King came to Newcastle, is such a one as might be expected from a person who was not an eye-witness of the things about which he writes, who took his accounts from men of his own party, and, to make his work all of a piece, represents the Scots in the blackest colours (19). As to Duke Hamilton's and the Marquis of Argyle's conferences with the King, he is silent, which is a plain indication that he was not acquainted with them. Bishop Guthrie is very particular, and the particulars he gives us are such, as show him to have been a very credulous man, and very unfit for writing history. He says, that on July 17, 1646, when Duke Hamilton arrived at Newcastle, the day was perfectly fair and pleasant, but at the very instant he kissed the King's hand, there began a terrible thunder, with lightning and rain, which continued all night. Upon the 24th came the Marquis of Argyle, and as he kissed the King's hand, just the like thunder, lightning, and rain began, and continued all the night also; these are the Prelate's own words; and a little after he tells us, that upon the 2d of August, the English Commissioners removed from Newcastle; and the next day, the Chancellor, the Marquis of Argyle, and the Earl of Dumferling, offered to go up and treat with the Parliament for a mitigation of the articles, which they had sent by their own Commissioners; and with some of which, the King had expressed himself dissatisfied; upon all which he makes this wise reflection (20), 'Whether or not 'His Majesty trusted them, and expected any good from 'them, is doubtful: but the Royalists (who well knew 'their ways) spared not to say, that their treating 'would end in a bargain.' Bishop Burnet gives us also an account of the access which these Lords had to the King, and of a commission with which the Marquis of Argyle was charged, in conjunction with the Chancellor, in which he was enjoined secrecy; at the same time he tells us, what this commission was, and assures us the secret of it, was but very ill kept (21); whereas, in truth, it was so well kept, that it clearly appears from his account, that at the time he writ his book it had not reached his knowledge. The truth of the matter then was this, the Marquis of Argyle might, if he had so pleased, resided at London, as a Commissioner from the Parliament of Scotland, but he liked not of the office, and therefore very carefully declined it. That he went up now was at the King's request (22), and the Commission he was charged with, this, That he should consult the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the expediency of the Scots Parliament and army declaring for him, what effects they judged this would have, and what part his friends in England would take, if such a thing happened. Argyle honestly executed the trust reposed in him, and received from these noble persons the following answer, That His Majesty well knew, his best friends at Oxford never wished to see him bring his Parliament under by an absolute conquest; and that if at this juncture the Scots should declare for him, it might prove his ruin, by turning it into a national dispute, in which all parties of the English would unite to prevent their being conquered. The King having received this answer from the Marquis of Argyle's own mouth, remained satisfied, and took other measures. When the Marquis of Argyle was sent to the Tower in 1661, he desired that Lord Hertford's deposition might be taken to this point; which was refused him, and probably kept from that nobleman's knowledge. Thus the reader sees, that while the Marquis was doing his duty with the utmost diligence, he was basely supposed to be *driving a bargain*. One thing more is very remarkable, that it was proposed in the English House of Commons to give thanks to the Scotch Commissioners for their *great civilities* and *good offices*, while at Newcastle; but when it came to be put to the vote, the words *good offices* were left out, so far were they from thinking these Commissioners did their business with the King (23). These are facts, and facts are stubborn things, so are not conjectures and characters, which every man may mould or model according to his own inclinations.

[*E*] *Any kind of evidence whatever.*] It would take up more room than the nature of this work will allow, to enter into a particular discussion of every important

(19) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 490, 495.

(20) Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 184.

(21) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 283, 284.

(22) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 429.

(23) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 309.

army out of Scotland into England for the relief of the King, the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle is very much censured, because himself and his friends differed in a debate, from the majority of that Parliament, and protested against the vote (r), after it was carried. But if it be considered, that the Marquis of Argyle had in his own breast the decision of the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, that if Scotland took part with the King, the English would rise as one man against him (s); and that Sir Philip Warwick tell us, Hamilton had no engagements with the Nobility that rose about this time in England (t); it may be easily conceived, why Argyle had so indifferent an opinion of an enterprize, at the head of which Hamilton was set, a man, of all the Scotch Nobility, more obnoxious to the English than any. It is certain, that he was very right in his judgment, for the Duke very soon threw away both himself and the army (u); and the Marquis of Argyle, by seeming to have opposed his conduct, had interest enough thereby to hinder Cromwell from entering Scotland with his army, and making an absolute conquest of it, which he might have easily done (w). Upon his marching southwards, all our Historians agree that Scotland was left intirely in the hands of Argyle and his friends; and therefore, from their conduct at this time, we may form a true judgment of their real sentiments and principles (x). The first thing they did, was to declare fully and plainly against the proceedings in England, and to order the Scots Commissioners to protest against them; which they did in terms, the most clear and explicit, showing, that they looked upon the Parliament of England, as no longer subsisting after the House of Lords was taken away, and so many members of the House of Commons excluded; that they had no power over the person of the King; and that whatever they pretended to do, was arbitrary, unjust, and illegal (y). It was not at that time in the power of the Scots to do more, the Duke of Hamilton's precipitate attempt having weakened them extremely, but they took the best measures they could to put themselves again in a posture of defence; and as soon as they were informed of the King's murder, they proclaimed his son (z); and it cannot be denied, that the Marquis of Argyle employed all his interest and influence to procure his being invited into Scotland, which sufficiently refutes that groundless and scandalous aspersion, as if Cromwell had communicated to Argyle his design against the King's life, and that it had been approved of by the latter (a). It is indeed true, that the Marquis of Argyle and those who had then power in Scotland, insisted on the King's complying with their terms; which if they had not done, it would have been impossible for them to have brought the nation to adhere to him (b). As to what happened afterwards to Montrose, the Marquis of Argyle had no immediate hand in it. He had formerly made an agreement with him, which the Committee of Estates refused to ratify; and now, when he was brought to a tryal for being in arms, as the Scots considered it, against his country, the Marquis declared, that he was too much a party to be a Judge (c), and therefore declined any share in those proceedings. What he meant by this, and how far he was justified in this step of his conduct, the reader may learn from some Historians, not at all inclined to be partial in Argyle's favour (d) [F]. At last, with much persuasion in some measure against his own will,

(r) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 526.

(s) See the Marquis of Argyle's Answer to the Charge against him in the Parliament of Scotland, in 1661.

(t) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316.

(u) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 101.

(w) Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs, p. 343.

(x) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 102. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion.

(y) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1399. Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 142.

(z) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 457.

(a) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 541. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 249. Echard's Hist. of England.

(b) Bates, Elench. Motuum, p. 93, 94.

(c) See the Marquis of Argyle's Answer to the Charge against him in the Scotch Parliament of 1661.

(d) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 579.

portant matter of fact; and those we have already examined, are instances sufficient of what might be done in this way; at present we will content ourselves with citing a passage from the Marquis's defence, when he was charged in general terms, in a judicial way, with the crimes that are imputed to him by certain Historians. Thus then it ran (24), 'As for what was done in the years 1646 and 1647, concerning the disposal of his late Royal Majesty's person, the return of the Scottish army, and the agreement for the money to be paid for their arrears, it is well known, that instructions were sent to and again in these affairs, both from Committees and Commissioners in Scotland and England. Yet it shall never be found, that ever either my hand or presence was at any Committees, where any thing was debated or resolved, concerning the disposal of his late Royal Majesty's person, or upon any treaties or conclusions for return of the Scots army, or for the money for the satisfaction of their arrears. So that, I hope, when it is seriously considered, that I was one of the last in Scotland, who subscribed the national Covenant, and never did the same till commanded by His Majesty; and that I was of all those who acted in publick affairs, one of those who had least accession to those things, though I be most blamed by common report, that your Lordship will not find my carriage, during the late troubles, to have deserved to have been put in so singular a condition.' And to the same purpose, the Marquis delivered himself in his speech before the Parliament of Scotland, April 16, 1661. 'I have but only a few words to say, in remembring your Lordships of three things observable in my carriage, during the late troubles. First, my never joining in the national Covenant, till commanded by his late Royal Majesty. Secondly, my never receiving any pay during all the troubles, either as Committee-man, Commander in Chief, Colonel, or Captain, in all the services of England, Scotland, or Ireland, 'till in a Parliament of the year 1646, which was after all I had was destroyed by the Irish rebels and their associates: and what I got from the Parliament 1647, was after my estates and lands were ruined, and was only for my family's subsistance and paying some necessitous creditors some annual rents, as the Act of Parliament, 1647, and order to the Scots Commissioners at London the same year, can show. And for the first negative part, Sir William Thomson's hand will prove it, who was either Depute or Principal Receiver and Layer out of all publick monies all that time. Thirdly, my being free of any actings in the years 1646 and 1647, anent the disposing of His Majesty's Royal father's person, never having concurred in Committees in Scotland or England, nor as a Commissioner at London anent the same, nor in any resolutions concerning the return of the Scots army, nor the money for their arrears agreed to in these times, except that I might be present in the Parliament 1647, which I do not well know. By all which it is evident, how clearly and freely I may say, that I do not deserve to be the single sufferer in all His Majesty's dominions, for my carriage during the late troubles, His Majesty having (to his eternal praise) pardoned all but some of the murderers of his late Royal Father.'

(24) Appendix to Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

[F] *To be partial in Argyle's favour.*] It is certainly a very difficult thing to come at truth, in respect to any of these transactions; and the only way to come at it is, to examine, without prejudice, what different authors have delivered, and make such allowances

will, but certainly, contrary to the advice of the noble Historian, and others of his most favoured Counsellors, the King determined to accept the repeated invitations of the Parliament of Scotland, and to go over thither upon their terms (*e*). It is allowed, that this return of His Majesty, was singly and entirely owing to the Marquis of Argyle; and the Historian of the Hamilton family tells us, that Duke William, the last heir male of that race, when he found himself excluded by the Parliament of Scotland from having any share in publick affairs, thought fit, notwithstanding, out of pure loyalty to the King, to press him to close with the propositions that were made him, and to rely upon the Marquis of Argyle (*f*) as the only person, who, as things then stood, could serve him effectually, which is a convincing argument, that the fact was really so; for had it been otherwise, the Duke of Hamilton would never have attempted to make His Majesty believe such great things of a man, he then held to be his enemy. Upon His Majesty's arrival, he was very dutifully received by the Marquis, and the utmost respect was paid to his person, by all such as approached him (*g*). It is true, that the King took the Covenant, and complied in all other respects, with the terms agreed on in Holland, which we find some writers representing as a great hardship, and ascribing it solely to the Marquis of Argyle. But granting this to be true, even these authors acknowledge, that the voice of the nation was with him (*h*); and if the Marquis meant to restore the King, he could not discover the sincerity of his meaning more plainly, than by urging him to make good his promises at the beginning, and to satisfy the people of that nation, that he meant to keep his word with them; neither was there any thing blameable in the Marquis's conduct, supposing it to have proceeded merely from his zeal for the Church of Scotland, since this

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 459.

(*f*) Burnet's Memoirs, of the Dukes of Hamilton.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 604.

(*h*) Bates, Elenc. Motuum, p. 95.

allowances as is necessary on the score of that partiality, in favour of their own parties, with which almost all of them are known to write. It is evident from the whole tenor of Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, that he was strongly prepossessed against the Marquis of Argyle; yet he acknowledges, that, in 1643, this noblemen set on foot a negotiation for compromising his differences with Montrose (25); and at the same time owns, that the latter gave him a dilatory answer, with a view to gain time, having already taken a settled resolution to begin the war, as soon as those of his party about the King could procure him a commission. It is also necessary to observe, that Argyle and his friends, whom Burnet stiles the Church party (26) in Scotland, had very clearly the King's authority on their side, as appears, beyond contradiction, from His Majesty owning them upon many occasions, and treating with them to the last, at the Isle of Wight, as a legal Parliament, and representatives of his subjects; and as such, after his death, they were owned by King Charles II. Yet notwithstanding this, in 1644, Montrose was employed in Scotland to raise a war on that side, and Antrim promised to send assistance from Ireland; and for their encouragement, both were created Marquisses (27). By this means the war began in Scotland, and was carried on with great violence and fury, more especially by the Irish that Antrim sent over. The Marquis of Argyle and the Earl of Lothian were employed by the Parliament to command their forces against Montrose, when they acted for some time on the defensive, and at last laid down their command; of which Bishop Guthrie gives this account (28); 'without more ado (says he) 'they went to Edinburgh and delivered up their com'missions to the Committee of Estates, receiving from 'them an act of approbation of their service, which 'many said they deserved the better, because *they* '*had shed no blood*.' It is to be hoped this Prelate himself was among the *many*; for surely avoiding to shed blood in such times as these, was a very heroic, as well as christian disposition. Yet some time after, this right reverend author seems to take a pleasure in relating the calamities that befel the countries belonging to the Marquis of Argyle; observes, without any testimony of compassion, that the people were driven to hide and lurk about, so that multitudes perished by famine; and asserts, that, at last, the Marquis's great power was so far reduced, that he could scarce muster fifteen hundred of his tenants, such rivers of blood had been shed in the Civil War (29). The Earl of Clarendon (30) also acknowledges, that upon enquiring what foul offence the Marquis of Montrose had ever committed that should hinder the Lords, who now (1650) were returned to their duty from acting in conjunction with him, the Earl of Lauderdale 'told him, that he 'could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and in'humanities Montrose was guilty of, at the time he 'made war in Scotland, that he never gave quarter to 'any man, but pursued all the advantages he ever got, 'with the utmost outrage and cruelty; that he had in 'one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family of the 'Campbells, of the blood and name of Argyle, and 'that he had utterly rooted out several names and en'tire noble families.' It must therefore be allowed, that it was a mark of much moderation and greatness of mind in the Marquis of Argyle, to refuse having any share in the proceedings against this unfortunate Nobleman; neither is any thing said of him here, or else where, intended as the least aspersion upon his character. It was the unhappiness, the signal unhappiness, of those dismal times, that men of honour, of virtue, and of religion, were drawn by the different colours given to the causes of several parties, to shed the blood of their countrymen, to destroy and to depopulate their native soil, and to pursue even their old acquaintance, nay and near relations, with unrelenting fury. The Marquis of Argyle appears to have had as little of this spirit as any, and yet when he had leisure to recollect, and to reflect upon his own actions, we find him professing with an ingenuity worthy of his noble nature, his concern for what had happened. These are his words (31). 'I confess it was my 'great misfortune to be too deeply engaged in these 'fatal times. I know the Nobility of Scotland have 'always bickered with their Princes; and from the in'solency of that custom, not any of our Kings have 'been free. 'Tis also true, the perpetual family 'feuds among us, which by all the industry and au'thority of our Princes could never be so pacified, but 'that they revived again, and took upon themselves, as 'they had advantage, to revenge their quarrel; (and 'yet like sudden floods which violently over-run, and 'as peaceably return within their banks, abated to their 'due allegiance) did easily persuade me, that there was no 'such apparent danger in the first beginnings of the 'contest between the King and my nation of Scotland. 'I had laid it for a maxim, that a reformation was 'sooner effected, *per Gladium Oris*, then *per Os Gladii*; 'and certainly true religion is rather a settler than a 'stickler in policy, and rather confirms men in the 'obedience to the government established, than invites 'them to the erecting of new, which they neither do 'nor can know till it be discovered and declared. 'Wherein I did not look upon our intended reforma'tion as any way taxable, since it had the whole stream 'of universal consent of the whole nation; I never 'thought of those dire consequences which presently 'followed, till by that confusion my thoughts became 'distracted, and myself encountred so many difficulties 'in the way, that all remedies that were applied did 'the quite contrary operation; whatever therefore 'hath been said by me and others, in this matter, you 'must repute and accept them as from a distracted 'man, of a distracted subject, in a distracted time 'wherein I lived; and this shall serve to let you know, 'how far I waded unwarily in that business.'

(25) Memoirs of the Conspiracies and Rebellion against King Charles I. p. 110, 111.

(26) In his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, throughout.

(27) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 331.

(28) Memoirs of the Conspiracies and Rebellion against King Charles I. p. 134.

(29) Idem, ibid. p. 151, 152, 171.

(30) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 579.

(31) The Marquis of Argyle's Instructions to his son, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

this was agreeable to the whole tenor of his life, and the very principle upon which all that influence was grounded, which hitherto he had so effectually used for the King's service and support (*i*). It is also allowed, that the Marquis's conduct in Scotland had a very great effect upon his countrymen in Ireland, who thereupon immediately and unanimously declared for the King (*k*). It is very certain, that as the Marquis of Argyle had brought the Scotch nation to own and receive His Majesty upon the foundation of their constitution; so he was very sollicitous, that the King should keep his promises with them, and that he should act in such a manner as might extinguish all their fears and jealousies, in which impartial people will allow, that he acted like an able Statesman and a good subject (*l*). Upon Cromwell's entering Scotland, it is confessed, that he met with effectual and obstinate resistance, and that he was never in so great danger of being defeated, as in that expedition. There are very different accounts of the battle of Dunbar, which was fought, September 3, 1650, in which, tho' Cromwell gained a great, yet it was an unexpected victory; and, notwithstanding the Marquis of Argyle had been very instrumental in raising that powerful army, which fought there in the King's cause, yet never any blame was charged upon him, in respect to the defeat (*m*). He adhered to the King as steadily afterwards as he did before it, attended him at Perth, or St Johnstoun, with the same diligence and duty (*n*), and was so instrumental in the steps taken there for His Majesty's service, that out of a full persuasion of the uprightness of his intentions and the justice of his conduct, the King, of his own motive, was pleased to give him such a testimony under his hand, as ought to convince posterity, that what some men have written, in reference to this noble person, proceeded either from partiality or want of sufficient lights (*o*). This paper alone is of more weight than all the private Memoirs or General Histories of those times put together; as King Charles II. is known to have formed very right judgments of men, and as he hath given us therein his judgment of the Marquis's behaviour to this time [*G*]. Such of the English as were about the King, and more especially the

(*i*) See his Answer to the Charge against him before the Scotch Parliament, in 1661.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 605. Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 95.

(*l*) Crauford's History of the Great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 417.

(*m*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 607, 608. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 470. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 356. Bates, Elenchus Mot. Part ii. p. 105, 106.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, in the Appendix, p. 25.

(*o*) See Echard's third Vol. of the Hist. of England, in the Appendix.

[G] *Of the Marquis's behaviour to this time*.] The defeat at Dunbar was a very trying circumstance, in respect to the King's affairs; and it seems, that the Committee of Estates were not extremely attentive to the concern His Majesty was under on this occasion. He was at that time at Perth, from whence he dispatched the Marquis of Argyle to the States, with a message, which was soon after followed by a most gracious letter, dated the 12th of September; the very same day the Lord Lorne was sent with another letter, in reference to recruiting the regiments of guards (32). The pains taken, both by the Marquis and his son, upon this occasion, might very naturally make a strong impression upon His Majesty's mind, more especially as he could not but be sensible, that it was chiefly owing to their influence the Ministers were kept to his party; and that the advice given him by the Marquis, how little soever it might be agreeable to his age and temper, was, notwithstanding, of the utmost consequence to his affairs, and the fittest for him to follow at that juncture. Upon these motives, he was inclined to give the Marquis a signal testimony of his royal favour, which at the same time, that it expressed his sense of past and present services, might bind him to him, for the future. He drew up, therefore, the following paper with his own hand, and presented it to the Marquis, under his Sign-Manual (33).

'Having taken into my consideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyle, for restoring me to my just rights, and the happy settling of my dominions, I am desirous to let the world see how sensible I am of his real respect to me, by some particular marks of my favour to him, by which they may see, the trust and confidence, which I repose in him: and particularly, I do promise, that I will make him Duke of Argyle and Knight of the Garter, and one of the Gentlemen of my Bed-chamber; and this to be performed, when he shall think it fit. And, I do further promise him, to hearken to his counsels ———————— (worn out) ———————— Whenever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights in England, I shall see him paid the forty thousand pounds sterling, which is due to him. All which, I do promise to make good, upon the word of a King.'

St Johnstoun, September 24, 1650. CHARLES R.

There can be but two constructions put upon this paper, for, either it must have proceeded entirely from the kindness and good will of the King; and then it must be allowed, to be the clearest demonstration of his high opinion of the Marquis's abilities and fidelity, which over-turns all the conjectural accounts of those Historians, who pretend, that he looked upon himself, as under a kind of government and restraint from the Marquis; or it must have been owing to the ambition of that Nobleman himself, who was *willing to have* a security from the King, *for the hazards he run in his* service; and taken in this light, it is as clear a proof of his sincere intention to contribute all in his power to his Restoration, without which this paper was a thing of no value. If therefore, we either allow, which by the way, no-body ever denied, that the King had parts, or the Marquis prudence, we cannot doubt, that they perfectly understood each other, tho' it is highly probable, from the profound secrecy with which this transaction was attended, that neither inclined the world should know how perfect an understanding there was between them. It would be no very difficult matter to show the truth of this observation from matters of fact. The King, tho' he did not follow the Marquis's advice in protracting the war in Scotland, yet testified his respect and regard for him at his departure. It appears from the Earl of Clarendon's account, that the Queen-Mother had always a very good opinion of the Marquis (34), as had such of the King's English Counsellors as wished to see him truly a Monarch, the sovereign of all his subjects, of what religious or political sentiments soever they might be, and to which in his own nature the King himself was inclined. The conference with Don John of Austria, five years after this, shews His Majesty's thorough sense of the Marquis's real attachment, notwithstanding appearances (35). On the other hand, he was the last man that capitulated in Scotland, he did it when sick and a prisoner, and then only promised to be quiet. He held several meetings with the loyal Nobility, to consider whether any thing might be attempted for His Majesty's service. His son was very often in arms, which made the father always suspected; and tho' he seems to have altered his conduct in the last years of the usurpation, yet it was, because he judged, that complying so far, as to sit in Parliament in the time of Richard, might be of more service to the King, as it really was, than acting in Scotland against Monk. At his very tryal, he appealed to his Grace, the Earl of Middleton (36), then High Commissioner, for the truth of his sending a message to him in the hills, when he was there in arms with a few followers for the King; to which he received no answer; and his resolution of going up to London after the Restoration, must have arisen from a consciousness of these past services.

(32) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 163, 164.

(33) Printed by the Rev. Mr Echard, in the Appendix to the third Vol. of his Hist. being communicated to him by the late Duke of Argyle.

(34) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 631.

(35) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 604.

(36) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 47.

the Duke of Buckingham, were very well satisfied with the Marquis's conduct, and concurred with him in his measures. They knew very well, that there was no sailing against wind and tide, and thought those did the King service, that enabled him to sail with them (*p*). But after all, His Majesty was drawn to wish for a coalition of parties; and having intelligence, that the Highlanders were in arms, and that several Noblemen had joined with them, he secretly withdrew from Perth, intending to have cast himself upon them (*q*). He was however prevailed upon to return, and the Marquis of Argyle still adhering closely to him, tho' he saw His Majesty disposed to take other measures than those he thought best for his service; it was resolved, he should be solemnly crowned at Scoon with all the magnificence in the power of that distressed nation; which was accordingly done in January following, when the King, by his coronation oath, renewed all his former promises and obligations, and the Crown was set upon his head by the Marquis of Argyle, who was the first Nobleman that did homage and swore allegiance (*r*). After this, His Majesty entered into measures for procuring the Act of Classes, by which Montrose's party were kept out of employments, to be repealed, which, tho' it might be against the judgment of the Marquis of Argyle, yet he did not hinder His Majesty from prosecuting that design. It is very clear from the Histories of those times, that how much soever these steps might increase the King's army, yet they added very little strength to it, or weight to his Councils (*s*). New jealousies arose, fresh struggles for power began, Cromwell pushed his successes so far, that having at last made himself master of Perth, the King found himself obliged with his army to retire to Sterling, where, however he was so strongly posted, that after several attempts to no purpose, Cromwell was obliged to lay aside his design of attacking him (*t*). It was in the month of July, that the King formed a resolution of marching into England, which, it is allowed, was opposed by the Marquis of Argyle, and which seems to be very fair dealing, is acknowledged by the Earl of Clarendon, that those he offered against it were no frivolous reasons, tho' they are not mentioned (*u*). It is highly probable, that the Marquis might think His Majesty might find it easier to deal with his enemies in a country where his authority was universally acknowleged, except in the places immediately under their power; he might also hope, by protracting the war and removing the seat of it, Cromwell's army might be lessened, separated, and perhaps drawn into the same circumstances, that they were before the fatal battle of Dunbar; neither is it at all unlikely, that he might hope the English in the King's interest, would, by such a diversion, have time given them to consult and concert a general insurrection, which was like to prove infinitely more formidable than any attempts they could make to join the King upon his sudden marching into their country with several flying corps of the Parliament forces in his front, and on his flanks, and Cromwell's numerous and victorious army at his heels (*w*). But tho' the Marquis disapproved the measure, and gave his reasons against it, which were allowed to have weight by the best judges, even of the King's English friends, yet he would have accompanied His Majesty, if his Lady had not lain at the point of death, which induced him to ask the King's leave to remain behind; which was very graciously given, and he had the honour of kissing his sovereign's hand, when he took leave of him at Sterling (*x*). We are indeed told by certain Historians, that there were some about the King, who would have persuaded him to secure the Marquis's person, and to have left him, not only as he did, without trust or power, but without liberty also (*y*), when his Lady was in a dying condition in Scotland. But His Majesty had more wisdom, as well as justice, than to consent to any such thing; and the answer that he gave upon that occasion shews, how much better he was able to judge of things, than any of those about him. After the King's defeat at Worcester, the Marquis of Argyle retired to his own house at Inverary, where he continued to act as he thought best for his own defence, for a whole year (*z*); till falling sick, he was surprized and made prisoner by General Dean, who afterwards brought him up to Edinburgh, where he was likewise a prisoner, when Cromwell was proclaimed Protector; and having received General Monk's orders to attend the Council, he was, in consequence of that attendance, obliged to be present at the ceremony of proclaiming the Protector (*a*). While he was a prisoner, a paper was tendred to him to sign, containing his submission to the government, as settled, without King or House of Lords; which he refused; but afterwards, when he was in no condition to struggle, he did sign a paper (*b*) promising to live peaceably under that government. His Chaplain, Mr Alexander Gordon, while the English were at Inverary, prayed constantly for His Majesty; and when the Marquis himself prayed, he always mentioned those to whom he was engaged, by natural, civil, or Christian bonds (*c*). His country was the last that submitted; and even then, his son, did not submit. The Marquis did indeed use great civility towards the persons in power, which was the more necessary, because, as Whitelocke and other writers of that party tell us, he was under continual suspicions; so far is it from being true, that he was looked upon by them as a man firm in their interest, or one in whom they might confide (*d*). He opposed the Act of Union, upon plausible and just motives; but in reality, with a view to hinder it from succeeding at all (*e*). In 1656, when King Charles II. had a conference with Don John of Austria upon the state of his affairs in Scotland; and amongst other things it was objected to him, that the Marquis and his son, the Lord Lorne, had the greatest interest there, and that it was suspected they

(*p*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 613.

(*q*) Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 111.

(*r*) See the Ceremony of the King's Coronation at Scoon, Jan. 1, 1651, prefixed to Mr Robert Douglas's Sermon upon that Occasion.

(*s*) See the Preface to Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland.

(*t*) Bates, Elenc. Mot. p. 118, 119.

(*u*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 614.

(*w*) These reasons were reported often in conversation by the old Earl of Cromartie.

(*x*) See the Marquis's Answer to the Charge against him before the Parliament in 1661.

(*y*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 614.

(*z*) Append. to Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 25.

(*a*) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VI. p. 405.

(*b*) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Append. p. 25.

(*c*) See his Defence against the Charge before the Parliament of Scotland in 1661.

(*d*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 506, 514, 517, 519, 524, 530, 532. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 524.

(*e*) See his Defence beforementioned.

they were against him; His Majesty answered clearly, that for the Lord Lorne, he could depend as much upon him, as upon his brother. In regard to the Marquis, he contented himself, with saying, he was a very wise man; but at last confessed, that he had received more money from him, than from any person in Scotland (f). It is not to be inferred from hence, that the King had any doubts, at that time, about his fidelity; but knowing his cautious way of acting, he was unwilling to declare his sentiments plainly, even to Don John. Under Richard's Protectorate, he was chose for the shire of Aberdeen; and tho' he had refused to serve in Oliver's Parliament, yet he thought fit to go up then to London, and wrought there, as he told several after he came down again to Scotland, for His Majesty's service, as it was afterwards proved, for his service effectually by making that breach, by which His Majesty entered (g). It seems however, that during Monk's government in Scotland, he looked upon the country as absolutely conquered; and his conceiving the thing in this light, very probably induced him to take many steps, that he would not otherwise have done (h). Upon the King's Restoration, he was differently advised by his friends, some persuaded him to go immediately up to London, and congratulate His Majesty on his return; others thought it more adviseable, that he should wait till the government was settled; there is no doubt, that he weighed very seriously both those opinions; but at last, he determined upon the former, as the more open and honest, if not the most prudent course. He accordingly came up to London, where he arrived July 8, 1660 (i); tho' it is reported, that orders had been procured from the King to stop him on the road. Immediately after his arrival, he went to Whitehall; of which, when the King was informed, he sent Sir William Fleming to carry him to the Tower, he pressed very earnestly, that he might be allowed to see the King, but his enemies prevented that; they knew his great abilities, and they knew the confidence the King had in him, they knew likewise the arts by which that confidence had been ruined, and therefore they caused him to be hurried away without ceremony, indeed without civility or decency (k). After he was committed to the Tower, he made application for liberty to have affidavits and declarations of several persons in England, particularly of the Marquis of Hertford, taken upon some matters of fact; but this piece of justice was denied him (l). At the very time he was committed to the Tower, the Marquis of Antrim was also sent thither, for affirming, that the Irish had acted by the late King's authority; and it will not certainly do any great honour to that administration with posterity, who thought it consistent with the King's reputation to dismiss the latter so easily, and to prosecute the former to destruction without mercy (m). He was continued in the Tower for about five months, and in December was sent down by sea to Scotland, very narrowly escaping shipwreck in his passage by a storm (n). As soon as he arrived, he was sent prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, in order to be brought to a tryal before the Parliament of Scotland, to which his capital enemy, the Earl of Middleton, was sent down Lord High Commissioner; who, through the whole course of it, argued with a vehemency, that would have been highly indecent in an Advocate, and therefore I know not what to call it in a Judge (o). A long charge was exhibited against the Marquis comprehending a vast variety of facts, from the year 1638, which was done purposely to render him odious, and to raise a clamour against him, for most of them were incapable of any kind of proof; and all before the year 1651, were absolutely pardoned (p) by the Act of Indemnity, which His Majesty had passed in that very year. He had counsel assigned him to the number of six; and amongst these, was Mr Mackenzie, afterwards the famous Sir George Mackenzie. On the 13th of February, he was brought before the Parliament, where he desired leave to speak before his indictment was read; which was refused him, as were also some other things, that in any case but his, would have been looked upon as matters of course (r). These steps were probably taken to shorten the tryal, which however was very long; for tho' no pains were spared to search almost every shire in Scotland, to find out people to blacken his character, yet, when the matters came to be looked into, they turned to no account (s). At last, they were forced to fix upon his joining with the English, as the only species of treason, that could affect him; and, in reference to this, the Earl of Loudon, so many years Chancellor, defended him with great warmth and eloquence (t). The Marquis himself said, 'That what he had done, he was 'compelled to do by necessity, which being a thing above law, and which took place 'only where there was no law, ought, in the reason of things, to justify a man against law. 'That what he did, he did with a good intention, with a desire to serve His Majesty, 'and preserve his subjects; and, that he blessed God, he had succeeded in both. That 'however, he had done no more than others did, even those who were now his prosecutors and his judges. He advised them, therefore to consider, how fatal a precedent they 'were about to establish, with respect to themselves and to their posterity. A precedent, 'that making it impossible for any man to be thought innocent, who submitted to a 'usurpation, must necessary take away from every man the desire of over-turning a usurpation, as that must have a tendency to his own destruction.' On the 29th of April, the Earls of Glencairne and Rothes, and Mr James Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews, were sent up to Court to give an account of the proceedings (u). The Marquis also sent up his son, Lord Niele Campbell, to act on his behalf; and it is said, that the King wrote to his Commissioner, the Earl of Middleton requiring him to press no acts

(f) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 604.

(g) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 431.

(h) This appears throughout his Defence.

(i) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42. Kennet's Chronicle or Register, p. 200.

(k) Kennet's Chron. p. 202.

(l) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 42.

(m) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 34.

(n) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42.

(o) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 122.

(p) See that Charge in the State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 379.

(q) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 43.

(r) Case of the Marquis of Argyle.

(s) Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 43.

(t) Crauford's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 215.

(u) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 119.

of treason, but such as happened after the year 1651, and not to proceed to sentence before His Majesty had revised the proceedings. With the former instruction the Commissioner complied, but pretended, that the latter manifested such a distrust of the Parliament (*w*), that he durst not mention it. The depositions of abundance of people were taken, with respect to the Marquis's acting under, and owning, the government established in Scotland in 1652. Bishop Burnet tells us, that Monk sent down his letters, that they came after the evidence was closed, but that the Lord Commissioner caused them to be read, upon which the Marquis's friends went out, perceiving there was then no room to serve him (*x*). I find nothing of this any where else; and tho' I very readily believe, that if Monk had any such letters, he would have sent them, and that they would have been read; yet, I think, there are good reasons to esteem this fact, doubtful, if not false [*H*]. At last, upon the evidence, produced on May 3d, 7th, and the 8th, they pronounced him

(*w*) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 51. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 123. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 433.

(*x*) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

[*H*] *To esteem this fact doubtful, if not false.*] It is very clear, that what Bishop Burnet relates, concerning the transactions of these times, he must have received from other people, and that several years after; for at the time of the Marquis of Argyle's death, he could not be much above eighteen years old; we need not wonder, therefore, that in the circumstances relating to great events, before those times, in which he came to have a share in business, he might be misinformed, for that is all, that either is or ought to be contended for, on this occasion. After giving us an account of a very learned speech prepared by the Earl of Loudon, and which Crauford tell us, was spoken by him in justification of the Marquis, the Bishop proceeds thus (38): 'But while it was very doubtful, how it would have gone, Monk by an inexcusable baseness had searched among his letters and found some that were writ by Argyle to himself, that were hearty and zealous on their side. These he sent down to Scotland. And after they were read in Parliament, it could not be pretended, that his compliance was feigned or extorted from him. Every body blamed Monk for sending these down, since it was betraying the confidence that they then lived in. They were sent by an express, and came to the Earl of Middleton after the Parliament was engaged in the debate. So he ordered the letters to be read. This was much blamed as contrary to the forms of justice, since probation was closed on both sides. But the reading of them silenced all farther debate. All his friends went out: and he was condemned as guilty of treason. The Marquis of Montrose only refused to vote. He owned he had too much resentment to judge in that matter. It was designed he should be hanged as the Marquis of Montrose had been: but it was carried, that he should be beheaded, and that his head should be set up where Lord Montrose's had been set.' It is evident from hence, that if our author's account of the matter be right, the Marquis of Argyle had nothing to complain of, for these letters sent down by Monk fixed the fact so fully upon him, that even his friends gave up his defence, and withdrew. But the Marquis, when he received sentence, as well as in the whole course of his defence, insisted, that he had complied no farther than other people had done who were then his judges; and the same thing he says in his speech; and hence it is, that I am apt to believe, that there is some mistake or misapprehension in this matter; and that tho' Monk might give his assistance to ruin a man whose abilities he might fear, and whose influence he very well knew (39); yet he neither sent down any such letters, nor had any such to send; and in support of this opinion, I shall offer my reasons, and draw them into the narrowest compass possible. I. This matter was very narrowly looked into at the time it happened; has been very carefully reviewed since; and accounts of it have been given by persons of opposite sentiments; yet none of these mention Monk's letters. The great Ministers of those times, and those who were deepest in the taking the Marquis's life, removed, as far as they were able, all the minutes relating to his process, which they would not have done, had he been convicted on the testimony of these letters, because, the recording them had justified their proceedings (40). All things tending to justify the bringing the Marquis to a tryal; condemning and putting him to death, were carefully published in England, as Bishop Kennet shows very largely; but nothing is said of these letters (41). Sir George Mackenzie wrote a vindication of the government of King Charles II. in Scotland, in which he passes over entirely this whole transaction, which surely he would not have done, if it could have been so easily vindicated, as by transcribing these letters (42). Mr Wodrow collected every thing he could meet with relating to this process, and has preserved the names of the witnesses that proved the Marquis's compliance, but he says nothing of Monk's letters, neither is there a syllable of them in the State Tryals, except the transcribing this passage from Bishop Burnet. II. It seems to be inconsistent with another part of the Bishop's own account; for he says, the King instructed his Commissioner not to proceed to sentence, or at least to execution, till he had reviewed the proceedings (43); for which there had been no occasion if the King had known any thing of these letters, since what satisfied the Marquis's friends as to his guilt, would undoubtedly have satisfied His Majesty also upon that subject. III. There are some circumstances in the account this Prelate gives us of the Marquis, which may easily induce us to believe, that he might be misled in regard to his story. As for instance, he mentions his being upon ill terms with his son Lord Lorne, and having actually had thoughts of disinheriting him (44). Under the usurpation, it was necessary for the Marquis to disclaim the conduct of Lord Lorne for his own safety and preservation; but this never deceived the people in power (45); and therefore it is strange, that it should impose upon the Bishop. In the Marquis's advice to his son and to the rest of his children, there is nothing that looks that way; and in the next article, we shall see, that Lord Lorne's zeal for his father, had like to have cost him his own life, as the Marquis's coming to London on his son's letter, actually cost him his. The Bishop speaks of an attempt made by the Marquis to make his escape out of the Castle; but he says, that fearing it might hasten his execution, his heart failed him (46). It is not easy to conceive how this can be reconciled to the story of Monk's letters. Before they came, the Bishop tells us the affair was very doubtful, and in such a situation, it is not probable the Marquis would attempt an escape. After sentence was passed he never was in the Castle, and consequently could have no opportunity of escaping from thence. It is however true, that he really intended an escape from the Castle, and was once in compleat disguise for that purpose, but laid aside his design, because he would not desert the sentiments which he had espoused (47). He chose rather to die like an honest man, than to draw an imputation of guilt upon his character by flight; but his conduct would have been absurd, if his letters to Monk had proved him already guilty, or even if he knew such letters had been in Monk's power. The Bishop says expresly, that the Marquis wrote his letter to the King the day before his execution (48); the letter itself shews, that the Marquis wrote it that very day (49). It seems therefore possible, that the Bishop having this account from some good hand, in his opinion, might set it down without considering it very carefully. IV. We have many things said by Clarendon and Echard of the Marquis's correspondence with Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane, though neither have vouchsafed us any proofs. On the other hand, Whitelocke and other writers on that side, give him quite another character, and represent him as a person always suspected and dreaded. We have of late years had great discoveries made of the correspondence under Cromwell's government; all which clearly proves, that the Marquis of Argyle was never considered in any other light than that of a concealed Royalist, as his son, the Lord Lorne, was a declared one (50). There is a letter of his to King Charles II, which I have seen, and is now in print, that proves he had a great

(38) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

(39) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42.

(40) Ibid. p. 57.

(41) Register and Chronicle, Ecclesiastical and Civil, p. 334, 405, 407, 428, 451, 452.

(42) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 57.

(43) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 123.

(44) Ibid. p. 166.

(45) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. I. p. 514.

(46) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 124.

(47) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 53.

(48) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

(49) See the Letter in the next note.

(50) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 28.

him guilty, after debates, which lasted many days; and on Saturday, May 25, they pronounced the following sentence, *That he should be beheaded on the* Monday *following, at the* Cross *of* Edinburgh; *that his* head *should be set up, where the Marquis of* Montrose's *formerly stood, and his coat of arms torn before the* Parliament, *and at the* Cross. He behaved on that occasion, with great firmness and constancy, as well as much calmness and dignity. The sentence being pronounced, he was going to speak, but the trumpets sounding, he stopped till that strange ceremony was over; then lifting up his eyes, he said, 'I had 'the honour to set the Crown upon the King's head, and now he hastens me to a better 'crown than his own; *then directing himself to the Commissioner and Parliament, he added,* 'You have the indemnity of an earthly King in your hands, and have denied me a share 'in that, but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of Kings, and 'shortly you must come before his tribunal. I pray he mete not out such measure to you 'as you have done to me, when you are called to an account for all your actions, and 'this amongst the rest.' He was conducted from the bar to the common goal of Edinburgh, where he remained to the time of his death. He dined on Monday at Twelve o'Clock, with his friends, with great chearfulness. He behaved on the scaffold with the intrepidity of a hero, or rather, with the constancy of a Christian. His last words, and the letter he wrote the King the morning of his execution, will sufficiently shew, that as he lived, so he died, a much better subject, than those who brought him to that death (y) [I]. His enemies took care that his process should not remain among the Parliament

(y) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 451, 452. Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 53, 54, 55. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 434. Heath's Chron. p. 497. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 793.

great correspondence with King Charles I; and in which he tells the King, that no body could restore him but the Presbyterians; which the King afterwards found to be true (51). V. Lastly, It is so far from being a fact, that he had any close connection with Monk in the management of affairs, while he governed Scotland, that I am able to prove he was his mortal enemy, and represented him in the blackest colours to both the Protectors. He accused him to Oliver as not deserving the money that was paid him (52) as a debt for maintaining the Scots troops in Ireland upon the credit of the publick faith; and the following letter will fully shew, that he did not consider his going up to Richard's Parliament as a compliance with that government, but as an endeavour to overturn it. This letter is directed to Thurloe, and runs thus (53):

(51) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. B. ii. p. 16, 17.

(52) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 341.

(53) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 584.

'My Lord,

'MY Lord Keeper and myself have done our 'best to get those men chosen you have wrote 'for; but my Lord of Argyle and some others whom 'my Lord Keeper will acquaint you with, have endeavoured all they can to get all Scotchmen chosen. 'But, I doubt not, but there will be three chosen of 'those five you sent the names of; and I have taken 'care, that as many as come out of this country, shall 'be there with the first: and if the writs come in 'time, which I hope they will, they shall be all sent 'to Dr Clarges. The Marquis of Argyle himself endeavours to be chosen, notwithstanding he is Sheriff 'of Argyleshire; neither do I guess he will do his 'Highness's interest any good; but when my Lord 'Keeper comes up, he shall acquaint you with the 'business. Which is all at present from

'Your Lordship's

'Very humble Servant,

'Dalkeith December 30, 1658. GEORGE MONCK.'

[I] *Than those who brought him to that death.*] There are some variations in the printed copies of the Marquis's speech, which perhaps, may be owing to a desire of giving an English turn to some of the Scotch expressions (54); but whoever peruses it must confess, that it is grave and manly, and at the same time, loyal and pious. He gives a full and clear account of his actions, asserts the uprightness of his conduct and the sincerity of his affection, both to King Charles I. and King Charles II, he owns and justifies his zeal for the religion in which he was bred, and with true Christian charity forgives his enemies, and prays that God would forgive them. His last words immediately before he laid his head upon the block, were the vindication of his innocency from that horrid crime of the King's murder, in these words:

(54) Appendix to Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 28. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 434.

'I desire you, gentlemen, and all that hear me, again 'to take notice and remember, That now, when 'I am entring on eternity, and am to appear before 'my Judge, and as I desire salvation, and expect 'eternal happiness from him, I am free from any 'accession, by knowledge, contriving, counsel, or any 'other way, to His late Majesty's death; and I pray 'the Lord to preserve the present King His Majesty, 'and to pour his best blessings upon his person and 'government, and the Lord give him good and faithful Counsellors.'

The Marquis's letter to the King, written by his Lordship, the morning of his execution (55).

(55) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 54, 55.

'Most Sacred Sovereign,

'I Doubt not but your Majesty hath an account 'given you from others, of the issue of that strange 'process and inditment laid against me before this can 'come to your Royal hands; of which, if I had been 'guilty according to the charge, I should have esteemed myself unworthy to breathe upon the earth, much 'less would I have presumed to make any application 'to your Majesty. But of all those great crimes 'which have been charged upon me, there hath nothing been proven, except a compliance with the prevalent usurping rebels, after they had subdued all 'your Majesty's dominions, whereby, I was forced, 'with many others, to submit unto their unlawful 'power and government, which was an epidemick disease and fault of the time.

'What measure soever I have met with, and whatever malice or calumny hath been cast upon me, yet 'it is inexpressible joy and comfort, under all these 'sufferings, that I am found free and acquit of any 'accession to that execrable murder committed against 'the life of your Royal Father, which (as I desire a 'comfortable appearance before the Judge, both of 'the quick and the dead) my soul did ever abominate; 'for death, with the inward peace of my innocency, 'is much more acceptable to me, than life itself, with 'the least stain of treachery.

'And now I am confident, that your Majesty's 'displeasure will be satisfied, and you will suffer my 'failings to be expiate with my life, which, with all 'humility and submission, I have yielded up; and in 'this small period that remains of my life, no earthly 'thing shall be more cordially desired by me, than 'your happiness, and that your Majesty and your 'successors to all generations may sway the Septre of 'these nations, and that they may be a blessed people 'under your government.

'And now, hoping that the humble supplication 'of your Majesty's dying subject may find some 'place within the large extent of your princely goodness and clemency, I have taken the boldness to cast 'the desolate condition of my poor wife and family 'upon your Royal favour; for whatever may be your 'Majesty's displeasure against myself, these I hope 'have not done any thing to procure your Majesty's 'indignation,

Parliament Registers. Sir George Mackenzie, who wrote a Vindication of the Government of Scotland during this reign, does not so much as mention the Marquis's process, though, as his advocate, he had defended him with great learning and spirit; nay, those who passed the sentence upon him did not think fit to sign a dead warrant, so that in the letter of the law, as well as in the eye of reason, this could be accounted no better than a murder committed with much form (z). As the Lord High-Commissioner disobeyed his Majesty's command in precipitating the death of the Marquis, so for this, and other acts of violence, he was quickly disgraced. At his first appearance in the world he had served the Parliament of England against his Prince; he afterwards deserted that service, and was employed in Scotland in a manner which prejudiced him against the Marquis of Argyle, and induced him to act as he did, equally against the laws of the land, and the instructions of his master (a). At that time his conduct was universally condemned, and the behaviour of the Marquis generally applauded, as indeed it deserved; for in the whole course of his life he never changed his sentiments, but died with the same religious and political principles which he had always professed while he lived, and practised also from first, to last.

(z) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 56, 57.

(a) Craufurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 335.

'indignation. And since, that family have had the 'honour to be faithful subjects and serviceable to your 'Royal progenitors, I humbly beg my faults may not 'extinguish the lasting merit and memory of those 'who have given so many signal proofs of constant 'loyalty, for many generations. Orphans and widows, 'by special prerogative and command from God, are 'put under your protection and defence, that you 'suffer them not to be wronged: they will owe their 'preservation so entirely to your Majesty's bounty and 'favour, that your countenance, and nothing else that's 'human, can be a shield against their ruin.

'I shall add no more, only being addebted to 'several of your Majesty's good subjects, and your 'Royal justice being the source and fountain of all 'equity, whereby, all your people are preserved in 'their just rights and interests, I humbly beg, that 'none of them may suffer for my fault, but that you 'would allow them satisfaction and payment of what 'is justly owing unto them, of those sums and debts which 'are truly resting to my son and me. And, as it is 'my serious and last desire to my children and posterity, 'next to their duty to Almighty God, that they may 'be faithful and serviceable to your Majesty; so were 'I to enjoy this frail life any longer, I would en'deavour before all the world, to evidence myself to 'be,

'Your Majesty's

'Most humble, devoted,

'And obedient Subject and Servant,

'From your prison, Edinburgh, May 27, 1661. ARGYLE.'

E

CAMPBELL (Archibald) Earl of Argyle, son to the former, and himself one of the worthiest Noblemen, and one of the most distinguished Patriots of the age in which he lived. He was educated under his father's eye in the true principles of loyalty and of the Christian Religion (a), and came to be very early distinguished in the world by his personal merit, as well as by his titles and the high rank he held in his country. When King Charles II. was invited home to receive the Crown of his ancient and hereditary kingdom in 1650, he was constituted Colonel of His Majesty's foot-guards, in which there happened something very particular; for whereas all commissions were then granted by the Parliament of Scotland, and they affected a kind of sovereign authority, the Lord Lorne refused to act without a commission from the King; which was accordingly granted him (b). In this command he served with great bravery at the battle of Dunbar, where his regiment suffered exceedingly (c); and he continued in this command so long as His Majesty remained in Scotland, behaving himself with such tenderness and affection, as well as fidelity and duty, to that Prince, as gained him a high place in his favour, more especially as he was always ready to obey his master's commands, and did every thing to alleviate that constraint, which, from the rigid severity of the Clergy, His Majesty was for some time under (d). Neither was his zeal for the King's service at all abated by the fatal defeat at Worcester; on the contrary, he remained in arms, kept up a party in the Highlands, joined readily with the most inveterate enemies of his family for the King's service, even tho' he found himself very ill used by them, and more than one attempt was made to imprison him (e). But neither the hardships he went through, nor the treachery to which he was exposed, could induce him to quit the Royal cause, and the testimonies of favour he had received from His Majesty, made so strong an impression on his mind, that he continued active when the King's affairs were desperate, until he brought his own into the same condition (f). This conduct made him so obnoxious to Cromwell, that there was no person in Scotland whom he pursued with greater animosity, as appears by his excepting him out of his general pardon, in 1654 (g). Yet, even this, did not at all discourage him or prevail upon him to desist from giving that Usurper all the trouble that was in his power, till he received General Middleton's orders, by the King's authority, to capitulate, which were dated December 31, 1655 (h). He then submitted to live quietly and peaceably, but never owned either Oliver or Richard's government, but remained obnoxious to those sort of men who derived their power from them so long as it continued (i); of all which, many and incontestable proofs might be given, if the nature of this work would allow us to enlarge upon the subject [A]. Upon the King's Restoration

(a) See the Marquis of Argyle's Instructions to his son, p. 2, 3.

(b) This Commission was in the hands of Archibald the first Duke of Argyle, and is probably still preserved by the family.

(c) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 164.

(d) Hist. of the King's Exile, p. 195.

(e) Craufurd's Lives of the great Officers in Scotland, p. 214. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(f) Craufurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 21. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 57, 58.

(g) See a farther account of this in note [A].

(h) These are still preserved in the Archives of the Argyle Family; See also State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 449, 450.

(i) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 609.

[A] *To enlarge upon the subject.*] It is very much to be regretted, that a sincere desire of discovering truth does not prevail as much in the world as that spirit of curiosity which sometimes wears the appearance of it; if such a desire could be excited, it would certainly engage lovers of English History to prefer the knowledge of facts to the

Restoration he came up to London to congratulate him, and brought with him a letter from his father containing assurances of his duty; which the King received in such a manner, as gave that unfortunate Nobleman those hopes, which proved the cause of his destruction (k). All the time of his father's prosecution Lord Lorne remained at Court, and laboured indefatigably to do him service; and tho' this instance of filial piety ought certainly to have indeared him to all ranks of men, yet such was the strange disposition of those times, that it served only to sharpen the edge of their resentments who were enemies to his family, and laboured the destruction of it, that they might raise their own (l). These men who were ready to take any advantage, and were not either afraid or ashamed to commit any act of violence necessary to serve their purposes, tho' the Royal authority was ever so much prostituted, or the constitution of their country ever so much weakened thereby, ventured upon such a step to remove this noble and innocent person, as will appear to be full as singular, as it was iniquitous and cruel. Lord Lorne had discovered that these people had by the basest intrigues and blackest calumnies hindered His Majesty from extending to him his Royal favour, as he was naturally inclined; and having by the assistance of the Earl of Berkshire convinced the Earl of Clarendon, upon

(k) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 106.

(l) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution.

the florid representation of them, as this again would engage others to labour for their satisfaction, and to make it their business to describe the real characters of great men from their actions, and not trust to such draughts of them as are given by authors, guided rather by fancy than by authority, and who at best give us only their conceptions of men for what ought to be thought of them. The noble Historian is pleased to speak of the Lord Lorne's commanding the King's guards (1), as if it had been a trust committed to him by his father, and that the King was rather delivered to his custody, than had in him a faithful officer and an obedient servant; Mr Echard follows, or rather copies, this account (2), which is entirely inconsistent with that we have given in the text, as it is with Bishop Burnet's relation, that the Lord Lorne (3) won upon His Majesty by the smoothness of his behaviour, and by admitting whoever the King desired to his presence. Most certainly his Lordship behaved all the time the King was in Scotland with great zeal and duty; and he preserved the same disposition during the whole time of His Majesty's being abroad; of which it may not be amiss to add some particular instances here. He was in the Isles in 1653, where he had a difference with Glengary, which might be probably owing to the feuds between their families, but this did not however hinder him from assisting that Highland Chief in the King's quarrel (4). In the year following, notwithstanding the seeming difference between him and his father the Marquis of Argyle, he brought a body of near one thousand men into the field and joined the Earl of Glencairne (5). That noble Lord, as Bishop Burnet tells us, had a notion of becoming another Montrose (6); and he seems to have had as strong an aversion to the house of Argyle, for he first took from Lord Lorne a regiment of foot he had raised, and gave him a troop of horse; afterwards he took away that troop of horse; and lastly, out of mere partiality and private pique, would have secured his person, if he had not made his escape (7), which ruined this design for the King's service, at a time, when, as the Oliverians themselves confess, they had a great probability of assembling a very numerous army (8). Yet the King was so well satisfied of Lord Lorne's fidelity, and was so desirous to free him from these discouragements, that he sent him a commission to be Lieutenant-General (9); of which, as of most other of His Majesty's measures, Cromwell had so good an account, that it was very probably one reason for his excepting Lord Lorne out of his pardon. That pardon I have seen as it passed in his Parliament, April 12, 1654 (10), and in it is excepted the Queen-Dowager, the King, the Duke of York, the two Dukes of Hamilton, both dead, the Earl of Crawford and Lindsey, the Earl of Callander, the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Kelly, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Seaforth, the Earl of Athol, Viscount Kenmure, Lord Lorne, Lord Mackling, son to the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Glencaire, and many others. Towards the end of that year, Lord Lorne was so distressed, that he retired to an island with only four or five persons about him (11); whence it appears, that he did not submit, till he was no longer in a condition of opposing. But his submission did not exempt him, either from suspicions or hardships, as appears from an information against him in September 1655, by the Lord Broghill (12); and by another letter of Monk's in November following, in which he says, that he had taken security for his peaceable behaviour, as good as could be had in Scotland, to the amount of five thousand pounds; and adds, that considering the very ill usage he had received from the King's friends, he apprehended he would not be very ready to stir again (13). But it appears by an examination taken at the close of the same year, that the King had still as great a confidence in him as in any man in that kingdom (14). In 1656, Lord Broghill gave fresh informations against him in the month of May (15); and in August, Lockhart, who was Cromwell's Minister in France, charged Lord Fairfax and Lord Lorne with being engaged in new designs for the King's service (16); of which, about the same time, Lord Broghill gave ample accounts, and adds also some very odd instances of his own watchings over Lord Lorne's conduct, and corrupting persons in his service (17). In the spring of the year 1657, General Monk thought fit to commit Lord Lorne to prison, which was a very usual thing whenever any stirs were apprehended in Scotland (18). But Lord Broghill did not think even this enough, and therefore he recommended the bringing him prisoner into England (19). Thus it very plainly appears, that if suffering be a proof of loyalty, no man's loyalty had better and more frequent testimonies to support it than Lord Lorne's. But this is not all, in one of his imprisonments an accident befel him, which brought him to the very brink of the grave. It was a custom then, as indeed it still is in Scotland, more especially in cold weather, for the soldiers to play at what they call long-bullets; and while the guards were thus employed, a bullet thrown with all the force a man's arm could give it, glanced from a stone and struck the Lord Lorne on the head, by which his scull was terribly fractured, so that he was forced to undergo the hazardous operation of the trepan, from which it was thought a miracle that he recovered (20). After all this, there is no great reason to wonder, that his Lordship should expect to be welcome to King Charles II. upon his Restoration, or that he might presume on his having some influence in favour of his father, if the Marquis of Argyle's conduct had stood in any need of it more than many others, who had not only submitted to the usurpers, but had laboured to establish their authority, and expressed the highest disrespect towards the King, who yet found ways and means afterwards to obtain a large share in his favour, while those who had served him from principles of conscience, in the way that their conscience would allow, were treated with relentless severity, or rather were delivered up to the fury of their enemies. For it is most certain, that the Marquis of Argyle's death was brought about, and his son's was very near being brought about, by a faction, which abused the King's authority, not only contrary to his inclination, but in express repugnance to his instructions (21); so that hardly such a scene of violence, under sanction of law, and covered by the approbation of a Parliament, ever appeared in any country, as there did in Scotland for the two years that succeeded the King's Restoration, when the Earls of Middleton and Glencairne were at the head of the adminstration, which they managed entirely for the service of their private interests, and the gratification of their resentments.

(1) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 608.

(2) Hist. of England, p. 682.

(3) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 57.

(4) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 478.

(5) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 564. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 27.

(6) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 59.

(7) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 580. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 4. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(8) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 4. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(9) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 574.

(10) It is printed in Scobell's Collections, and also by itself in a single sheet.

(11) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 609.

(12) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 49.

(13) Ibid. p. 162.

(14) Ibid. p. 245.

(15) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 13.

(16) Ibid. p. 319.

(17) Ibid. p. 323.

(18) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 81.

(19) Ibid. p. 436.

(20) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 106.

(21) See the Earl of Lauderdale's Charge against the Earl of Middleton in *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 206.

upon whom they chiefly depended of the injuries and injustice that was done him, he thought fit to communicate the success that had attended his endeavours to his friend the Lord Duffus by a letter (m). This letter was intercepted and carried to the Earl of Middleton, who finding his own and his friends views entirely disconcerted, exhibited this letter to the Parliament of Scotland as a libel upon their proceedings, and projected thereupon a new method of bringing things round again, by taking his Lordship's life, as he had done his father's (n). The Parliament of Scotland at that time, wholly at his devotion, concurred in this scheme; and June 24, 1662, sent up a representation to the King, setting forth, that the eldest son of the late Marquis of Argyle, had both spoken and written against their authority, and requested that he might be sent down to stand his tryal (o). The King upon reading the letter, on which this accusation was founded, acknowledged it to be indiscreet, but thought there was nothing criminal in it, which induced him to comply with their request, and to lay his commands upon Lord Lorne to go down to Edinburgh; which he did; and on the very day of his arrival, which was July 17, he appeared in Parliament, and made a handsome speech in his own justification; notwithstanding which, he was immediately committed close prisoner to the Castle, and a process commenced against him, for what in the Scotch laws is stiled leasing-making, that is, for creating dissention between the King and his subjects, by giving the former false and lying informations (p). Lord Lorne insisted in his own defence, that there was nothing in his letter of that nature, that he spoke only of his justifying himself against lies that had been told the King to his prejudice, but had accused no body, or pretended to have grounds for accusing any. But those he had to do with showed very little regard to his defence, for on the 26th of August following, they condemned him to lose his head and to forfeit all his estate; but they were so merciful, as to leave the day of his execution to the King's pleasure (q), which, yet perhaps they had not done if His Majesty by his letter to the Earl of Middleton had not positively commanded him not to proceed to any sentence whatever, for he had no conception that any set of men would have turned so slight a thing into a capital offence without his approbation and consent. When this news came to England it filled the Court with astonishment, and the Earl of Clarendon was the first person to declare, that if the King suffered such a precedent to take place, he would get out of his dominions as fast as his gout would let him (r). Yet his Lordship suffered a long and severe imprisonment, for he was not discharged out of the Castle till the 4th of June 1663, after the Earl of Middleton had lost his power, and his own friends were come into favour (s). Soon after he was restored to his grandfather's title and estate, and part of his father's was ordered to be sold for the payment of debts (t). The King having once taken this step, returned to his natural inclination for a person in whom he had formerly so entire a confidence; and as a farther mark of his favour, was pleased to order that he should be sworn a Privy-Counsellor (u). In this capacity he was a great support to the Earl of Lauderdale so long as his adminstration was carried on with any kind of temper or discretion, but he never concurred in any of his violences; but on the contrary, studied all he could to soften, if not prevent them (w). The principles of both Earls were very near alike; the only difference was, that the Earl of Argyle acted as close to his as possible; whereas the conduct of the Earl of Lauderdale was directly opposite to his sentiments. He made it his business to carry the Prerogative high, because he had the sole power of directing it; and he maintained the Bishops in Scotland with a high hand, tho' a rigid Presbyterian in his heart, because he thought this necessary to sustain his influence at Court (x). It is inconceivable what troubles this created in Scotland, where Dr Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, was in a manner at the head of the domestick administration, who had much of Laud's spirit, only he had better parts, with regard to his publick character. This management drove the zealous Presbyterians in 1666 into a rebellion in the West, upon which the Earl of Argyle to show his loyalty, raised fifteen hundred men, but the Archbishop took care they should not be employed; and the rebels being defeated by the King's regular troops on the 27th of November the same year, many were executed for this weak and foolish insurrection, and many more had been executed if the King had not interposed, and positively commanded that such as would promise to live quietly, should not only be spared, but be set at liberty (y). The adminstration proceeded afterwards with still greater violence, and Lauderdale, who was now created a Duke, began to forsake his old friends who were not inclined to go all the lengths he would have them. Amongst these was the Earl of Argyle, who, tho' he lost the confidence of the Minister for some time, yet was known to stand so well with the King, and had such an interest in his country, that it was not thought proper to remove him, either from the board as a Privy-Counsellor, or from his place as one of the Lords of the Treasury (z). In 1678, things came to a great crisis, the Western part of the kingdom was grown universally disaffected; and to root out this bad disposition, the Duke of Lauderdale contrived, or at least consented, to an odd remedy, which was bringing down the Highlanders upon them; this had such dreadful effects, that some who had been hitherto his friends, could not help complaining of it, and even suggesting, that they would carry their complaints to the throne; upon which a proclamation was published, forbidding men of quality to go out of the kingdom without licence; but notwithstanding this, the Earls of Athol and Perth, who were both Privy-Counsellors, went up to London to set forth their grievances, where, however, they were but indifferently received, tho' the King took a resolution to put the government of that

(m) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 148.

(n) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135.

(o) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 121.

(p) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 151. Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135.

(q) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 131. Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 149.

(r) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 133. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 149.

(s) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 188.

(t) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 305.

(u) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 21. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 205.

(w) Memoirs of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution, p. 215. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 211.

(x) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 255. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 101.

(y) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 259. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 237. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 827.

(z) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 259. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 292.

(a) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 496. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p 418, 419. Memoirs of Scotland, p. 395.

(b) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 400. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1015. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 510.

(c) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 195. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 512.

(d) From the information of the first Earl of Cromarty, grandfather to the Earl condemned for the last Rebellion. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520.

(e) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1015. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 513.

(f) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 513. See also the Earl's Speech at his trial.

(g) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 195.

(h) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 519, 520. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1015.

(i) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 206, 207. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520. The Case of the Earl of Argyle.

(k) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 463.

kingdom into other hands (a). In the midst of all these disturbances, the Earl of Argyle maintained his wonted moderation, he sent no troops to the Highland army, nor did he join in attacking the Ministry. Publick affairs being in a great confusion in England, His Majesty thought fit to send his brother, the Duke of York, in 1681, down to Scotland; where, upon his first arrival, he behaved with such mildness and modesty, with so good a temper, and with so much moderation, that the Nobility were extremely pleased, and the greatest part of the nation perfectly satisfied (b). His Royal Highness was particularly obliging to the Earl of Argyle; he was well acquainted with the great power he had, saw the general esteem he was in, and from thence formed such a notion of his influence, that there is but too much reason to believe, he took a resolution, either to delude or to destroy him (c). In order to this, he took pains to sift him on several heads, but chiefly with respect to the government in Scotland, and the part he would take, in case the King was either inclined to or forced upon an Act of Exclusion. The Earl answered him candidly and fairly; he gave him the strongest assurances of his service, so long as the Protestant Religion was not struck at; if any such thing should happen, he frankly declared he would oppose him. On the other hand, he intimated, that his duty to the King was entire, and should be so to him, when he became so; but till that happened, he would always adhere to his Royal Master (d). The Duke, upon this grew cold towards him, but was still as civil, or rather more civil than ever. Upon the opening of the Parliament, two laws were proposed; the first, for confirming those in being against Popery; the second, making it High-Treason to propose any alteration in the succession; the former, was intended to please the people; the latter, for the security of his Royal Highness (e). In the first, the Earl concurred as might well be expected; but he went into the latter, with a warmth, somewhat unusual to him; and many thought, that this would have perfectly established him with the Duke, who spoke of his conduct on that occasion, in terms of the highest gratitude and respect (f). There was a third Act passed for establishing a test, by which all who were in employment, or should be so, were obliged to take an oath, not to attempt any change in the constitution of Church or State. What the real intention and design of this law was, is very hard to say; but certain it is, that it became the occasion of much discontent and confusion; the Earl of Argyle opposed it in Parliament, where he behaved himself with the greatest steadiness and constancy, tho' he could not help seeing that very deep and dangerous designs were formed against him (g) [B]. After the law was passed, many of the Nobility expressed their scruples about the oath; others, absolutely refused it; and the Marquis of Queensbury would not take it without an explanation. The Earl of Argyle thought the same thing necessary; and being summoned to take the oath as a Privy-Counsellor, he drew up a short explanation, which he sent to the Duke of York for his approbation; and having received it, gave it as his sense of the oath, November 3d, 1681, when he took and signed it as a Privy-Counsellor (h). The Privy-Council themselves explained the oath that very day, in terms not very different from Argyle's. He took his seat at the board afterwards, and his Royal Highness seemed very well pleased with him, and spoke more kindly than he had done for some time before. The next day, the Earl was summoned to take the oath again as a Commissioner of the Treasury, where he offered the same explanation, when he was desired to sign it, which he refused to do (i). The next day, he went to wait upon the Duke, who appeared displeased, and desired him not to go out of town; the same command was repeated by the Privy-Council, and the term fixed to their next meeting, which was on the eighth. They then sent up a complaint of the Earl's explanation to the King; and the same day ordered the Earl to surrender himself prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh; which he did (k). In the next place, without staying for His Majesty's answer, they commenced a prosecution at first, as it seems, for a high misdemeanour, but soon after, they changed their resolution and caused him to be indicted before the Justiciary for high-treason (l). At this time, some persons having represented to the Duke, that it would look strange to take away so great a man's life and fortune, upon such a pretence; he answered as in a surprize, *Life and fortune! God forbid* (m)! What he meant by this is very uncertain, nor is it possible to discover, whether he made others his tools to destroy this noble person, or whether those who meant to destroy the Earl made him theirs (n). However it was, the prosecution was driven on with the most indecent fury, and notwithstanding the general exclamation it occasioned, the Earl was brought to his tryal on the twelfth of December, where, notwithstanding his own and Sir George Lockhart's most admirable speeches, he was found guilty, to the eternal reproach of all who had any concern in that most infamous mockery of justice (o) [C]. The

(l) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 210. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520.

(m) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 210.

(n) This is a point, that even Bishop Burnet does not seem willing to decide, though, at that time, he was as conversant in publick affairs as most men.

(o) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 464.

[B] *Were formed against him.*] In the debating the Test Act, the Earl of Argyle opposed the proviso for exempting the lawful brothers and sons of the reigning King, from taking the oath prescribed thereby, which, as the Bishop of Edinburgh told him, provoked his Royal Highness extremely (22). The pretence of falling upon him was, to deprive him of his heretable offices, in which he had been twice confirmed by Parliament; and to this purpose, two attempts were made in that Session, but without effect (23). It was given out, that nothing more was intended by this capital prosecution, than to force him to surrender them; but this was probably contrived to amuse the King; and granting it to be true, is the clearest proof of the wickedness of the whole proceeding (24).

[C] *In that most infamous mockery of justice.*] In order to have a due conception of the manner in which this affair was carried on in as narrow compass as it is possible, it is necessary to see the Earl's explanation, made before his Royal Highness the Duke of York

(22) Wodrow's Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 209.

(23) Ibid. p. 205.

(24) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 521, compare with what is said by the Prelates Sprat, Parker, and Kennet, in their accounts of this transaction.

The Privy-Council, upon this, wrote for the King's leave to proceed to sentence, of which the Earl having private intelligence, sent up a gentleman to Court, in order to procure him the best account he could of the King's disposition (*p*). Before he could have any return from this messenger, his Lordship received many notices from his friends in Scotland, of circumstances no way favourable; such as, that the Duke refused to hear any intercession; that few of his friends had any farther credit with his Royal Highness; and that orders were given for preparing rooms for him in the common goal, to which Noblemen were sometimes removed a few days before their execution (*q*). These notices induced him to think of his escape, and of contriving the means of it, but he was not absolutely fixed in his resolution till the twentieth of December, when he had letters from London, that did not give him any great hopes of the King's being unalterable in his desire of saving him, and as he was apprehensive of being removed the very next day, he resolved not to delay his escape a moment. Accordingly, about eight o'clock at night, not without some difficulty, he got out of the castle, and in a few days safely out of Scotland into the South of England, and from thence to London (*r*). Upon receiving the King's letter of permission, the Council thought fit to direct, that sentence should be publickly proclaimed at the Cross, notwithstanding the Earl's absence, and the application of the Countess of Argyle upon that account. The sentence was accordingly published, and his arms torn at the Cross of Edinburgh, as if he had been in open rebellion and had fled from justice (*s*). While the Earl was at London, he was not so cautious in concealing himself as might have been expected; so that the Court had frequent accounts of him, of which no great notice was taken. It is certain that the King had a very good opinion of him, and discouraged all search after him. A person who thought he had done a mighty thing, put into his Majesty's hand a note, signifying that the Earl of Argyle might be easily found. The King tore it with some indignation, saying, *Poh, poh, hunt a hunted partridge, for shame* (*t*)! As soon as he had an opportunity, the Earl went over to Holland, where he continued during the remaining part of that reign. Upon the accession of King James, many of the gentlemen of Scotland, that had been obliged to fly their native country, by the violent proceedings of the persons entrusted with power there, began to press the Earl of Argyle to make some attempt upon that kingdom, which he might the more probably be inclined to do, because he looked upon his attainder to have dissolved entirely all the obligations he was under as a subject. Besides, he considered the government in Scotland as unsettled, the King not having as yet taken the coronation-oath, and therefore he thought himself at liberty to make some attempt, for recovering the constitution by force of arms (*u*). He concerted his design with the Duke of Monmouth, who was at the same time to try what impression he could make in England, but he promised the Earl of Argyle, that he would not declare himself King, which however he did, and this proved very prejudicial to them both (*w*). The Earl carried on his preparations with great secrecy, and bought up arms in the name of a person who was an agent for the State of Venice,

(*p*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 522.

(*q*) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*r*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 523. Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*s*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 465, 466. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1016. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 401.

(*t*) From private information by a person of indubitable credit.

(*u*) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 431. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1058. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 630.

(*w*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1060. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 633.

York, and the whole Privy-Council; it was in these words (25):

'I have considered the test, and I am very desirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident, the Parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths; therefore, I think no man can explain it, but for himself. Accordingly, I take it, as far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant Religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind up myself in my station, and in a lawful way, to wish and endeavour any alteration, I think, to the advantage of Church and State, nor repugnant to the Protestant Religion and my loyalty. And this, I understand, as a part of my oath.'

It is very remarkable, that Queensbury, who was then Lord Justice General of Scotland, and who presided in the Judicature, before which the Earl of Argyle was tried for High-Treason, had himself scrupled the test, and had explained himself, precisely to the same purpose, before he would take it (26). It was no wonder, therefore, that he was unwilling to give his casting vote against the Earl, as to the relevancy of the libel; and therefore, two of the Judges, men of very fair characters, and firmly attached to the Court, declaring directly against the legality of the indictment, as two other Lords of very different characters were for it; it was found necessary, to call the old Lord Nairn out of his bed, who was so deaf, that he could hear little of it, and so infirm, that he could not sit the cause out, who joining the other two Lords, this difficulty was got over (27). The Assize or Jury that passed upon the Earl, were the persons following: Marquis Montrose, Earl of Middleton, Earl of Airlie, Earl of Perth, Earl of Dalhousie, Earl of Roxburgh, Earl of Dumfries, Earl of Linlithgow, Lord of Lindores, Lord Sinclair, Lord Bruntisland, Laird of Gosford, Laird of Claverhouse, Laird of Balnamon, Laird of Park-Gordon. The verdict they gave, was as follows. 'The Assize, having elected and chosen the Marquis of Montrose to be their Chancellor (equivalent to our Foreman) they all in one voice find the Earl of Argyle guilty, and culpable of the crimes of treason, leasing-making and leasing-telling; and find by plurality of votes, the said Earl innocent, and not guilty of Perjury (28).' The latter part of the verdict was intended to qualify the former, and to give the world some notion of the probity and fair dealing of this Jury, who would not find the Earl guilty in the lump, of High-Treason and Perjury both. There was, however, nothing due to them, for the Lords of the Justiciary had before determined, that the Earl having proposed his declaration previous to his taking the oath, could not be guilty of Perjury (29). The whole of this business was dispatched at one sitting December 12, 1681, and the verdict given in after ten o'Clock at night, without so much as calling upon the Earl, or hearing him in his own defence, after the evidence produced, which he expected, and had prepared a long speech for the occasion (30). It has been pretended, that the Earl was frighted into his escape, by those, who, tho' they wanted not good will, durst not have executed this sentence, if he had staid; but there is little reason to believe this, since, upon the King's letter to allow their publishing their sentence, but requiring them to stay the execution of any part of it, till his pleasure was known; they not only proclaimed the sentence at the Cross, December 23, 1681, but also caused the Earl's Coat of Arms to be torn, which was part of their sentence, and an illegal part (31) of it too; so that they executed it to the utmost of their power, and in direct disobedience to the King's command. It was upon this sentence, that by King James IId's express command, the Earl afterwards suffered (32).

(25) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 442.

(26) Wodrow's Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 196.

(27) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 521. Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 211.

(28) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 464.

(29) Idem, ibid.

(30) Wodrow's Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(31) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 466. Sir G. Mackenzie's Criminals, p. 61.

(32) Wodrow's Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 539. The King's Order is dated White-hall, Jun. 22, 1685.

[D] The

Venice, but his stock did not go any great way, and the number of persons he carried over, was far from being considerable. He sailed North about, and had a very prosperous voyage; but sending a boat ashore to the Orkneys, and being obliged to leave her by the winds changing, the government had very early intelligence at Edinburgh of his being at sea; upon which, orders were immediately sent for securing such gentlemen in Argyleshire, as were suspected by them (x). By this precaution, the Earl's design, was in a manner ruined; for he looked upon it, that after his landing, he should very soon be five thousand strong; whereas, he was never able to collect above half that number; and even these, were not all of them determined, for the face of things, and the temper of men's minds, were by this time very much changed, the severity of the government having frighted some, and despirited all; so that those who joined him, were far from having the courage and alacrity that he expected. He had still hopes of increasing his body of men; and this led him into Kintyre; but his endeavours were ineffectual (y). On the 27th of May, he came with his forces, which were not above fifteen hundred men to the Tarbet; and there he published his Declaration. His own intention was, to have marched from thence to Inverary, but the principal persons about him differing from him in opinion, his measures were disconcerted, and soon after all things fell into confusion; and he endeavouring to make his escape, was taken by five country fellows, who carried him prisoner to Glasgow; from whence, on the 20th of June, an order came for carrying him up to Edinburgh; where it was very soon resolved to put him to death upon his former sentence; and he was accordingly beheaded, June 30, 1685 (z). He showed great calmness, constancy, and courage under his misfortunes; he eat his dinner, the day of his death very chearfully; and, according to his custom, slept after it, a quarter of an hour, or more, very soundly. At the place of execution, he made a short, grave, and religious speech; and after declaring solemnly, that he forgave all his enemies, he submitted to death, with as much firmness and composure of mind, as ever man did (a). His epitaph, written by himself, not long before his death, the reader will find in the notes. [D]. After the Revolution, his son, who came over with the Prince of Orange, was admitted into the Convention, as Earl of Argyle, tho' his father's attainder was not reversed; and in the Claim of Rights, the sentence against him, was declared to be, what most certainly it was, *a reproach upon the nation* (b). That noble person was afterwards raised by letters patents dated June 23, 1701, to the title of Duke of Argyle; and at the same time, was created Marquis of Kintyre, and Lorne, Earl of Campbell and Cowel, &c (c). He was the father of the late Field-Marshal, John, Duke of Argyle, created Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich by Queen Anne in 1705 (d); and raised to the title of Duke of Greenwich, April 30, 1719, by his late Majesty King George I (e); as also of his Grace, Archibald, now Duke of Argyle.

(x) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 531, 532. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1059. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 631.

(y) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 433. Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 532, 533, 534. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 632.

(z) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 433. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1016. Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 541. State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 466. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 463.

(a) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 441, 442; as well as from private informations of persons who were eye-witnesses.

(b) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 537.

(c) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 22.

(d) Pointer's Chronolog. Hist. Vol. II. p. 533.

(e) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 452.

[D] *The reader will find in the notes.*] It is asserted, that this noble person wrote these lines that follow, upon the day before his execution; so that, in that light, they may be considered, as a very strong instance of the quiet of his conscience, and of the serenity of his mind. But besides this, they may be read to another end; for in them, we see plainly his sentiments of the cause in which he died, and that to his very last moment, he remained persuaded, that he had done nothing contrary to the laws of his country, or consequently to the laws of God. For it appears, as well from these verses, as from his declaration, that the Earl of Argyle did not look on himself as a rebel, or upon the person he opposed, as a King. His opinion was, that the Royal authority and the Constitution, went together; and that the violation of the latter, took away the former; so that the allegiance of the subject was no longer due to the Prince, than he continued to him that protection stipulated by the Constitution. Bishop Burnet, in his account of the Earl's expedition (33), represents the miscarriage of it, as owing to his assuming too much power. Mr Wodrow has shown, that it was really brought about by his not having power enough (34); and that this was the Earl's own sentiment, the following lines most clearly discover, which are still to be seen on his monument, in the Gray-Friers church-yard, at Edinburgh.

(33) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 632, 633.

(34) Wodrow's Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 531, 532, 533.

Thou passenger, that shalt have so much time
To view my grave, and ask what was my crime;
No stain of error, no black vice's brand
Was that which chas'd me from my native land.
Love to my country, twice sentenc'd to die,
Constrain'd my hands forgotten arms to try,
More by friends frauds my fall proceeded hath,
Than foes; tho' now they thrice decreed my death.
On my attempt, tho' providence did frown,
His oppress'd people, God at length shall own.
Another hand, by more successful speed,
Shall raise the remnant, bruise the serpent's head.
Tho' my head fall, that is no tragick story,
Since going hence, I enter endless glory.

This epitaph was translated into the following elegant Latin verses, by the reverend Mr William Jamison, History Lecturer in the University of Glasgow. It is to be observed, that the two last are Mr Jamison's own, and contain his character of the noble person to whom they relate, and his sentiments also of the cause in which he suffered. It must be allowed, that the sense is strong, and the language smooth and classical.

Audi hospes, quicunque venis, tumulumque revisis,
Et rogitas quali crimine tinctus eram.
Non me crimen habet, non me malus abstulit error,
Et vitium nullum me pepulit patria.
Solus amor patriæ, verique immensa cupido,
Dissuetas jussit sumere tela manus.
Opprimor, en! rediens, vi sola, & fraude meorum,
Hostibus & sævis victima terna cado.
Sit licet hic noster labor irritus, haud Deus æquus
Despiciet populum secula cuncta suum.
Namque alius veniet fatis melioribus ortus,
Qui toties ruptum fine beabit opus.
Sat mihi credo datum (quamvis caput ense secetur)
Hinc petor ætherei lucida templa poli.

Hic situs est heros indigna morte peremptus,
Heu! decus hic patriæ, proditur a patria. G. J.

These two lines have been thus translated.

A hero's dust, these sacred stones contain;
Shameful his death, his life, without a stain.
He fell alas! thro' fortune's fierce assault,
His country's glory, by his country's fault.

E

CAPEL

CAPEL (ARTHUR) created Baron Capel of Hadham in 1641, was the son of Sir Henry Capel Knt. [*A*], and Theodosia, sister to Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton, and to Henry Earl of Manchester (*a*). What school and University he was educated in, is no where mentioned; but there is all the reason to think, that he had an education suitable to his quality and fortune. At his first appearance into the world, he became very eminent for his piety [*B*], hospitality to his neighbours, and great charity to the poor; which so endeared him to the people, that he was chosen one of the Knights for Hertfordshire (*b*), in the Parliament which met at Westminster April 13, 1640 (*c*). The sixteenth of that month, he delivered a petition from the free-holders of the county of Hertford, complaining of ship-money, projects, monopolies, Star-Chamber, High-Commission-Courts, &c. being the first of that kind which was presented to the House (*d*). From whence it may be inferred, that he was a true lover of his country, and an enemy to oppressions of all sorts. This Parliament being soon after (*e*) abruptly dissolved, Mr Capel was unanimously chosen again one of the Knights for the county of Hertford, in the Long Parliament, which began November 3, 1640 (*f*). When the city of London promised to advance an hundred thousand pounds, for the payment of the English and Scotch armies, and wanted security for that sum, till an Act was passed for the raising of it; he stood up in the House, and offered his security for one thousand pounds, and above a hundred more of the House did the like (*g*). He was one of those who voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder, April 21, 1641 (*h*); of which he very much repented afterwards [*C*]. Hitherto, he had acted against the Court, but now he began to alter his inclinations, and to act in favour of it: either because he was gained by the King, or could not come into all the violent measures which the House of Commons were running into. In consequence of this change, he was, on the sixth of August 1641, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Capel of Hadham (*i*). On the fifteenth of June 1642, he subscribed, at York, among several other Lords, a Declaration wherein they testified, they were fully persuaded that his Majesty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament (*k*). Two days after, he entered into an engagement, to raise a hundred Horse [*D*] for his Majesty's use (*l*). In 1643, the King sent him to Shrewsbury, with a Commission of Lieutenant-General of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North-Wales; and his Lordship quickly brought those parts into an Association, and raised a body of horse and foot, which gave Sir William Brereton great trouble at Nantwich (*m*). The same year, he was named one of the Counsellors to the Prince of Wales; being designed to attend his person, with a regiment of horse, and one of foot, which the Lord Capel was to raise upon his own credit and interest, and to have the command of (*n*). In 1644-5 he was one of the Commissioners for the King at the treaty of Uxbridge (*o*). The summer following, he was employed in the King's and Prince's service in the West of England, chiefly at Bristol and Exeter, and about the siege of Taunton (*p*). He prevented a design that was formed, of seizing the Prince (*q*); and was very instrumental in preserving and securing his person in Pendennis-castle, and afterwards in Scilly-island (*r*): where he waited upon his Highness, on the eleventh of April, 1646 (*s*), and the sixteenth and seventeenth of that month, sailed along with him to Jersey (*t*). From thence he was sent with the Lord Colepepyr to Paris, to dissuade the Queen from sending for her son, the Prince of Wales, out of Jersey (*u*). And so bent was he against that Prince's going to France, that he offered to take a journey himself to Newcastle (where King Charles then was in the hands of the Scots) to receive the King's positive commands about that affair (*w*): But, notwithstanding the very material reasons he gave against his Highness's going to France [*E*], the Queen's

(*a*) Peerage of England, &c. by A. Collins, Lond. 1735, 8vo, Vol. II. P. i. p. 272. Hist. of Essex by N. Tindal, in Rayne parva, No. ii. p. 82. British Compen. in Capel Earl of Essex.

(*b*) Collins, and Tindal, ibid.

(*c*) Rushworth's Historical Collections, &c. Part ii. Vol. II. edit. 1680, p. 1107.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 1127, 1128.

(*e*) Viz. May 5.

(*f*) Rushworth, Part iii. Vol I.

(*g*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 6.

(*h*) See Trial of the Earl of Strafford, by J. Rushworth. State Worthies, by D. Lloyd, second edit. 1679, p. 1022.

(*i*) Pat. 17 Car. I. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 466. Peerage of England by A. Collins, ubi supra, p. 273.

(*k*) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. by Edward Earl of Clarendon, Vol. I. Part ii. edit. 1731, 8vo, p. 655, 656.

(*l*) See List, at the end of the King's Answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons presented to his Majesty at York, June 17, 1642. Printed at London, 1642, 4to.

(*m*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 146.

(*n*) Clarend. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 560—602.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 575. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 125. Relation of the Treaty at Uxbridge, at the end of Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in Engl. Oxon. 1681.

(*p*) Clarend. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 634, 637, 645, 703, 704, 705.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 732.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 734.

(*s*) Clarend. Vol. III. Part i. p. 2.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 7.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 14, 15.

[*A*] *Was the son of Sir Henry Capel, Knt.*] The first that laid the foundation of riches, for supporting the honour of this family, was, *William Capel* of London, Draper, knighted in 1485, Sheriff in 1489, and Lord Mayor of London in 1503 (1); being the second son of John Capel, of Stoke-Neyland in the county of Suffolk, Esq; descended from an ancient family, who were Lords of the manor of Capel in that town for several ages. Sir William suffered, among others, from the extortions of Empson and Dudley, to whom he was forced to pay 2000 *l.* and refusing to pay them 1000 *l.* more, was committed to the Tower, but soon after released upon the death of King Henry VII. He died, immensely rich, September 6. 1515, and was buried in a chapel built by him on the south-side of St Bartholomew's church, near the Royal-Exchange in London (2). His descendents, were, Sir *Giles* Capel, Knt. who resided at Raines-hall in Essex, and was a brave warrior: Sir *Henry* Capel: Sir *Edward*, Knts. Sir *Henry*, Knt. who had ten children: Sir *Arthur*, Knt. who had nineteen. The eldest of them, was Sir *Henry*, Knt. father of *Arthur* Lord Capel, who is the subject of this article. Sir Giles, Sir Edward, Sir Henry, and Sir Arthur, were successively Sheriffs of Hertfordshire (3).

[*B*] *He became very eminent for his piety.*] As a proof of which, he writ a Book of *Meditations*, published after his death (4); wherein much judicious piety may be discovered.

[*C*] *He——voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder——of which he repented afterwards,*] As appears by his speech on the scaffold, in which he thus expresses himself upon that point. '——I do here profess to you, that truly I did give my vote to that bill of the Earl of Strafford; I doubt not but God Almighty hath washed that away with more precious blood, and that is, with the blood of his own son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ;——truly this I may say, I had not the least part, nor the least degree of malice, in the doing of it; but I must confess again to God's glory, and the accusation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my nature, that truly it was an unworthy cowardize, not to resist so great a torrent as carried that business at that time. And truly, this I think I am most guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none———(5).'

[*D*] *He entered into an engagement to raise an hundred horse.*] He raised in all for the King about 900 horse at his own charge, and lent him twelve thousand pounds in money and plate (6).

[*E*] *He gave material reasons against the Prince's going to France.*] In the first place he thought it advisable, to take no final resolution, till farther notice was received of the King's pleasure. Next, he observed,

(1) Stow's Survey of London with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Book v. p. 127. Vol. II.

(2) Ibid. p. 182. and Peerage of England by A. Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 270.

(3) Collins, ibid. and Hist. of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, p. 364.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, in Hertfordshire, p. 29.

(5) Speeches of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, &c. upon the Scaffold, &c. Printed at London in 1649, 4to.

(6) Hist. of Essex, ubi supra.

Queen's and Lord Digby's arguments prevailed (*x*). After the Prince's departure to France, Lord Capel remained in Jersey, to expect the King's pleasure, and to wait for an opportunity of appearing again in his Majesty's service (*y*). In the mean-time the House of Commons voted, that his estate should be sold to raise money for Ireland (*z*). In the year 1647 he left Jersey, and made a journey to Paris to the Prince, that he might receive his Highness's approbation of his going for England: which having obtained, he came to Zealand, his friends having advised him to be in those parts before they endeavoured to procure a pass for him, which they easily did as soon as he came thither (*a*): Whereupon he crossed over into England, and having made his composition with the usurping powers, retired to his manor of Hadham in Hertfordshire (*b*), where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated no where (*c*). Some time after, he took an opportunity to wait upon the King at Hampton-Court, and gave him a particular account of all that had passed at Jersey, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the Council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majesty had never before been thoroughly informed. The King imparted to him all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had made to him: That he did really believe, it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations; in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the Presbyterians in England: and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other: and therefore desired Lord Capel to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promised to do effectually (*d*). Accordingly that Lord was, from the first, made privy to the Scots designs, of entering England with a powerful army, in order to set the King at liberty, and restore him to his throne (*e*); being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the Presbyterians, nor communicate their purposes to them (*f*). When he thought the project was in good forwardness, he writ, in the beginning of May 1648, to Sir Edward Hyde, to send for the Prince of Wales to Jersey, that he might be in a readiness to pass over to England (*g*). At the same time he was very active in Hertfordshire, in raising forces for the King's service (*h*), with which he joined the Earl of Norwich, and Sir Charles Lucas, in Essex (*i*). Those brave gentlemen having gathered together a body of about four thousand men, went and shut themselves up with them in Colchester (*k*), where they endured a long and close siege from the twelfth of June to the twenty-eighth of August (*l*). During which, the Lord Capel was one of the most resolute [*F*], and indefatigable in the defence of that place (*m*). Upon the surrender of it, he was forced to yield himself to the mercy of the Lord General [*G*], and afterwards was assured of quarter (*n*). Whereupon he was remitted to the Parliament for further publick justice and mercy, to be used as they should see cause (*o*). But not behaving with so much condescension as was expected from a man in his circumstances [*H*], he was, on that account chiefly, sacrificed to his enemies passion and revenge (*p*). From Colchester he was sent prisoner to Windsor-castle (*q*); where whilst he remained (on the twenty-fifth of September, 1648) an Act of Attainder was ordered by the House of Commons to be brought in against him (*r*). Hearing of it, he sent and informed the House, that quarter was given him by the General, who had writ to the House to that purpose (*s*). Whereupon, the Lord Fairfax being

(*x*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 29.

(*z*) Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 223. In 1644 they granted 300*l*. out of his woods to the widows of two persons slain in the Parliament's service. Idem, p. 98.

(*a*) Clarend. ubi supra, p. 70.

(*b*) Peerage of England by A. Collins, ubi supra, p. 273.

(*c*) Clarend. ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 72.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 130.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 131.

(*h*) Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 311.

(*i*) Ibid. and Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 154.

(*k*) Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 312. Clarend. Vol. III. P. i. p. 154, 155.

(*l*) See Relation of the honourable and unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester, by M. Carter, 1650, Reprinted in 1740.

(*m*) See Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 313, 315, 318, 321.

(*n*) Letter from Lord Fairfax to the House of Lords, concerning the Surrender of Colchester, Aug. 29, 1648.

(*o*) Ibid. Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 333.

(*p*) Clarend. Vol. III. Part i. p. 178, 179.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 179.

(*r*) Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 338.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 341.

served, that if the Court of France had so great a desire, as was pretended, that the Prince of Wales should repair thither, it was a wonder, in the two months his Highness had been in Jersey, they had never sent a gentleman to see him, and invite him to come over; nor had those who came to him from the Queen, brought so much as a pass for him to come into France: That all they had hitherto proposed to themselves from France, had proved in no degree answerable to expectation; as the five thousand foot which the French had promised to send into the West of England, before the Prince's departure from thence. That they had more reason to be jealous than ever, since it had been by the advice of France, that the King had put himself into the hands of the Scots; and therefore they ought to be more watchful in disposing of the person of the Prince, by their advice, likewise (7).

[*F*] *The Lord Capel was one of the most resolute.*] Mr Whitelock informs us (8), That he, and the Lord Goring, carried things very high: And that once, General Fairfax having sent a summons to them, to surrender the town to the service of the Parliament, they returned for answer, That if any more letters of that kind were sent to them, they would hang up the messenger (9). The Lord Capel in particular, during the siege, marched himself a-foot, with a halberd on his shoulder, in the head of his company to the guard, that none might make any scruple or exception against the service (10).

[*G*] *He was forced to yield himself to the mercy of the General.*] When Lord Fairfax demanded, in one of his letters, That the persons of all the officers, above the quality of a Lieutenant, should render themselves to mercy; the Lord Capel, and the rest, unanimously resolved, not to yield to the mercy of any other, but that of God alone (11). However, a mutiny, and great discontents, arising among the besieged, as if the Officers, and the rest of the gentlemen, were resolved to break through the besiegers, and leave the private soldiers behind, exposed to the fury of their incensed enemies (12); the commanding officers were at length forced to submit to those hard terms, which they had at first so scornfully rejected. Though, as appears, by the sequel, they expected, and thought they had reason to expect, that their lives would be safe.

[*H*] *Not behaving with so much condescension, &c.*] After the execution of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, the Lord Fairfax, with the chief Officers, went to the Moot-hall to visit the prisoners, and told them, 'That having done what the military justice 'required, all the lives of the rest were safe, and they 'should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parlia-'ment should direct.' But the Lord Capel, telling them with some roughness, 'That they should do well 'to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to 'the rest;' there passed two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, as cost him his life in few months after (13).

(7) Clarendon, Vol. III. P. i. p. 26.

(8) Memorials, p. 318.

(9) Ibid. p. 321.

(10) Relation, &c. as above, by M. Carter, edit. 1650, p. 167.

(11) Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 332.

(12) Relation, &c. as above, by M. Carter, p. 184.

(13) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 178, 179.

[*I*] *That*

being called upon by the Commons, to explain his letter of the twenty-ninth of August to them, as to that point; answered, That it did not extend to any other but the military power, and that they were, notwithstanding, liable to trial and judgment by the Civil Power (*t*). The tenth of November following, the House voted, That he, and some others, should be banished out of the kingdom (*u*). But that punishment not being thought severe enough, he was removed to the Tower of London (*w*); and on the first of February 1648-9, it was voted, that he, the Lord Goring, and some others, should be the next persons to be proceeded against for justice (*x*). That same evening he escaped out of the Tower [*I*]. But strict search being made after him, and a hundred pounds reward offered for re-taking him; he was discovered and apprehended, two days after, at Lambeth, and committed again to the Tower (*y*). The tenth day of that month, he was brought before a High Court of Justice in Westminster-Hall (*z*), to be tried for treason and other high crimes (*a*). And though he strenuously insisted, that he was a prisoner to the Lord General, that he had conditions given him, and was to have fair quarter for his life [*K*], so that if all the magistrates in Christendom were combined together, they could not call him in question (*b*); yet his plea was over-ruled. The thirteenth he was brought again before the Court [*L*], when the Council moved, that he should be hanged, drawn, and quartered (*c*). However, on the sixth of March being brought a fifth time before the Court [*M*], he was condemned only to be beheaded (*d*). After his condemnation his Lady petitioned the Parliament, which occasioned a long debate (*e*), but at length it was voted [*N*], That he should not be reprieved (*f*). Accordingly, on the

(*t*) Ibid. p. 344.

(*u*) Idem, p. 348.

(*w*) Clarend. Vol. III. P. i. p. 269.

(*x*) Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 376.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 377. and Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*z*) Whereof about fifty of the Members were present. Whitelock, p. 380. See also Clarendon, Vol. III. P. i. p. 266, 267.

(*a*) Whitelock, ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 381.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 386.

(*e*) March 8.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 386. Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 270.

[*I*] *That same evening he escaped out of the Tower.*] Having a cord, and all things necessary conveyed to him, he let himself down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might best wade. Whether he hit upon the right place, or there was none safer, he found the water and the mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he must have perished, since the water came up to his chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of the mud so intolerable, that his spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help. But he got at last to the other side, where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple, where he remained two or three nights secure from any discovery. At length, a friend whom he trusted much, conceiving he might be more secure in a place to which there was less resort, and not so many harboured that were every day sought after, provided a lodging for him in a private-house in Lambeth-marsh. Calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple-stairs, than to trust one of that people with the secret; and it was so late, that there was only one boat left. In that the Lord Capel (as well disguised as he thought necessary) and his friend, put themselves, and bid the waterman row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their passage thither, the other gentleman called him *My Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealousy who he was, or knew him; when they were landed, the waterman, undiscerned, followed them till he saw into what house they went. And then he went to an officer, and demanded, 'What he would give 'him, to bring him to the place where the Lord Ca'pel lay.' The officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the house, where his Lordship was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower (14). Mr Whitelock says (15), that it was two watermen who discovered and apprehended him, for which they received forty pounds.

[*K*] *Was to have fair quarter for his life.*] The articles were, 'That the Lords, and all Captaines, and 'superiour officers, should render themselves to the mer'cy of the Lord General.' Which was thus explained at that time, 'That they be rendred, or render them'selves, to the Lord General, or whom he shall ap'point, without certaine assurance of quarter, so as the 'Lord General may be free to put some immediately 'to the sword, if he see cause, although he intends 'chiefly, and for the generality of those under that 'condition, to surrender them to the mercy of the Par'liament [illegible] General (16).' The Lord Capel had afterwards quarter granted him. See above.

[*L*] *The 13th he was brought again before the Court.*] And then it was made appear, by General Fairfax's Letter to the Parliament upon the surrender of Colchester, and the articles, with the explanation, of that surrender; as also by the testimony of Lord Fairfax himself, and of Ireton, Whaley, and Barksted, then present, 'That the Lord Capel was to have *fair 'quarter* for his life,' which was explained to be, 'a 'freedom from any execution of the sword, but not 'any protection from the judicial proceedings of a Ci'vil Court;' and *Mercy* was explained to be only 'from the promiscuous execution of the sword, but 'that he might be tried by a Council of War.' *But of this Learning*, as Mr Whitelock there rightly observes, *I hope none of this nation will have use hereafter*. It was also proved, 'That the articles were only 'to free him from the present power of the sword to 'take away his life.' And Colonel Barksted swore, 'That he told him, the day after the articles, that 'he believed the Parliament would proceed against 'them that were taken at Colchester, as traitors (17)'.

[*M*] *Being brought a fifth time before the Court.*] He was brought before it, for the third time, February 17, when he was questioned for his escape out of the Tower; and then he pleaded, 'That he did not escape 'as he was a prisoner of war, but as he was sent to the 'Tower in another condition.' The fourth time of his appearance before it, was the 21st of the same month, when he pleaded, 'That he was to be com'prehended wholly in the martial law; and urged the 'Articles again, which excepted trial after by Parlia'ment: That divers that were in Colchester in his 'condition, had compounded: That breaking prison 'for Treason, by Common Law, was but Felony, and 'benefit of Clergy might be had.' When he could not be allowed to be tried by Martial Law, then he moved, 'That he might not be barred of additional 'defence; and that, if he must be judged by the Com'mon Law, he hoped he might have the full benefit 'of it.' He recommended to the Court Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, &c. Moreover, he desired to see his Jury, and that they might see him, and to be tried by his Peers, and said, 'He believed, that a 'precedent could not be given, of a subject tried for 'his life, but either by bill in Parliament, or by a 'Jury.' But all he could say, was disregarded and rejected (18).

[*N*] *His Lady's petition occasioned a long debate, &c.*] When it was read, many gentlemen spoke on his behalf, and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; 'that he had never deceived them, or pretended 'to be of their party; but always resolutely declared 'himself for the King.' Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe;—but then he concluded——'That his affection to the publick so 'much weighed down his private friendship, that he 'could not but tell them, that the question was now, 'whether they would preserve the most bitter and most 'implacable enemy they had: that he knew the Lord 'Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last 'man in England, that would forsake the royal inte'rest;

(14) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 270.

(15) Memorials, ubi supra, p. 377.

(16) Articles for the Surrender of Colchester, Aug. 27, 1648.

(17) Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 381. See also Clarendon, Vol. III. P. i. p. 266, 267.

(18) Whitelock, p. 383.

the ninth of March, the day appointed for his execution, he was carried from St James's (†) in a ſedan, with a guard, to Sir Thomas Cotton's houſe at Weſtminſter; where he continued about two hours, which he ſpent moſtly in religious conference with Dr Morley, who attended him (*g*). Then being brought to the ſcaffold erected before Weſtminſter-hall, he made a ſpeech to the people [*O*]. After which, ſubmitting to the block, as Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Holland had done immediately before, he ſuffered death with great reſolution (*h*). His body being carried to Little-Hadham in Hertfordſhire, where he had a ſeat and eſtate, was buried in the chancel of that church (*i*). And a black marble was ſoon after laid over his grave, with an inſcription [*P*]. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Moryſon, Knt. of Caiſhiobury in Watford, Hertfordſhire, by whom he had four ſons; Arthur, of whom we ſhall give an account in the next article; Henry created Baron of Tewkſbury in 1692, and who died Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1696. Edward; and Charles: and four daughters (*k*). His character is thus given by the Earl of Clarendon (*l*). He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could diſcover but very few faults, and whom his friends could not wiſh better accompliſhed; whom Cromwell's own character well deſcribed (*m*), and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a ſtate of great plenty and general eſtimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by deſcent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a Lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous iſſue of both ſexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: ſo that no man was more happy in all his domeſtick affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them. And yet the King's honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt power invaded, than he threw all thoſe bleſſings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his own honour and conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engaged his perſon and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, in all actions and enterprizes of the greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one falſe ſtep. In a word, he was a man, that whoever ſhall, after him, deſerve beſt of the Engliſh nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the ballance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel.

(†) Where he, and the two other Lords, had been confined after their condemnation. Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 268.

(*g*) Account of the Execution, with the ſeveral Speeches of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, &c. publiſhed by authority. Lond. 1649, 4to. Whitelock, p. 387, 388. Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 271, 272.

(*h*) Ibid. He ſeemed rather to fright death than to be frighted with it, as Fuller obſerves. Worthies in Hertfordſhire, p. 29.

(*i*) The Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, fol. p. 282.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 466. Peerage of Engl. by A. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 273.

(*l*) Hiſt. Vol. III. Part i. p. 273.

(*m*) See note [*N*].

'reſt; that he had great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition ſoever he was in, he would be a thorn in their ſides, and therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, he ſhould give his vote againſt the petition.' Ireton's hatred was immortal: he ſpake of him, and againſt him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. And ſo, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few, who had a particular malice, or prejudice againſt him, he was caſt (19).

(19) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 270.

[O] *He made a ſpeech to the people.*] In which he firſt prays the God of all mercies, that thoſe who were the cauſe of his violent death, might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs mercies in Jeſus Chriſt, and beſeeches the God of Heaven, to forgive any injury they had done to him, 'From my ſoul, ſays he, I wiſh it.' Then he declares, 'That he was a Proteſtant, and very much in love with the profeſſion of it, after the manner as it was eſtabliſhed in England by the XXXIX Articles; a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch a one, as truly, ſays he, I never knew none ſo good.'—Soon after he ſays, 'Something I ſhall ſay to you as a citizen of the whole world, and in that conſideration I am here condemned to die, contrary to the law that governs all the world, that is, the Law of the Sword; I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it.———You that are Engliſhmen, behold here an Engliſhman now before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any law of England; nay, which is ſtrangeſt of all, contrary to all the laws of England that I know of.———I die, I take it, for maintaining the fifth Commandment, injoined by God himſelf, which injoins reverence and obedience to Parents, that is, to Magiſtracy and Order.'———Then ſpeaking of King Charles I——'Truly, in my opinion, ſays he, there was not a more virtuous, and more ſufficient Prince known in the world, than our gracious King Charles that died laſt.' After which, he gives a very great character of King Charles II. and beſeeches God to give him much happineſs, and to his ſubjects. He concludes, as he had begun, by praying, That God Almighty would confer of his infinite and ineſtimable grace and mercy, to thoſe that were the cauſers of his coming thither, and give them as much mercy as their own hearts could wiſh. 'Truly, ſays he, for my part, I will not accuſe any one of them of malice, truly I will not, nay I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor I will not examine, but let it be what it will, from my very ſoul I forgive them every one: And ſo the Lord of Heaven bleſs you all,' &c. And, after a little ſtop, he concluded, 'God Almighty bleſs all this people, God Almighty ſtench this blood, God Almighty ſtench, ſtench, ſtench this iſſue of blood; this will not do the buſineſs, God Almighty find out another way to do it.'———Dr Morley attended him from the time ſentence was paſſed upon him; but the ſoldiers ſtopping the Doctor at the foot of the ſcaffold, his Lordſhip took his leave of him, and ſaid he ſhould go no farther, apprehending that he might receive ſome affront from the populace (20).

(20) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 272.

[*P*] *A black marble was laid over his grave with an inſcription.*] Which runs thus. 'Here under lieth interred the Body of Arthur Lord Capel, Baron of Hadham, who was murthered for his Loyalty to King Charles I. March 9. 1648 (21).

(21) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire by N. Salmon, ubi ſupra, p. 282.

C

CAPEL (ARTHUR) eldeſt ſon of Arthur Lord Capel, mentioned in the laſt article, ſucceeded his father in his honour; and, after the reſtoration of King Charles II, on account, both of his father's loyalty and ſufferings, and his own perſonal merit, was advanced to the dignity of Viſcount Maldon, and Earl of Eſſex, April 20, 1661 (*a*), with remainder of the ſame honour, for want of iſſue male, to Henry Capel, Eſq; his brother, and the heirs male of his body; and, for want of ſuch iſſue, to Edward Capel, Eſq; his younger brother (*b*). He was alſo made *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Hertford; and, ſome time after, of the county of Wilts, during the minority of the Duke of

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 466. Peerage of Engl. by A. Collins, Eſq; Vol. II. P. i. edit. 1735. 8vo, p. 274.

(*b*) Collins, ibid.

of Somerset (*c*). In his younger years, his education was neglected, by reason of the civil wars; but, when he came to man's age, he learned the Latin tongue, and made a great progress in Mathematicks, and in all the other parts of learning. He knew our law and constitution well, and was a very thoughtful man. As he appeared early against the Court, King Charles imputing it to his resentments, resolved to make use of him; and accordingly, in 1670, sent him Embassador to Denmark (*d*), where his behaviour in the affair of the Flag gained him much reputation [*A*]. At his return, in 1672, he was sworn of the Privy-Council (*e*), and made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. How he came to be raised to this post he could never understand; for he had not pretended to it; and he was a violent enemy to Popery, not so much from any fixed principle in religion, in which he was too loose, as because he looked on it as an invasion made on the freedom of human nature (*f*). He began his journey towards Ireland July 22, with a very noble equipage, and arriving at Dublin, had, on August 5, the Sword of State delivered to him (*g*). In his government of that kingdom, he exceeded all that had gone before him, and was a pattern to all that should come after. He studied to understand well the constitution and interest of the nation. He read over all their council-books, and made large abstracts out of them, to guide him, so as to advance every thing that had been at any time set on foot for the good of the kingdom. He made several volumes of tables of the state, and persons that were in every county and town; and got true characters of all that were capable to serve the publick. And he preferred men always upon merit, without any application from themselves; and watched over all about him, that there should be no bribes going among his servants (*h*). But notwithstanding these noble qualifications, and his great services, he was recalled in 1677 (*i*), for complaining that payments were not regularly made in Ireland [*B*], and refusing to pass the accounts of the Earl of Ranelagh, who had the management of the revenue in that kingdom (*k*). Upon his return to England, he became one of the leading men in the House of Lords (*l*); and one of those that declared against the Earl of Danby (*m*). That Lord being soon after displaced, the Earl of Essex was admitted into the new Privy-Council, which was formed upon Danby's disgrace, and was one of those four leading members of it, who had the direction of affairs: the treasury likewise being put in commission, he was appointed first and chief Commissioner of it [*C*], on the twenty-first of April 1679 (*n*). But he resigned that office [*D*] the nineteenth of November following (*o*), and continued however still of the Privy-Council (*p*). When the exclusion of the Duke of York was debated in the House of Lords, the Earl of Essex appeared against it; and he, and the Earl of Halifax, proposed such limitations of the Duke's authority, when the crown should devolve on him [*E*], as would disable him from doing any harm in Church or

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. fol. 1724, Vol. I. p. 396.

(*e*) Collins, ubi supra; and Burnet.

(*f*) Burnet, p. 397.

(*g*) Compleat Hist. of England, by Kennet, edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 316.

(*h*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 397.

(*i*) Letter, in the 2d Vol. of R. Cox's Hist. of Ireland; before the Appendix, p. 14.

(*k*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 398.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 431.

(*m*) Rapin's Hist. of Engl. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 697, 704. He joined with the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Sunderland to press the King to change his counsels; for which he was much blamed. Burnet, ubi supra, p. 454.

(*n*) The Historian's Guide, in 1679. Kennet, ubi supra, p. 357. Burnet, ubi supra, p. 454.

(*o*) Historian's Guide, in 1679.

(*p*) Kennet, ubi supra, p. 367. Rapin, ubi supra, p. 704.

[*A*] *His behaviour in the affair of the Flag gained him great reputation.*] The King of Denmark had ordered the Governor of Croonenburgh to make all ships that passed strike to him. So when Lord Essex was sailing by, the Governor sent to him, either to strike to him, or to sail by in the night, or to keep out of his reach: otherwise he must shoot, first with powder, but next with ball. Lord Essex sent him a resolute answer, 'That the Kings of England made others 'strike to them, but their ships struck to none: He 'would not steal through in the dark, nor keep out of 'his reach; and if he shot at him he would defend 'himself.' The Governor did shoot at him, but on design shot over him: Or, according to some (1), tore his rigging. This was thought great bravery in his Lordship: Yet he reckoned, it was impossible the Governor would endeavour to sink a ship that brought an Embassador. Lord Essex's first business was to justify his behaviour in refusing to strike. Now, at his going from England, Sir John Cotton had desired him to take some volumes of his library that related to Danish affairs; which he took, without apprehending that he should have great occasion to use them: But this accident made him search into them. And he found very good materials to justify his conduct; since by formal treaties it had been expressly stipulated, that the English ships of war should not strike in the Danish seas. This raised his character so high at Court, that it was writ over to him, he might expect every thing he should pretend to at his return (2). The Governor of Croonenburgh was ordered to beg his pardon upon his knees in the open street, which he did, the Earl standing in a balcony of his lodgings (3).

(1) History of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, p. 281.

(2) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 396, 397.

(3) Salmon, ubi supra.

[*B*] *He was re-called——for complaining that payments were not regularly made in Ireland.*] The Earl of Ranelagh, who then managed the revenue of that kingdom, had undertaken to furnish the King with money, for the building of Windsor, out of the revenue of Ireland. And it was believed, the Duchess of Portsmouth had a great yearly pension out of his office. By this means, payments in Ireland were not regularly made, of which the Earl of Essex complained. The King would not own how much he had from Lord Ranelagh, but pressed Lord Essex to pass his accounts. He answered, He could not pass them as accounts: But if the King would forgive Lord Renelagh, he would pass a discharge, but not an *ill* account. The King was not pleased with this, nor with his exactness in that government; it reproached his own too much. So he took a resolution about this time to displace the Earl of Essex, and to put the Duke of Ormond again, in his room (4).

[*C*] *He was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury.*] Wherein he applied himself to the regulating the King's expence, and the improvement of the revenue. His clear, though slow, sense made him very acceptable to the King (5).

[*D*] *He resigned that office.*] Upon the discovery of the Meal Tub-plot, he and the Earl of Halifax pressed the King vehemently to call a Parliament immediately. But the King thought, that if a Parliament should meet while all mens spirits were sharpened by this new discovery, he would find them in worse temper than ever: When the King could not be prevailed on to do that, the Earl of Essex left the Treasury. The King was very uneasy at this. But Lord Essex was firm in his resolution, not to meddle with that post more, since a Parliament was not called: Yet, at the King's earnest desire, he continued, for some time, to go to Council (6).

[*E*] *He proposed——limitations of the Duke of York's authority.*] Such as, The taking out of his hand all power in Ecclesiastical matters; the disposal of the publick money; with the power of peace and war, and the lodging these in both Houses of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament was in being, or the last that had been in being at the King's death, should meet without a new summons, upon it, and assume the administration of affairs. The Lords Essex, Sunderland, and Halifax, three of the leading members in the new Privy-Council, were for these limitations; but the Earl of Shaftsbury, the fourth of the managers, declared highly against any limitations: which occasioned a breach between those Lords; and the three first,

(4) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 398.

(5) Burnet, Hist. ubi supra, p. 456.

(6) Idem, p. 476.

or State (*q*). He was also thus far subservient to the Court, as to be for the dissolution, rather than the prorogation, of the Parliament, in July 1679 (*r*). And was one of the chief persons that occasioned the Duke of Monmouth's, and the Earl of Shaftsbury's, disgrace (*s*). But seeing what violent measures were going on, and particularly being named as an accomplice in the meal-tub-plot (*t*), he resigned his place, and turned against the Court. Accordingly, when the Bill of Exclusion was brought a second time into the House of Lords, he argued vehemently for it (*u*): and made an extraordinary proposal (*w*), for securing the expedients offered in the room of that bill [*F*]. In February 1680-1, attended by fifteen Peers, he presented to the King a petition (*x*), subscribed by himself and them, wherein they requested, that the Parliament might not sit at Oxford, but at Westminster [*G*]. Also, he had an interview with the Earl of Shaftsbury, before he set out for Holland (*y*): and generally conversed with him, and the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russel, Algernoon Sidney, and other persons that were thought disaffected (*z*). All which steps rendered him so obnoxious to the Court, that he was struck out of the list of the Privy-Counsellors (*a*). And, in June 1683, being accused by the Lord Howard of Escrick, of being concerned in the Rye-house-conspiracy, called otherwise the Phanatic or Protestant-plot (*b*), he was committed to the Tower [*H*]. On the thirteenth of July following, he was found in a closet in his lodgings there, about nine o'clock in the morning, with his throat miserably cut (*c*). The Coroner's Jury brought in their verdict, the next day, that he had voluntarily and feloniously killed and murthered himself (*d*); but it was then, and hath since been, thought, that he was murdered by Paul Bomeney, a French servant who attended him [*I*]. His body was carried into Hertfordshire, and interred in a vault belonging

(*q*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 455.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 468.

(*s*) Rapin, ubi supra, p. 711.

(*t*) See that Plot in Col. Mansel's Narrative, printed at London in 1680, fol. p. 19. and Burnet, p. 476. Rapin, ubi supra, p. 711.

(*u*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 482.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 486.

(*x*) Kennet, ubi supra, p. 383; and Rapin, ubi supra, p. 720.

(*y*) Burnet, p. 537.

(*z*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 537, 538.

(*a*) Rapin, ubi supra, p. 720.

(*b*) Account of that Conspiracy, by Bishop Sprat. Kennet, ubi supra, p. 400.

(*c*) Bomeny's and Russel's Informations in the Coroner's Inquest, Lond. 1683, fol.

(*d*) Edward Farnham's the Coroner's Account, &c. Printed at Lond. fol. 1683.

first, joining together, were called the Triumvirate (7).

[*F*] *And made an extraordinary proposal, for securing the expedients*, &c.] He moved in the House of Lords, That an association should be entered into to maintain those expedients, and that some cautionary towns should be put into the hands of the Associators during the King's life, to make them good after his death. But though this was agreed to, in a thin house, it came to nothing; the King looking upon it as a deposing of himself (8).

[*G*] *He presented a petition*, &c.] At the presenting of it, he made a speech to the King, in the name of himself, and the Lords by whom it was subscribed; wherein he declares, That observing from history and records, how unfortunate many assemblies had been, when called at a place remote from the capital city [of which he brings instances]. And considering the present posture of affairs, the many jealousies and discontents that were among people, they had great cause to apprehend, that the consequences of a Parliament at Oxford might be as fatal to his Majesty and the nation, as those he had mentioned.——The grounds and reasons which they gave for their opinions in the petition itself, were, That the Lords and Commons could not be in safety at Oxford, but would be daily exposed to the swords of the Papists, and their adherents, of whom too many were crept into his Majesty's guards: The liberty of speaking, according to their consciences, would be thereby destroyed; and the validity of all their acts and proceedings, concerning it, left disputable. The streightness of the place did no way admit of such a concourse of persons as now follows every Parliament. The witnesses that were necessary to give evidence against the Popish Lords, Judges, and others, whom the Commons had impeached, or had resolved to impeach, could neither bear the charge of going thither, nor trust themselves under the protection of a Parliament, that was itself evidently under the power of guards and soldiers (9).

[*H*] *Being accused——of being concerned in the Rye-house conspiracy——he was committed to the Tower.*] Before he was impeached, he staid for some time at his house in the country, and seemed so little apprehensive of danger, that his own lady did not imagine he had any concern on his mind. He was offered to be conveyed away very safely; but he would not stir. His tenderness for Lord Russel was the cause of it: For he thought his going out of the way might incline the Jury to believe the evidence the more, for his absconding. He seemed resolved, as soon as he saw how that went, to take care of himself. When a party of horse, that was sent to fetch him up, came to his house, he was at first in some disorder, yet he recovered himself. But when he came before the Council, he was in much confusion. He was sent to the Tower; and there he fell under so great a depression of spirit, that he could not sleep at all. He had fallen before that twice under great fits of the spleen, which returned now upon him with more violence. He sent by a servant, whom he had long trusted, a very melancholy message to his wife; 'That what he was charged with 'was true: He was sorry he had ruined her, and her 'children.'——But when he found, how she took his condition to heart, without seeming concerned for her own share in it, he was much calmer (10). As to this plot, very few now believe that the Earl of Essex, Lord Russel, &c. had so great a share in it, as the Court then affirmed. 'Tis very possible, that the evident violations of Liberty and Property, improved by the nearer prospects of Popery, might provoke many of the Nobility and Gentry to enter into some measures for stopping the torrent of the Court, and providing for the enjoyment of their established Laws and Religion. But still without having recourse to those violent and bloody means, which a few rash and inconsiderate desperadoes perhaps ran headlong into.

[*I*] *It was then, and has since been, thought, that he was murdered*, &c.] The world was very much divided about this Lord's murder, at the time when it happened, and hath been so ever since. One side maintained, *That he murdered himself*; and so the Coroner's Inquest found it. The information given by Bomeney in favour of this opinion, was as follows (11): 'That when my Lord Essex came to the Tower, which 'was the 11th of July, he asked him (Bomeney) for a 'penknife to pare his nails as he was wont to do; to 'which Bomeney answered, Being come in haste he had 'not brought it, but he would send for one; and accordingly sent the footman with a note for several 'things for my Lord, amongst which the penknife was 'inserted; and the footman went, and gave the bill to "my Lord's steward, who sent the provisions, but not 'the penknife, and told the footman he would get one 'next day.——Accordingly, *on the 12th* in the morning, before my Lord was up, Bomeney sent the footman home with a note to the steward, in which, 'amongst other things, he asked for a penknife for my 'Lord: When the footman was gone, about, or a little 'after eight o'Clock, my Lord sent Mr Russel, his 'warder, to Bomeney, who came, and then he asked 'him, If the penknife was come? Bomeney said, "No, "my Lord, but I shall have it by and by;" to which 'my Lord said, "That he should bring him one of "his razors, it would do as well:" And then Bomeney went and fetched one, and gave it my Lord; 'who began to pare his nails, and then Bomeney 'went out of the room into the passage by the door, '*on Friday the 13th*, and begun to talk with the warder, and a little while after he went down stairs; and 'soon after came the footman with the provisions, and 'brought also a penknife, which Bomeney put upon 'his bed, and thought my Lord had no more need of 'it, because he thought he had pared his nails; and 'then Bomeney came up to my Lord's chamber, about 'eight or nine in the forenoon on Friday the 13th, 'with

(7) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 455, 456.

(8) Idem, p. 486.

(9) Kennet, ubi supra, p. 383, 384.

(10) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 552.

(11) It is printed before the Coroner's Inquest, intituled, 'An 'Account how 'the Earl of Essex killed himself in the Tower of London, 'the 13th of 'July 1683.' Lond. fol. 1683.

longing to the family, in the pariſh church of Watford (e). As to his character; he was a perſon of an agreeable ſtature, ſlender in body, adorned with a comely countenance, mixed with gravity and ſweetneſs, and was eaſy of acceſs; his mind was ſedate, but his diſcourſes were generally free and pleaſant, and his demeanour very civil; his promiſes were real and ſincere; his reprimands ſmart and ingenious, having a quick apprehenſion, good elocution, ſound judgment, great courage, and reſolution unalterable; he was always wary and circumſpect in Council, where he endeavoured to obſtruct all arbitrary power, and the increaſe of the Popiſh intereſt; having a particular regard for the eſtabliſhed religion of his country (f): tho' others affirm, that he was too looſe in point of religion (g); and that he had an odd ſet of ſome ſtrange principles (h). With regard to his political notions, he thought, the obligation between Prince and Subject was ſo equally mutual, that upon a breach on the one ſide, the other was free (i). He was very temperate in his diet, ſtrict in his juſtice, tender of his honour, and conſtant to his friend; he delighted much in his library, which enabled him to ſpeak on all occaſions with great applauſe, and would ſpend his vacant hours in viewing of Records, and learning the Mathematicks: theſe were his diverſions together with recreating himſelf in his fine gardens, and pleaſant groves, which were of his own plantation (k). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Algernon Earl of Northumberland, by whom he had ſix ſons, and two daughers. But, only *Algernon*, the fifth ſon, and the youngeſt daughter, ſurvived him. Her name was *Anne*, and ſhe was married to Charles Earl of Carliſle.

(e) Peerage, &c. by A. Collins, p. 274.

(f) Collins, ibid.

(g) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 397.

(h) Ibid. p. 570.

(i) Ibid. p. 540.

(k) Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 275.

Algernon

'with a little note from the ſteward; but not finding 'his Lord in the chamber, went to the cloſe-ſtool 'cloſet door, and found it ſhut; and he thinking his 'Lord was buſy there, went down and ſtaid a little, 'and came up again, thinking his Lord had been come 'out of the cloſet; and finding him not in the chamber, he knocked at the door with his finger, thrice, 'and ſaid, "My Lord?" But no body anſwering, he 'took up the hanging, and looking through the chink, 'he ſaw blood, and a part of the razor; whereupon he 'called the warder, Ruſſel, and went down to call 'for help; and the ſaid Ruſſel puſhed the door open, 'and there they ſaw my Lord of Eſſex all along the 'floor, without a peruke, and all full of blood, and 'the razor by him.'——Thomas Ruſſel's information, printed at the end of this, is to the ſame purpoſe, except, that it mentions only *the* 13*th of July*. And to render this account the more probable, it is ſaid, That Lord Eſſex had got into an odd ſet of ſome ſtrange principles: And in particular he thought, a man was the maſter of his own life; and ſeemed to approve of what his wife's great grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, did, who ſhot himſelf in the Tower after he was arraigned. He had alſo very black fits of the ſpleen (12).

(12) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 570, 553.

But, on the other hand, in order to prove, *That the Earl of Eſſex did not murder himſelf*, it is alledged, 1. That he was a Nobleman of moſt virtuous and religious principles; of the greateſt ſedateneſs of mind, leaſt ſubject to the undue agitation of unruly paſſions, and moſt under the conduct of a calm, ſteady, ſtrong, clear, and well poiſed reaſon, of any man: That the perſons, who were reported to have heard him ſay what is mentioned above, concerning his great-grandfather, being aſked about it, declared, They never heard any ſuch thing from him: That his Lady in particular affirmed, That he uſed to ſpeak againſt ſelf-murder with an emotion beyond what was cuſtomary to him, and that he often declared, That no circumſtances whatſoever could extenuate the guilt, or leſſen the infamy, of ſo unnatural and wicked a fact (13). 2. That he could have no ſuch premeditated deſign. For, the day before his murder, he had ordered his ſervants to bring up out of the country ſeveral veſſels of ſilver, neceſſary for dreſſing of victuals. And had laid in a conſiderable quantity of the beſt of wines. Moreover, that he had given private directions to his ſteward, to place himſelf as conveniently as he could at the Lord Ruſſel's trial, the better to take the evidence againſt him in ſhort-hand, and convey it to him (14). 3. That the news of the Earl of Eſſex's murder were publickly talked of at ſeveral diſtant places, before it was perpetrated; namely, two days before, at Andover in Hampſhire: the day before, at Warminſter in Wiltſhire: and the ſame day it was committed, at Froom in Somerſetſhire, ninety miles from London (15). And, therefore, that it was contrived and done by others. 4. That Jane Lodeman, a young woman about thirteen; and William Edwards, a youth between thirteen and fourteen years of age, being at the Tower that morning the Earl of Eſſex was found murdered, they ſaw a bloody razor thrown out of his chamber-window: Which the boy going to take up, a ſhort woman, in a white hood, came out of Captain Hawley's houſe, where the Earl lodged, and ſnatching up the razor, carried it in; immediately after which, murder was cried out. The boy denied this afterwards, but is ſaid to have been terrified by one of his ſiſters, who told him, that he would *ruin his* father (who had a place in the Cuſtom-houſe) and the reſt of the family, if he perſiſted in it, and would bring both himſelf and his father to be hanged (16). The prevarication of Chief Juſtice Jefferies and Captain Hawley was very glaring upon this point (17). For they inſiſted, That nothing could be well thrown *out of the cloſet-window* where the Earl was found murdered; whereas the boy and girl both ſpoke *of the chamber*, not of the cloſet, *window*. 5. That the print of a bloody foot appeared upon one of my Lord's ſtockings. 6. That the neck, or middle of his cravat, was cut in four pieces; and tied ſo hard, that there was reaſon to gueſs, an attempt had been made to ſtrangle him with it (18). 6. That his Lordſhip's body was taken out of the cloſet, where it was found; ſtripped, and waſhed, and the cloaths carried away; and, alſo, the cloſet and room were waſhed, before the Coroner's Inqueſt was permitted to ſit upon the body: which was not till the day after the murder was committed. One of the Jury deſiring to ſee the clothes, the Coroner told him, 'They were called to ſit upon my Lord's body, and 'not on his clothes; and that it was ſufficient they 'had ſeen the body, and received an account upon 'oath how it was found (19).' 7. That it was impoſſible the Earl ſhould cut his own throat in the manner it was found done. The two Chirurgions, who viewed the body with the Coroner, depoſed, 'That the throat 'was cut from one jugular to the other, and through 'the wind-pipe and gullet, unto the vertebres of the 'neck, both jugular veins being alſo quite divided (20).' Now, the razor wherewith he was ſaid to have killed himſelf, being a ſmall French razor, about four inches and a half long at moſt, without ſpill or tongue at the end of the blade, it could not be held with ſtrength and ſteadineſs ſufficient to make ſuch a wound, a wound eight inches long and four inches deep, unleſs the hand and fingers graſped two inches of it at leaſt; and how the other two inches and a half of the razor, could make ſuch a long and deep wound, as deſcribed by the Chirurgions, is incredible (21). 8. In ſhort, it is ſaid, That this murder was committed by the Duke of York's contrivance and direction, and perpetrated by the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Feverſham, and Paul Bomeney my Lord's valet de chambre (22). In proof of which it is obſerved, 9. That the King and Duke of York were that morning in the Tower, from ſix o'clock till nine, where they had not been for twelve years before. 10. That the centinels, which uſed to be changed every two hours, continued upon duty from four to ten o'clock in the morning (23); being, probably, perſons that could beſt be truſted. However, that the day but one after the murther, they were called together, and ſtrictly charged not to ſpeak of what

(13) An Enquiry into, and Detection of, the barbarous Murther of the late Earl of Eſſex, &c. ſaid in my copy to be written by Hugh Speake, Gent. Lond. 1689, 4*to*, p. 5, 6.

(14) Ib. p. 8, 11.

(15) Ibid. p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(16) Ibid. p. 65. Edwards, the father, was afterwards turned out of his place, for witneſſing at Mr Braddon's tryal what he had heard from his ſon. ibid. p. 28.

(17) At Mr L. Braddon's tryal, p. 58, &c.

(18) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 54, 55.

(19) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 53—61.

(20) Informations of Robert Sherwood, and Rob. Andrews, Chirurgions, printed with the Coroner's Inqueſt. Lond. 1683, fol.

(21) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 44, 45.

(22) Ibid. p. 23, 35, 41.

(23) Ibid. p. 37.

Algernon Earl of Essex, was Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King William, Colonel of a regiment of dragoons, served under him in Flanders, distinguished himself at the battle of Landen, and attended at the great Congress in 1690. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was Constable of the Tower of London, Lieutenant-General of her armies, and Colonel of Dragoons. He was also, in both reigns, Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum, of Hertfordshire and St Albans. He died January 10, 1709-10, leaving issue, by the Lady Mary Bentinck, eldest daughter of William Earl of Portland, *William* the late Earl of Essex, and two daughters, the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Lady *Mary* (*l*). *William*, the present Earl of Essex is under age.

(*l*) Collins, ibid.

what they had seen or heard (24). But Captain Hawley, having whispered something about it, was found murdered (25): And Robert Meak, one of the centinels, not having been so silent as desired, was murdered, and thrown into the Tower-ditch (26). 11. That a gate, at the lower-end of those apartments where my Lord Essex was confined, which used to stand open from morning till night, was all that morning kept shut, by a special order, till his Lordship was dead. 12. That the King and Duke having been at the Lieutenant's house, about the middle of the alley where the Earl was imprisoned, did soon after, with several waiting upon him, withdraw from the King, down into the alley, the gate whereof was still kept shut. 13. That the Duke having withdrawn from the King, several persons were immediately sent from his side towards the Earl of Essex's lodgings, which returned not till after his death (27). 14. That P. Bomeney was justly suspected by the rest of my Lord's servants, by the last Earl of Essex, and many other persons, to be the author of his master's death. Upon that suspicion, the Countess dismissed him out of her family. But he was, thereupon, cherished and entertained by the Court, and made one of the Life-guards (28). As an evidence of his guilt, he was extremely frightened at the enquiry that was made into his master's death. 15. But that the Court was also accessary to this murder, is strongly suspected; because they so earnestly discouraged all manner of enquiry into it (29). For one Mr Laurence Braddon, who was very active in discovering the true authors of this barbarous murther, was fined 2000 *l*. in the King's-Bench; and Mr Hugh Speke 1000 *l* (30). After all, by whom it was committed, is one of those secrets, which cannot be fully revealed till the last great day of accounts.

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(24) Ibid. p. 26.

(25) Ib. p. 39, 40.

(26) Ibid. p. 37, 38, 70.

(27) Ib. p. 62, 63.

(28) Ibid. p. 41, 42, 43.

(29) Ib. p. 24, &c.

(30) See the Tryal of Laur. Braddon and Hugh Speke. Lond. 1684.

CAREW. The surname of an ancient family in Devonshire and Cornwall, which hath produced several illustrious and eminent persons. Some (*a*) fetch the original of that family from the Dukes or Kings of Suevia, now Schwabia, in High Germany: But others (*b*) with more probability, derive it from France [*A*], and think they came into England with William the Conqueror; that name occurring in Battle-Abbey-roll (*c*), though that roll is of little authority. The first of this line in England, was *Walter de Windsor*, so called from his being Castellan or Governor of the castle of Windsor: He had two sons, William from whom the Lords Windsors are descended; and Gerald, from whom the Carews and Fitzgeralds. This Gerald was Castellan or Governor of the castle of Penbroke in Wales; and in great favour with King Henry I, who granted him the lordship of Mullesford in Berkshire (†). He married Nesta, daughter of Rees, Prince of South-Wales; whose dowry was the castle of Carew in those parts [*B*]. By this Lady he had three sons, William, Maurice, and David. David, the youngest, was Bishop of St David's. From Maurice Fitz-gerald, the second son, are issued the noble families of Kildare and Desmond in Ireland. William, the eldest, Lord of Carrio, had issue Raymond who died without issue, Otho, and others. Otho had issue William, the first that took the surname of *de Carrio*, or *Carru* (*d*). His successors, for some generations, were, William; Nicolas; William; Sir Nicolas, Knt; and Sir Nicolas, Baron of Carru and Mullesford, summoned by writ to Parliament, in the reign of King Edward I. This Sir Nicolas married the sister and heir of Sir John Peverel, of Weston-Peverel near Plymouth, by whom he had a large estate in those parts, as Weston-Peverel, Ashford-Peverel, Manhead, and other places. He had issue by this Lady four sons, Sir John, Thomas, Nicolas, and William. From Nicolas descended the family of *Carew*, of Beddington in Surrey. Sir John, the eldest son, married first, Eleanor, daughter and heir of Sir William Mohun of Mohun's-Ottery, Knt. by whom he had Nicolas: he married, to his second wife, Joan daughter of Gilbert Lord Talbot, by which he had Sir John, to whom his brother Nicolas, dying without issue, left his estate (*e*). On this Sir John I shall enlarge a little in the next article.

(*a*) Westcot's Descript. of Devonshire in Bicklegh. MS. cited by Mr Prince, Worthies of Devonsh. &c. Exeter, 1701, p. 148.

(*b*) R. Carew, Survey of Cornwall, edit. 1602, 4to, p. 103, B. ii.

(*c*) See Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 105.

(†) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. I. col. 165.

(*d*) Prince, Worthies, ubi supra, p. 149.

(*e*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Others, with more probability, derive it from France.*] Particularly Richard Carew, Esq; in the place cited above, speak thus:

> Carew, of ancient, Carru was;
> And Carru is a plow †:
> Romans the trade, Frenchmen the word;
> I do the name avow.

(†) *Viz.* in old French; for the present French word is *Charuë*.

[*B*] *Whose dowry was the castle of Carew in those parts.*] This castle stands in Penbrokeshire; and either gave name to, or took it's name from, the family of Carew. Which of the two it was, cannot easily be determined at this distance of time. Mr Camden inclines to the latter opinion (1), and affirms, that it 'gave both name and original to the illustrious family 'of Carew.' So doth also Mr Wood (2), *A Carew castro in agro Pembrochiensi Cognomen sortitus est*, viz. *Georgius Carew*. i. e. He took his surname from Carew-castle in Penbrokeshire

C

(1) Britannia, edit. 1722, fol. Vol. II. col. 754.

(2) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxo. [illegible] 63.

CAREW

CAREW (Sir JOHN) Knt. Baron of Carew and Mullesford, was born at Mohuns-Ottery, so called from its Lords the Mohuns (*a*); and which passed unto the Carews in the manner abovementioned. He was a great soldier, and valiantly served King Edward III, in his wars in France (*b*). Very probably, he was present at the ever-memorable battle of Cressy; in which, was slain his brave son, Sir John Carew, whose courage and conduct had preferred him to the honour of knighthood (*c*). In the year 1348, John, Baron of Carew, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and after having continued in that honourable post about two years, returned to England (*d*). He died May the 16th, 1363 (*e*). Besides his son, who was slain as is above related, he had another named Leonard, who had issue Sir Thomas Carew, of whom in the next article. C

(*a*) Prince, p. 148.

(*b*) Risdon, Survey of Cornwal, in Mohuns-Ottery.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Campion's Hist. of Ireland, Dublin, fol. 1633. p. 90.

(*e*) Sir W. Pole, under the head F. Soldiers, MS. in Prince, ubi supra, p. 149, 150.

CAREW (Sir THOMAS). This Sir Thomas was also a brave soldier. He had the charge of the navy, and three thousand English soldiers committed to him, for securing the Emperor Sigismund, during his abode in England (*a*). In the beginning of the reign of King Henry V. he valiantly served that heroic Prince in his wars in France, and was undoubtedly at the battle of Agincourt (*b*). In the year 1418, he was appointed to keep and defend the passage over the river Seine, and was made Captain of Harfleur (*c*). He died January 25, 1430-1, leaving issue Sir *Nicolas*, Baron Carew: who married Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay of Haccombe, Knight, by Philippa his wife, daughter, and one of the heirs of Sir Warren Ercedecon, or Archdeacon (*d*), of that place, Knight. Sir Nicolas had, by his said Lady Joan, these sons; Sir *Thomas*, Knight, Nicolas, Hugh, Alexander (*e*). Sir Thomas happening to disoblige his mother in a very high degree, she settled seventeen manors on her younger sons, which proved the foundation of three great families, that have flourished ever since. *Haccombe* [*A*], with four manors, she settled on Nicolas her second son, to whom fell, by entail, the third brother's inheritance. To Hugh, she gave *Biry*, from whom is descended Carew of *Stodelegh*. And to Alexander, she gave *Anthony* in Cornwal (*f*). Sir Thomas abovementioned, was the father of Sir *Nicolas* Carew; who married Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir John Dinham, Knight, sister and one of the heirs of John, Lord Dinham of Nutwel in Devonshire, Lord High-Treasurer of England; and left issue, Sir *Edmund* Carew, Knight (*g*), who was a brave soldier. Among other children, he had Thomas Carew, of whom in the next article.

(*a*) Risdon, ubi supra.

(*b*) Prince, ubi supra, p. 150.

(*c*) Sir W. Pole, ubi supra, as cited by Mr Prince, p. 150.

(*d*) Or Lerchdeckne; as he is called elsewhere by Mr Prince, p. 178.

(*e*) Prince, p. 150, 178.

(*f*) Prince, p. 178. See also Camden's Britannia in Devonshire.

(*g*) Prince, p. 150.

[*A*] *Haccombe.*] Mr Prince informs us (1), That, as to number of dwellings, this parish of Haccombe is the smallest in England; consisting but of two dwellings, the Mansion or Manor-house, and the Parsonage. But it enjoys privileges beyond the greatest: for it is out of any hundred, and beyond the precincts of any officer, civil or military, to take cognizance of any proceedings therein. And, by a royal grant from the Crown, is exempted from all duties and taxes, for some noble services done by some of the ancestors of this family, towards its support. The Rector of that Church hath also great privileges; namely, a sine-cure in Cornwal of good value; and, as Rector of Haccome, he is Archpriest; and, it is said, may claim the privilege of wearing lawn-sleeves, and of sitting next the Bishop; and is under the visitation only of the Archbishop of Canterbury. C

(1) Worthies of Devon. ubi supra, p. 178.

CAREW (THOMAS) his second son; and the first of the name of Carew, who settled at *Bicklegh*, in the county of Devon (*a*). He was born at Mohuns-Ottery, and became possessed of Bicklegh, by marrying the only daughter and heir of Humphrey Courtenay, Esquire [*A*]. He was like his father, a person of a martial spirit, and got great honour and renown in the wars. In the year 1513, he attended, Thomas, Earl of Surrey in his expedition against Scotland; and was at the battle of Floddenfield, fought the 9th of September the same year, wherein the Scots were defeated, and their King James IV. slain (*b*). Before this battle, a Scotish Knight, having made a challenge to any English gentleman to fight with him for the honour of his country, Mr Carew desired to answer the challenge (*c*), and conquered his bragging adversary; which brought him into great favour with his General, the Earl of Surrey. But, after the battle, he had another opportunity of gaining further his esteem and affection. For his Lordship taking Mr Carew along with him, as he rode out upon service, descried a band of Scots coming towards them. Having a very strait passage over a bridge to cross, the Earl was in great danger of being there entrapped and taken. To prevent that, Carew persuaded him to exchange armour and dress with him, that he might, if occasion were, make his escape the more easily, which the General readily consented to. The enemy coming on to this narrow pass, Mr Carew, in his rich habit, well mounted, crossed the bridge with his horse; and for a time so valiantly defended it, that no man could pass; by which means he gained time, and provided for his General's escape. However, Mr Carew himself was at last taken prisoner, to the great joy of the enemy, who imagined they had taken the General himself. But finding themselves disappointed, they carried him

(*a*) Prince, p. 176.

(*b*) Buchanan in James IV. Hollingshed's Chron edit. 1587, p. 825, &c. Prince, ubi supra, p. 177.

(*c*) Westc. Surv. of Devon. in Bicklegh, MS. cited by Mr Prince, ubi supra, p. 177.

[*A*] *He became possessed of Bicklegh, by marrying the only daughter and heir of Humphrey Courtenay, Esq;*] Bicklegh was formerly the inheritance of the honourable family of the Courtenays of Powderham-castle (1), and used to be a portion for a younger son of that house. At length it came to be settled upon Humphrey, the youngest son of Sir Philip Courtenay; which Humphrey dying before his father, left his only daughter and heir under Sir Philip's care. Sir Philip intrusted her to Sir William Carew (eldest brother to this Thomas whom we are now about) who had married his eldest son's daughter, cousin-german to this Lady. Mr Thomas

(1) Sir W. Pole's Descr. of Devonsh. in Bicklegh.

him to the Castle of Dunbar, where he remained a prisoner for some time. At length he was redeemed, and the Earl of Surrey never forgot the noble services he had done him, but entertained him, ever after, with all courtesy and friendship; made him his Vice-Admiral, and assisted him in all his affairs (d). The time of this Mr Carew's death is unknown (e). He out-lived his first wife, the heir of Courtenay, who settled on him and his heirs for ever, all her estate (f). For his second wife, he had the daughter of ——— Smart, by whom he had issue, *Humphrey* Carew, Esquire. He left a son, named *Peter*, who, by the daughter of George Cary of Clovelly, Esq; had issue, Sir *Henry* Carew, the last heir male of this line. He married one of the daughters of Sir Reginald Mohun of Cornwal, Knight, by whom he had issue, two daughters and heirs; the eldest of which was married to Sir *Thomas* Carew of Haccombe, Baronet, and so these two houses of *Bicklegh* and *Haccombe* came to be united (g). This honourable family hath flourished in those parts ever since.

(d) Prince, ubi supra.

(e) Idem, p. 178.

(f) Idem, p. 177.

(g) Idem, p. 178.

Thomas Carew living with his brother, became very familiar with this young fortune, courted her, and having obtained her good-will, carried her away secretly by night, and married her. This being highly resented by Sir Philip, the young Lady's grandfather, and also by Sir William, Mr Thomas Carew's brother, Mr Carew to avoid the effects of their indignation, and to give them time to cool, resolved to go into the wars; and so entered himself into the army, that was then preparing to march against the Scots (2). C

(2) Prince, ubi supra, p. 176, 177.

CAREW (George) afterwards Earl of Totnes (descended from an ancient family in the West of England, originally so named from Carew-Castle (a) in Penbrokeshire) was born in 1557 (b). His mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Nicolas Harvey, Knight (c), and his father, George, Archdeacon of Totnes, and successively Dean of Bristol, of the Queen's Chapel, of Windsor, of Christ-Church Oxon, and of Exeter; besides several other preferments (d), most of which he resigned before his decease. Mr George Carew, in 1572, at the age of fifteen, was admitted Gentleman Commoner of Broadgate-Hall (now Penbroke-College) in Oxford; where he made a good proficiency in learning, particularly in the study of Antiquities (e). But being of an active temper, he left the University without a degree; and applying himself to military affairs, went and served in Ireland against the Earl of Desmond (f). In the year 1580, he was made Governor of Asketten-Castle (g). In 1589, he was created Master of Arts at Oxford, being then a Knight (h). And, some time after being constituted Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, or Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, he was one of the Commanders at the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596. And again, the next year, in the intended expedition against Spain (i). Having in 1599, been appointed President of Munster (k), he was in 1600, made Treasurer of the army, and one of the Lords Justices of Ireland (l). When he entered upon his government, he found every thing in a deplorable condition; all the country being in open and actual rebellion, except a few of the better sort, and himself having for his defence but three thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse. However, he behaved with so much conduct and bravery, that he reduced to the Queen's obedience the Castles and Forts of Loghguyre, Cahir, Ballitrarsnie, Crome, Glyn, Carrigfoyle, Lixnaw, Rathowin, Tralee, Mayne, Ardart, Listoell, Dingle, &c. Took James Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Desmond, and Oconner, prisoners: and brought the Bourkes, Obriens, and many other Irish rebels, to submission (m). He did also very good service against those six thousand Spaniards, who landed at Kinsale, October 1, 1601, and had so well established the province of which he was President, by apprehending the chief of those he mistrusted, and taking pledges of the rest, that not any one person of consideration joyned the Spaniards (n). In 1602, he made himself Master of the Castle of Donboy, which was a very difficult undertaking, and reckoned almost impracticable. But the taking of it was of great consequence, for it stopped the coming of an army of Spaniards, which were ready to sail for Ireland (o). He had for some time been desirous of quitting his burdensome office of President of Munster [*A*], but he could not obtain permission to do it till the beginning of the year 1603, when, leaving that province in a firm and universal peace, he arrived in England the 21st of March, three days before his mistress, Queen Elizabeth's death (p). His merit was so great, that he was taken notice of by the new King, and made by him, in the first year of his reign, Governor of the Isle of Guernsey, and Castle Cornet (q). And having married Joyce, the daughter and heir of William Clopton of Clopton, in the county of Warwick, Esq; he was, on the 4th of June 1605, advanced to the degree of a Baron, by the title of Lord Carew of Clopton (r). Afterwards he was made Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer to King James's Queen; and in 1608, constituted Master of the Ordnance throughout England for life; and sworn of the Privy-Council to the King, as he had before been to Queen Elizabeth (s). Upon King Charles Ist's accession to the Crown, he was by him created, on February 1, 1625, Earl of Totnes. At length, being full of years

(a) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 423, col. 1.

(b) See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 529. He was entered in the university in 1572, aged 15.

(c) Dugdale, ibid.

(d) Wood, ubi supra, Fasti, col. 32, and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 254. George Carew, who is the subject of this article, was his second son. Prince, Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 204.

(e) See Life of W. Camden.

(f) Camden's Annal. Eliz. ad Ann. 1579.

(g) Ibid. ad an. 1580.

(h) Wood, ubi supra.

(i) Camden, Ann. under those years. Stow, p. 772-783.

(k) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Part i. p. 423. Pacata Hibernia, p. 3.

(l) Camden, ad ann. 1600.

(m) Pacata Hibernia.

(n) Ibid. p. 197.

(o) Ibid. p. 291, 327.

(p) Ibid. p. 390. This shews A. Wood's mistake, who says that he was called home after King James came to the crown, Vol. I. col. 529.

(q) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 423.

(r) Ibid.

(s) Ibid. and Wood, ubi supra.

[*A*] *He had been — desirous of quiting his — office of President.*] As appears from the following passages in a letter of his to the Queen, dated June 3, 1601. ——— 'I live like one lost to himself, and wither out 'my days in torment of mind, untill it shall please 'your Sacred Majestie to redeem me from this exile, 'which I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate, and to shorten the same as speedily as may 'be, ——— for better than a banishment I cannot 'esteeme my fortune, that deprives me from beholding your Majesty's person ——— (1).'

(1) Pacata Hibern. p. 141.

[*B*] *A*

years and honours, he departed this life at the Savoy in London, March 27, 1629, aged seventy-three years and ten months; and was buried at Stratford upon Avon, near Clopton abovementioned: leaving behind him the character (*t*) of a faithful subject, a valiant and prudent Commander, an honest Counsellor, a genteel Scholar, a lover of Antiquities, and a great Patron of Learning [*B*]. A stately monument was erected to his memory, by his widow (*u*), with a long inscription reciting his actions abovementioned.

(*t*) Wood, ibid. Prince, Worthies of Devon, p. 198.

(*u*) See the figure of it in Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire, edit. 1730, Vol. II. p. 686, 687.

[*B*] *A lover of Antiquities*, &c.] He writ, or caused to be writ under his direction and appointment, a book intitled, *Pacata Hibernia*, or The History of the Wars in Ireland, especially within the province of *Mounster*, in the years 1599, 1600, 1601, and 1602. Which, after his death, was printed at London, in 1633, fol. with seventeen maps; being published by his natural son, Thomas Stafford. —— Sir George Carew collected also, in four large volumes, several Chronologies, Charters, Letters, Monuments, Maps, *&c.* relating to Ireland; which are preserved in the Bodleian library. —— And made Collections, Notes, and Extracts for writing *The History of the reign of King Henry* V. which were inserted in J. Speed's Chronicle (2). C

(2) Wood, ubi supra. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 423.

CAREW (Sir ALEXANDER) of Anthony in Cornwal, beheaded for endeavouring to deliver Plymouth to King Charles I, was born at Anthony. He had a very good education (*a*); and being a gentleman of a considerable fortune, was chosen one of the Knights for the county of Cornwal, in the Parliament, which met at Westminster, November 3, 1640 (*b*). In this Parliament, he sided with those Members who opposed the Court-measures; and was one of the most violent amongst them (*c*): and afterwards very active in settling the militia in Cornwal (*d*). He voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder, in 1641, tho' he was pressed to the contrary by Sir Bevil Greenville [*A*], the other Knight of the shire for Cornwal (*e*). When Plymouth was secured by the Parliament, Mr Carew was intrusted with the custody and government of St Nicolas's island and fort, which command the habour, and were looked upon as the security of the town, especially as they had a sufficient garrison (*f*). But, after the battle of Stratton, when the forces of King Charles I, prevailed so far over the West, that Bristol was taken by them, and Exeter closely besieged, Sir Alexander Carew [*B*] began to think, his island and fort would hardly secure his own estate in Cornwal; and understood the law so well, as to know, that the side he had chosen, would be no longer the better, than it should continue the stronger: and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and interest, resolved now to redeem his errors. So, he found means to correspond with some of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwal, and by them to make a direct overture to surrender that fort and island to the King, upon the assurance of his Majesty's pardon, and a full remission of his offences (*g*). Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next supreme officer, qualified to entertain such a treaty; and he, instantly, by the same conveyance, returned him as ample assurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, That he should not upon any defect of forms (which, upon his engagement, should be supplied with all possible expedition, to his own satisfaction) defer consummating the work, which hereafter, possibly, might not be in his power to effect. But Sir Alexander was so careful of his own security, that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured, that his pardon was passed the great seal. Before which time, though all imaginable haste was made, by the treachery of a servant whom he trusted (*h*), or else by his own soldiers (*i*), his treaty and design were discovered to the Mayor of Plymouth, and the rest of the Committee there: whereupon, he was suddenly, and without resistance, surprized in his fort, and carried prisoner to Plymouth (*k*); in which place the women were so enraged with him, that it was difficult to rescue him from their execution (*l*). From Plymouth, he was sent by sea to London (*m*); where the House of Commons voted him disabled from being a member (*n*): and being tried at Guildhall, by a Court-Martial (*o*), or Council of War (*p*) [*C*], he was beheaded on Tower-hill, the twenty-third day of December 1644 (*q*); on purpose to deter others from attempts of the like nature.

(*a*) Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Book v. p. 395, edit. 8vo, Oxon. 1731.

(*b*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Br. Wills, Esq; Vol. II. edit. 1716, p. 13.

(*c*) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 128.

(*e*) Short View of the late Troubles in England, &c. by Sir William Dugdale, Oxford. 1681, p. 198. The Rebellion of England, &c. by Sir Rog. Manley, Knt. 8vo, Lond. 1628, p. 80.

(*f*) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*i*) Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732, p. 72.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*l*) Whitelock, ibid.

(*m*) Clarendon, ib.

(*n*) Whitelock, ib.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Dugdale, ubi supra.

(*q*) Ibid. Whitelock, p. 121. Memorable Occurrences in 1644, at the end of Mercurius Rusticus.

[*A*] *Tho' he was pressed to the contrary by Sir Bevil Greenville*,] Who sat next to him in the house; and thus spoke to him: 'Pray, Sir, let it never be said, 'that any member of our county should have a hand 'in this fatal business; and therefore, pray ye give 'your vote against the bill.' But Mr Carew instantly replied, 'If I were sure to be the next man that 'should suffer upon the same scaffold, with the same 'ax, I would give my consent to the passing of it.' And it seems he was afterwards beheaded with the same ax (1). But this, tho' related as something wonderful, was really but accidental. And it shows the sincerity of Mr Carew, however mistaken he might be.

[*B*] *Sir Alexander Carew*, &c.] He is named in Br. Willis (2), only Alexander Carew, Esq; and by Whitelock (3), Mr Carew. But Sir by William Dugdale, and Sir Roger Manley (4), he is named from the first, Sir Alexander Carew, even when he voted against the Earl of Strafford. So great is the negligence and inaccuracy of Historians! His father, Richard Carew, Esq; was created a Baronet, August 9, 1641 (5), and in all likehood was dead before 1644. For then Mr Whitelock (6) styles the person whom we are speaking of, Sir Alexander Carew; as doth also the Earl of Clarendon.

[*C*] *Being tried by a Court-Martial*, &c.] After he was condemned, his Lady petitioned the Parliament, alledging, That he was distracted and unfit to die, and prayed a reprieve for him, which was granted (7) C

(1) Dugdale's Short View, &c. ubi supra. and Manley, ubi sup.

(2) Ubi supra.

(3) Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 72.

(4) Ubi supra.

(5) See List of Baronets, in several authors.

(6) Ubi supra, p. 112, 114.

(7) Whitelocke, p. 114.

CAREW

(a) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 630.

CAREW (THOMAS) a celebrated Poet of the last Century, *famed*, as Anthony Wood expresses it (*a*), *for the charming sweetness of his Lyric odes and amorous sonnets*, was younger brother of Sir Matthew Carew, a great Royalist in the time of the great Rebellion, of the family of the Carews in Gloucestershire, but descended from the ancient family of that name in Devonshire. The year of his birth is not known. He had his academical education at Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, but was not matriculated as a member of that house, nor took any degree. Afterwards improving his parts by travelling, and conversation with men of learning and ingenuity at London, he became *reckoned among the chiefest of his time for delicacy of wit and poetic fancy*. His abilities recommending him to the Court, he was made Gentleman of the privy chamber, and Sewer in ordinary to his Majesty King Charles I, who always esteemed him as one of the most celebrated wits of his Court. He was much respected, if not adored, by the Poets of his time, particularly Ben Johnson and Sir William Davenant [*A*]. This ingenious gentleman died in the prime of his life, about the year 1639, leaving behind him several poems, and a masque called *Cœlum Britannicum* [*B*].

[*A*] *He was much respected, if not adored, by the poets of his time, particularly Ben Johnson and Sir William Davenant.*] Sir William addressed some stanzas to Mr Carew, celebrating his wit and talent in poetry, among which are these lines (1):

(1) See Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691, p. 45.

Not but thy verses are as smooth and high
As glory, love, and wine from wit can raise;
But now the devil take such destiny!
What shou'd commend them turns to their dispraise.

Thy wit's chief virtue is become it's vice;
For ev'ry beauty thou hast raised so high,
That now coarse faces carry such a price,
As must undo a lover that wou'd buy.

Sir John Suckling, that gay wit, who delighted to rally the best poets, and spared not Ben Johnson himself, has thus played upon our author in his *Session of the Poets* (2).

(2) See Sir John Suckling's Poems, p. 8.

Tom Carew was next, but he had a fault,
That wou'd not well stand with a *Laureat*:
His muse was hide-bound, and issue of's brain
Was seldom brought forth, but with labour and pain.
All that were there present did agree,
That a Laureat Muse shou'd be easy and free;
Yet sure 'twas not that; but 'twas thought that his Grace
Consider'd he was well, he had a cup-bearer's place.

[*B*] *Several poems, with a masque called* Cœlum Britannicum.] They have been several times re-printed, the fourth edition being in 8*vo*. Lond. 1670. The masque was performed at Whitehall on Shrove-tuesday night, the 18th of February 1633, by the King's Majesty, the Duke of Lenox, the Earls of Devonshire, Holland, Newport, *&c.* with several other young Lords and Noblemens sons. Mr Carew was assisted in the contrivance by Mr Inigo Jones, the famous Architect; and all the songs were set to musick by the celebrated Mr Henry Lawes, Gentleman of the King's Chapel, and one of the private musick to King Charles I. As this piece was written by the King's especial command, our author put this distich in the front, when printed:

Non habet ingenium; Cæsar sed jussit; habebo:
Cur me posse negem, posse quod ille putat?

This masque was formerly, through a mistake, ascribed to Sir William Davenant, and is therefore not mentioned, either by Mr Philips or Mr Winstanley in their Lives of the Poets (3). T

(3) Langbaine, ubi supra, p. 44.

CARLETON (GEORGE) a learned Bishop in the XVIIth Century, son of Guy, second son of Thomas Carleton of Carleton-hall in Cumberland (*a*), was born at Norham in Northumberland, of whose important castle his father was then Governor (*b*). By the care of the most eminent Bernard Gilpin, stiled the northern Apostle, he was educated in Grammar-learning; and, when fit for the University, sent by the same generous person to Edmund Hall in Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1576, by whose liberal hand he was encouraged and chiefly maintained in his studies (*c*). On the the 12th of February 1579-80, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts; at the compleating of which, he exceeded all that performed their exercises, at that time (*d*). The same year, namely 1580, he was elected probationer Fellow of Merton-College, and remained in that Society about five years before he proceeded in his faculty, not taking the degree of Master of Arts, till June the 14th, 1585 (*e*). While he remained in that College, he was esteemed a great Orator and Poet; and in process of time became a better disputant in Divinity, than he had before been in Philosophy (*f*). What preferments he had, is not mentioned any where; nor doth it appear that he was possessed of any dignity in the Church, till he became a Bishop (*g*). After having continued many years in the University (*h*), and taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, May 16, 1594 (*i*), and that of Doctor, December 1, 1613 (*k*), he was advanced to the Bishoprick of Landaff; to which he was elected, December 23, 1617, confirmed, July 11, 1618, and consecrated at Lambeth the next day (*l*). The same year he was sent, by King James I, with three other English Divines (*m*), and one from Scotland (*n*), to the Synod of Dort; where he stood up in favour of Episcopacy [*A*], and behaved so well in every respect, to the credit

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 517. He was born in 1559, as being 17 years old in 1576. Ibid.
(*b*) Ibid. Camden's Britan. in Northumberland, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1099. Fuller's Church History, B. xi. p. 131.
(*c*) Wood, ibid.
(*d*) Ibid. and Fasti, Vol. I. col. 118.
(*e*) Ibid. Athen. and Fasti, col. 128.
(*f*) Athen. ubi supra, col. 517.
(*g*) His name no where occurs in J. Le Neve's Fasti, Br. Willis's Surveys, Newcourt, nor any such authors.
(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.
(*i*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 148.
(*k*) Ibid. col. 195.
(*l*) Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, by J. Le Neve, edit. 1716, p. 522. Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 1029.
(*m*) *Viz.* Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, and then of Norwich; John Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Sarum; and Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney-college, Cambr. Fuller's Church Hist. Book x. p. 77. and Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. edit. 1714, p. 716.
(*n*) Namely, Dr Walter Balcanquall, afterward Dean of Durham, Ibid.

[*A*] *He stood up, at the synod of Dort, in favour of Episcopacy.*] For, it being asserted in that synod (1), 'That the Ministers of the word of God, in 'what place soever settled, have the same advantage 'of character, the same jurisdiction and authority, in 'regard they are all equally Ministers of Christ, the 'only universal Bishop, and head of the Church.' In opposition to that Bishop Carleton made the following protestation. — 'That, whereas in the Confession there 'was inserted a strange conceit of the parity of Mi'nisters to be instituted by Christ, I declared our dis'sent utterly in that point. I shewed, that by Christ a 'parity was never instituted in the Church: That he 'ordained twelve Apostles, as also seventy Disciples: 'That the authority of the Twelve was above the 'other: That the Church preserved this order, left by 'our

(1) Seff. CXLIV. Art. 31.

credit of our nation; that after his return, he was, upon the translation of Dr Harsnet (or Hasnoth) to Norwich, elected to succeed him in the See of Chichester, September 8, 1619, and confirmed the 20th of the same month (o). He was a man of considerable learning, and writ several books, of which we shall give an account in the note [B]. Having at length arrived to the age of sixty-nine, he departed this life in May 1628; and was buried, the 27th of that month, in the choir of his Cathedral Church at Chichester, near the altar (p). He was a person of solid judgment, and of various reading; well versed in the Fathers and Schoolmen; wanting nothing that could render him a compleat Divine. But withal, he was a bitter enemy to the Papists, and in the point of Predestination a rigid Calvinist (q). 'I have loved him, says Mr Camden (r), for his excellent 'proficiency in Divinity, and other polite parts of learning.' A valuable character, coming from so great a man!

(o) J. Le Neve, ubi supra, p. 59. Wood, Athen. ubi supra.

(p) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 519.

(q) Idem, col. 517, 518.

(r) Britannia, ubi supra.

'our Saviour. And therefore, when the extraordinary 'power of the Apostles ceased, yet this ordinary authority continued in Bishops, who succeeded them, 'who were by the Apostles left in the government of 'the Church, to ordain Ministers, and to see that 'they who were so ordained should preach no other 'doctrine: That in an inferior degree the Ministers, 'who were governed by Bishops, succeeded the seventy 'Disciples: That this order hath been maintained in 'the Church from the times of the Apostles. And 'herein I appealed to the judgment of Antiquity, 'and to the judgment of any learned man now living '(2).' —— At this learned Bishop's return to England, the States sent a letter to King James, wherein they highly extolled him, and the rest of the Divines, for their virtue, learning, piety, and ardent desire of peace. *In Theologis porro utriusque Regni vestri omnibus, & singulis, quorum agmen ducit vere Reverendissimus Dominus Georgius Landavensis Episcopus, imago, atque expressa virtutis effigies; eam eruditionem, pietatem, pacis studium, eumque zelum deprehendimus, ut, cum ipsius beneficii causâ Majestati Tuæ multum debeamus, magna pars ipsius beneficii nobis videatur,* [q. *debeatur*] *quod ipsi ad nos missi sint* (3).

(2) Collier's Eccl. Hist. ubi supra, p. 717.

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Book x. p. 83, 84.

[B] *He writ several books,* &c.] Which are as follow: I. *Heroici characteres, ad illustriss. equitem Henricum Nevillum*; i. e. Heroic characters, addressed to Sir Henry Nevil. Oxon. 1603, 4*to*. Several of his Latin verses are also in the University-book of verses made on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, in *Bodleiomnema*, and in other books. II. 'Tithes examin'ed, and proved to be due to the Clergy by a Divine 'Right.' Lond. 1606, and 1611, 4*to*. III. 'Juris'diction Regal, Episcopal, Papal: Wherein is declared 'how the Pope hath intruded upon the jurisdiction of 'Temporal Princes, and of the Church, &c.' Lond. 1610, 4*to*. IV. *Consensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos, de Scripturis, Ecclesia, fide, & gratia,* &c. i. e. The consent of the universal Church against the Council of Trent, on the Scriptures, the Church, Faith, &c. Lond. 1613, 8*vo*. Dedicated to the members of Merton-College. V. 'A thankfull Remembrance 'of God's Mercy. In an Historicall Collection of the 'great and mercifull Deliverances of the Church and 'State of England, since the Gospel beganne here to flou'rish, from the beginning of Queene Elizabeth.' Lond. 1614; the third edition came out, in 1627; and the fourth, in 1630. It contains, a thankful enumeration of the several deliverances of this Church and State, from the cruel plots of the Papists; from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the Powder-treason, in 1605. The historical part is chiefly extracted from Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth: and the book is adorned, at the beginning of each chapter, with figures engraved in copper, representing the most material things contained in the ensuing description. VI. 'Short Directions to 'know the true Church.' Lond. 1615, &c. 12*mo*. VII. 'Oration made at the Hague before the Prince 'of Orange, and the Assembly of the High and 'Mighty Lords, the States General.' Lond. 1619, in one sheet and a half, 4*to*. VIII. *Astrologimania*: 'or, the Madness of Astrologers: or, an Examination 'of Sir Christopher Heydon's Book, entitled, *A De'fence of judiciary Astrology*.' Written about the year 1604, and published at London 1624, 4*to*. By Thomas Vicars, B. D. who had married the author's daughter. It was reprinted at London 1651 (4). IX. 'Examination of those things, wherein the Au'thor of the late Appeal (5) holdeth the Doctrine of 'Pelagians and Arminians, to be the Doctrines of the 'Church of England.' Lond. 1626, and 1636, 4*to*. X. 'A joynt Attestation avowing, that the Discipline 'of the Church of England was not impeached by 'the Synod of Dort.' Lond. 1626, 4*to*. XI. *Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri sanctiss. famaque apud Anglos aquilonares celeberrimi.* Lond. 1628, 4*to*. inserted in Dr W. Bates's collection of Lives. Lond. 1681, 4*to*. It was also published in English, under this title, 'The Life of Bernard Gilpin, a man most holy and 'renowned among the Northerne English.' Lond. 1629, 4*to*. and 1636, 8*vo*. XII. 'Testimony con'cerning the Presbyterian Discipline in the Low'countries, and Episcopal government in England.' Printed several times in 4*to*. and 8*vo*. and at London in particular, in 1642, in one sheet. XIII. Latin Letter to Mr Camden, containing some Notes and Observations on his Britannia. Printed by Dr T. Smith, amongst *Camdeni Epistolæ*. No. 80. XVI. Several Sermons. XV. He had also a hand in the Dutch Annotations, and in the new translation of the Bible, undertaken by order of the Synod of Dort, but not compleated and published, till 1637 (6). Dr Fuller observes, That his good affections appears in his treatise, intitled, *A thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy*; solid Judgment in his *Confutation of judicial Astrology*; and clear Invention in other juvenile Exercises (7). C

(4) See below in the article of CHAMBER (JOHN).

(5) *Viz.* Rich. Montague, author of *Appello Cæsarem*, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 518, 519.

(7) Worthies of England, in Northumberland, p. 305.

CARLETON (DUDLEY) afterwards knighted, and created Baron and Viscount, was a younger son (a) of Anthony Carleton of Baldwin-Brightwell in Oxfordshire, Esq; and born in that place the 10th of March 1573 (b). He received his education in Christ-Church College Oxon, of which he became a Student about the year 1591 (c), being a young man of parts, and towardly expectation (d). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 2d of July 1595 (e), he went and travelled beyond sea for his improvement, and became Secretary to Sir Henry Neville, Embassador in France (f). At his return, on the 12th of July 1600, he was created Master of Arts (g). Soon after he came to Court, where he seems to have had a place of Gentleman-Usher quarterly-waiter [A]. He was also one of the Members of the Parliament which met at Westminster, March 19, 1603-4, wherein he made himself much known (h). We are told (i), that he was Secretary to Sir Ralph Winwood, Embassador in the Low-Countries; but

(a) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. by the Earl of Clarendon, edit. Oxford, 1732, in six Vols 8*vo*, Part i. p. 64.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 453. and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 563.

(c) Wood, ibid. Fuller's Worthies, in Oxfordshire, p. 334.

(d) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(e) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 149.

(f) Clarendon, ib.

(g) Wood, ibid. col. 158.

(h) Memorials of Affairs of State, collected from Sir Ralph Winwood's Papers, Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. II. p. 54.

(i) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

[A] *A place of Gentleman-Usher quarterly-waiter.*] This I infer from the following passage, in a letter of his to Mr Winwood (1), — 'In Mr Chamberlain's ab'sence, I come *in quarter*, and have waited so dili'gently at Court this Christmas, that I have matter 'enough, if the report of masks and mummings can 'please you (2).'

(1) Dated Jan. 1604, from London.

(2) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. chiefly from Sir Ralph Winwood's Papers, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. II. p. 43.

but that is not so certain, as that he attended the Lord Norris into Spain (k), in the year 1605, upon very advantagious conditions. After that, he was for some time out of employment; and in 1609, came and settled in London [B], in order to set himself forward in the world, and keep himself in sight (l), that he might not slip out of the minds of those who could promote him. In 1610, June 25, he was knighted by King James I. at Windsor (m), and had an employment given him in Ireland. His journey thither was in that forwardness, that he had taken a house, and made his provisions at Dublin; but he was stopped upon a favourable consideration of the poorness of the place, and the small use there would be had of his service. Shortly after, he was appointed Embassador at Brussels, and so near his dispatch, that his Privy-Seal was drawn, and an hour appointed for his taking leave of the King (n): but a reason of State stopped that voyage [C]. Thereupon, he was nominated Embassador to Venice, for which place he set out towards the end of August 1610 (o), and resided five years there with good reputation (p). From thence, he was sent Embassador extraordinary to Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, in which station he continued half a year: and afterwards Embassador in ordinary to Holland, where he was resident ten years (q); during which period, he was employed in giving up the Cautionary towns to the Dutch (r), and was also very active and busy with relation to the Synod of Dort [D]. Towards the latter end of King James I, he was made Vice-Chamberlain of the Houshold, which office he holding in the reign of King Charles I, his commission was renewed by his Majesty for the latter part of those ten years that he was resident in Holland. This term being expired, he was sent Embassador extraordinary at two several times to Lewis XIII. King of France (s), and likewise Embassador Extraordinary to the United Provinces [E]. We are told (t), that he gave King James I. an important advice for his safety [F]. He was burgess for Hastings in Sussex in the Parliament, that began June 18, 1625 (u), and was also made one of the Privy-Council (w). On the 22d of May 1626, King Charles I. created him Baron Carleton of Imbercourt in Surrey (x); and the next year, being accompanied by Sir William Seagar, Knight, then King at Arms, he went into Holland, and presented the Garter to Henry, Prince of Orange, with the Ensigns belonging to that most noble order. Upon the 25th of July 1628, he was created Viscount of Dorchester [G] in Oxfordshire: and the 18th of December following, in the room of the Lord Conway, was constituted one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State (y). He died at his house in Westminster, February 15, 1631-2, and was buried in the Chapel of St Paul in Westminster-Abbey (z). Over his grave was soon after erected

(k) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 54, 57.

(l) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 6.

(m) Dugdale and Wood, ubi supra; ex lib. certific. in Offic. Armor.

(n) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 200.

(o) Ibid. and p. 213.

(p) Wood, Ath. and Lord Clarendon, ubi supra.

(q) Wood, ubi supra.

(r) The Hist. of the Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, in Oxfordshire, p. 334.

(s) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(t) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724. Vol. I. p. 12.

(u) Wood, ubi supra.

(w) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 65.

(x) He, and the Lords Mandeville and Grandison, were created Peers, in order to ballance the Duke of Buckingham's enemies in the House of Lords. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 910.

(y) Wood; and Dugdale's Baronage, ubi supra.

(z) Ibid. and Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's addit. edit. 1720. B. vi. p. 19. Vol. II.

[B] *He came and settled in London.*] Upon which occasion, he gave the following account of himself to Sir Ralph Winwood 'You may well think, that 'unless I were under the protection of some little 'Saint, I would not so venturously set up for myself 'with such an army of difficulties, as a dear year, a 'plaguy town, a growing wife, and a poor purse. 'But of hard beginnings many times ensue good 'effects; and of the two parts of happiness which 'the Phylosopher required in *patrifamilias*, the master 'of a family (that is *quies & abundantia*, quiet and 'plenty) the defects of the one are supplied with the 'overplus of the other.' In the same letter he complains, that he was afflicted with the stone (3).

[C] *But a reason of State stopped that voyage.*] Because, as the Archduke of Austria had first withdrawn his Embassador from England, it was therefore resolved he should first send (4).

[D] *He was employed in giving up the Cautionary towns to the Dutch, and was also very active with relation to the Synod of Dort.*] The towns here meant, were, the Brill in Holland, and the town of Flushing with the castle of Ramakins in Zealand; which the States had mortgaged, or given by way of *caution*, to Queen Elizabeth, in 1585, till they repaid her the sums she had advanced in maintaining five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, for their defence against the Spaniards (5). They continued in the hands of the English, till the year 1616, when King James, who was always in want of money, gave them up to the States for two hundred and forty-eight thousand pounds, instead of six millions, which they owed to the Crown of England, besides eighteen years interest at ten *per Cent* (6). ——— As to the Synod of Dort; the Earl of Clarendon, says (7), That Sir Dudley was not thought to be so equal a spectator, or assessor, as he ought to have been; but by the infusions he made into King James, and by his own activity, he did all he could to discountenance the Arminians, and to raise the credit and authority of the Calvinists. His Chaplain at this place, was the ever memorable Mr John Hales of Eaton, who sent him an account of the Synod's transactions, by letters, printed in his Golden Remains.

(3) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 6.

(4) Ibid. p. 200.

(5) Conventiones, Acta Publ. &c. published by T. Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 793, &c. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1585.

(6) Detection of the Court and State of England, by R. Coke, Esq; edit. 1719, Vol. I. p. 89, 90. Rapin's Hist. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 191.

(7) Part i. ubi supra, p. 65.

[E] *He was Embassador Extraordinary to the United Provinces.*] And the last who was admitted to be present and vote in the general Assembly of the States, under the character of Embassador; of which great privilege the Crown had been possessed ever since the treaty made between Queen Elizabeth and the States, in 1585 (8).

[F] *He gave King James an important advice for his safety.*] When he came home from Spain, he found King James at Theobald's, hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner: upon that, in order to put him on a more careful looking to himself, he told the King, he must either give over that way of hunting, or stop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was Priest-hunting: for he had intelligence in Spain, that the Priests were comforting themselves with this, That if he went on against them, they would soon get rid of him. —— The King sent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this: And he saw it had made a great impression on him. But instead of making him leave off hunting, it occasioned his putting a stop to the prosecutions against the Papists (9). Bishop Burnet is mistaken, when he affirms (10), that Sir Dudley Carleton had been Embassador in Spain; for he never was so.

[G] *The 25th of July 1628, he was created Viscount Dorchester.*] And through the Duke of Buckingham's interest, as the Lord Clarendon observes in the following words (11). 'The making him Secretary 'of State, and a Peer of the realm, when his estate 'was scarce visible, was the last piece of workman'ship the Duke of Buckingham lived to finish, who 'seldom satisfied himself with the conferring a single 'obligation.' It was probably after his being created a Viscount, That he proposed in Parliament the laying an *Excise* upon the nation: which was taken so heinously ill, that tho' he was a Privy-Counsellor, and Principal Secretary of State, he hardly escaped being committed to the Tower. So odious, as D. Lloyd remarks (12), was that Dutch Devil in King Charles; which was raised by the Parliament in 1643, with many more that were conjured up in three or four years, but not likely to be laid in three or four score.

(8) Clarendon, ib.

(9) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, ubi supra, p. 12.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ubi supra, p. 65.

(12) State Worthies, p. 912, 913.

[H] He

erected against the East wall, a well composed plain monument of black and white marble, having a half canopy supported by Doric pillars, with the image of a man in his robes of estate, and Viscount's Coronet, leaning on a pedestal, made of the like black and white marble. He writ several things, most of which have been published since his decease [H]. As to his character: he was a learned and ingenious man; master of several languages; an exact Statesman, acquainted with the intrigues of Courts, and with the Laws, Constitutions, and Manners of most States in Europe (a): he understood all that related to foreign employments, and the condition of other Princes and nations very well; but was unacquainted with the Government, Laws, and Customs of his own country, and the nature of the people (b). However, he behaved himself in all employments so well-becoming a man that understood so many languages, that was so well versed in ancient and modern History, that had composed so many choice pieces of Politicks, that was so well versed in the Mathematicks; and added to these a graceful and charming look, a gentle and a sweet elocution; that, notwithstanding his rigidness in some points, he continued to his dying day in great favour and most eminent service; and failed in nothing but his French embassy, because there he had to do with women (c). Together with his great abilities and capacity, he was just in his dealings, and on that account beloved by most men, who much missed him after his death (d).

(a) Wood, ubi supra, col. 563.

(b) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 64.

(c) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, 2d edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 911, 912.

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

[H] *He writ several things.*] Viz. I. *Balance, pour peser en toute equité & droicture la Harangue faite nagueres en l'assemblee des illustres & puissans Seigneurs, Messeigneurs les Etats generaux des Provinces Unies des Païs Bas*, &c. i. e. A balance, or scales, to weigh justly the speech lately made before their High Mightinesses the States of the United Provinces, &c. *Harangue faite au Conseil de Messieurs les Estats generaux des Provinces Unies, touchant le discord & les troubles de l'Eglise & la Police, causés par la doctrine d'Arminius*, October 6, 1617, stil. nov. *i. e.* A speech made in the Assembly of the United Provinces, concerning the troubles and differences in Church and State, occasioned by the doctrine of Arminius. Printed in 1618, 4to. II. Letters in *Cabala, or Scrinia Sacra*. p. 183, &c. edit. Lond. 1663, fol. III. Several French and Latin Letters to the learned Ger. Jo. Vossius, printed in *Ger. Jo. Vossii & clarorum Virorum ad eum Epistolæ*. Lond. 1690, fol. published by *Paulus Colomesius*. IV. Several Letters to Sir Ralph Winwood, printed in the three volumes of Memorials above-mentioned (13). V. Several Speeches in Parliament, in 1626. One of them is printed in the first volume of Rushworth's Collections, edit. 1659, p. 358, 359. In this speech he says, In his voyage to Venice, the ship he was in, struck thrice upon a sand. VI. Memoirs for dispatches of political affairs relating to Holland and England, in 1618, with several propositions made to the States, MS. VII. Particular Observations of the military Affairs in the Palatinate and the Low-Countries, in 1621 and 1622, MS. VIII. Letters relating to State-Affairs, written to the King, and Viscount Rochester, from Venice, in 1613, MS (14). C

(13) London, 1725.

(14) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 564.

CARPENTER (RICHARD), a Divine and Poet of the last age, had his education at Eaton-College near Windsor, and from thence was elected Scholar of King's-College in Cambridge, in the year 1622: where continuing about three years, he afterwards went out of England, and studied in Flanders, Artois, France, Spain, and Italy; and at length received holy orders at Rome from the hands of the Pope's substitute. Soon after, having taken upon him the order of St Benedict, he was sent into England to make proselytes; in which employment having continued somewhat above a year, he returned to the Protestant Religion, and, thro' the Archbishop of Canterbury's interest, obtained the small vicarage of Poling by the sea-side, near Arundel Castle, in Sussex. Here he was exposed to the insults and abuses of the Romish party, particularly one Francis à S. Clara, living in that neighbourhood under the name of Hunt, who would be very free with him, and expose him to scorn before his parishioners. In the time of the Civil War, he quitted his living, and retired to Paris, where, reconciling himself to the Romish Church, he made it his business to rail against the Protestants. Afterwards returning to England, he settled at Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, where he had some relations; and, being once more a Protestant, he would often preach there in a very fantastical manner, to the great mirth of his auditors. He was living there in 1670; but, before his death, he returned a third time to Popery, causing his pretended wife to embrace that persuasion; and in that faith he died. He published some *Sermons* and a *Comedy*, called *The Pragmatical Jesuit* [A]. He was generally esteemed a man of the most fantastical character, one that changed his opinions as often as his cloaths, and, for his juggles and tricks in religion, a Theological Mountebank (a).

There

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 515, 516.

[A] *Some* Sermons, *and a* Comedy *called* The Pragmatical Jesuit.] His sermons are these following. I. *The perfect Law of God, being a Sermon and no Sermon, preached and yet not preached*. Printed in 1652, in *octavo*. II. *Astrology proved harmless, useful, pious*; on *Genes.* i. 14. *And let them be for signs*. Lond. 1657, in 4to. Dedicated to Elias Ashmole. At the end of the Epistle Dedicatory, is Richard Carpenter's picture, with a face looking towards him, out of the mouth of which issues a serpent; and out of the serpent's mouth fire. Underneath are written these words: *Ricardus Carpenterus porcello cuidam Gerasenorum, scilicet in omnia præcipiti, fluctibusque devoto, eidem porco loquaci pariter et minaci mendacique indicit silentium, et obmutescit*. III. *Rome in her fruits*. Preached the 1st of November 1662, near the Standard in Cheapside; in answer to a Pamphlet intitled, *Reasons why the Roman Catholicks should not be persecuted*. Lond. 1663. 4to. on *Matth.* vii. 16. There is extant by the same author, a treatise intitled, *Experience, History, and Divinity, in five books*. Lond. 1642, in a thick *octavo*. Dedicated to the Parliament then sitting; with his picture before it. This book was republished in 1648, under the title of *The Downfall of Antichrist*. His comedy, called *The Pragmatical Jesuit*, came out after the Restoration. The picture before it represents him in a very genteel lay-habit; whereas that before his *Experience*, &c. exhibits him in the dress of a formal clergyman, with a mortified countenance (1). Mr Langbaine (2) speaks with some commendation of this play. He says 'it is very instructive, tending chiefly to morality, shewing the 'difference between true religion and hypocrisy; the 'author having made it his business to expose all the 'subtilties and inventions of the Romish Clergy to gain 'proselytes, and promote their religion.'

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 515.

(2) Account of the Dramatick Poets, Lond. 1691, 8vo, p. 59.

[B] He

There was another RICHARD CARPENTER, a Divine, of a very different character from the above, and prior in order of time: he was a Corniſh man, and become a Batler in Exeter-College in Oxford, in 1592, and four years after Fellow of that houſe, being then Bachelor of Arts. By the advice and direction of the Rector Dr Holland, he applied himſelf to Theological ſtudies, and, in a few years, proved a learned Divine, and an excellent Preacher. In 1611, he was admitted to the reading of the ſentences; and about that time was made Rector of Sherwill, and of Loxhore adjoining, in Devonſhire; and afterwards obtained the benefice of Ham near Sherwill. He died the 18th of December 1627, aged fifty-two, and was buried in the chancel of the Church of Loxhore (*b*) [*B*]. He publiſhed ſome *Sermons* [*C*]. Langbaine (*c*) confounds theſe two *Carpenters* [*D*].

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 514.

(*c*) In his Account of the Dramatick Poets, Lond. 1691, 8*vo*, p. 50.

[*B*] *He was buried in the chancel of the church of Loxhore.*] Over his grave is a large epitaph in proſe and verſe, beginning thus: *Richardus Carpenter S. Theol. D. ab eruditione multiplici venerandus, pietate vitæ, integritate, morumque comitate valde clarus: hujus et eccleſiæ Sherwillenſis paſtor fidus*, &c. i. e. ' Richard Carpenter, Doctor in Divinity, reſpectable ' for his extenſive learning, famous for piety of life, ' integrity, and courteous manners; and a faithful ' Paſtor of this and the Church of Sherwill, *&c.*'

[*C*] *He publiſhed ſome* Sermons.] I. *The Soul's Centinel.* Preached at the funeral of Sir Arthur Acland, Knt. 9. Jan. 1611. *on* Job xiv. 14. *Lond.* 1612. 8vo. II. *A Paſtoral Charge, faithfully given and diſcharged at the Triennial Viſitation of* W. *Biſhop of* Exon, *at* Barnſtaple, 7 *Sept.* 1616. *on* Acts xx. 28. London, 1616. 8vo. III. *Chriſt's Larum-bell of Love reſounded*, &c. *on* John xv. 12. Lond. 1616. 8vo. IV. *The conſcionable Chriſtian*, &c. Being three Aſſize Sermons at Taunton and Chard in Somerſetſhire, 1620, on *Acts* xxiv. 16. Lond. 1623. 4to (3).

[*D*] Langbaine *confounds theſe two* Carpenters.] Speaking (4) of the play called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit*, written by the firſt-mentioned Richard Carpenter, he ſays: ' I know not whether or no it might not be writ ' by a Divine of that name, the author of ſeveral ſer- ' mons, particularly three, of keeping a good con- ' ſcience, printed in *quarto*, Lond. 1623.' Theſe are the three *Aſſize Sermons*, mentioned in the laſt remark. T

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 514, 515.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

CARPENTER (GEORGE, Lord) Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, in the county of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland; one who by his military atchievements greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf through the whole courſe of the late wars in Ireland, Flanders, and Spain; whoſe courage and prudence raiſed him, by gradual promotions, through the ſeveral ſtations and degrees of the army to almoſt the higheſt pitch of military honours (*a*); he was deſcended from an ancient family in Herefordſhire [*A*], and born at Pitchers Ocull, in that county, on the 10th of February 1657, was the ſon of Warncomb Carpenter, ſixth ſon of Thomas Carpenter, Eſq; Lord of the manor of the Homme or Holme, in the pariſh of Dilwynne, near Weobley in this county; which manor with a conſiderable eſtate has been in this family, and lineally deſcended from father to ſon for above four-hundred years, and is now in the poſſeſſion of the preſent Lord Carpenter, it falling to him in the year 1733, at the death of the late poſſeſſor (who was grandſon to the eldeſt ſon of the above named Thomas Carpenter) all the elder branches dying without iſſue (*b*). —— Mr Warncomb Carpenter married Eleanor, daughter of William Taylor, Eſq; of the ſame county, and widow of John Hill, Eſquire [*B*], by whom ſhe had only one ſon [*C*]. But by Mr Warncomb Carpenter ſhe had ſeven, of whom, George (Lord Carpenter) was the youngeſt; he had his education at a private Grammar-ſchool in the country, where he made much improvement in claſſical learning, and was upon his arrival in London, ſoon recommended as well by the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, his behaviour and accompliſhments as by his friends, to be Page to the Earl of Montague, whom he attended in his embaſſy to the Court of France in 1671, at the age of fourteen. Upon his return in 1672, he rode as a private gentleman in the third troop of guards, which was then looked upon as an honourable poſt, none but the youngeſt ſons of noblemen and gentlemen of fortune being admitted. He was ſhortly after appointed Quartermaſter to the regiment of horſe, commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, and paſſed through all

(*a*) See [illegible] epitaph in [illegible]te [*H*].

(*b*) This, and great part of this article, is taken from Memoirs communicated by the family.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an ancient family in Herefordſhire.*] We alſo find the name, and, in all probability, the ſame family, of great antiquity and repute, in other parts of England, particularly in the Weſt. In 1303, the 33d of Edward I. John Carpenter was Member of Parliament for the Borough of Leſkard in the county of Cornwall; as in the 35th of that reign, was Stephen le Carpenter for the borough of Crediton in the county of Devon; and in the 19th of Edward II. 1325, Henry le Carpenter was Member for the town of Derby (1).

[*B*] *Mr Warncomb Carpenter (Lord Carpenter's father) married Eleanor Daughter of William Taylor, and widow of John Hill, Eſq;*] With this Lady he had a conſiderable jointure, beſides fifteen hundred pounds his own private fortune, given him by his father; a large patrimony at that time for a younger ſon, eſpecially a ſixth. This enabled him to ſupport himſelf, and his large family, in a handſome and genteel manner, to give all his ſons a proper education, and to purſue the bent of his own natural inclinations, in eſpouſing the Royal Cauſe, to which he was moſt zealouſly attached; and by which, in all probability, he was a great ſufferer, as moſt of thoſe loyal gentlemen were, loſing not only great part of his fortune, but even his life, in defence thereof; for being an active officer in the King's army, and a man of great ſpirit, he was, in the heat of the battle of Naſeby, June 14, 1645, wounded by a muſket-ball, which went through both his legs; this, though not the cauſe of his immediate death, the wound being curable, proved ſo however at laſt, for breaking again out ſome years afterwards, it became incurable, and ſo was the occaſion of his death.

[*C*] *Widow of John Hill, Eſq; by whom ſhe had only one ſon.*] Named William, who being a favourite ſervant of his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, then Lord High-Admiral of England (2), and afterwards King James II. he gave him the command of the ſhip Coventry; and not long afterwards made him Governor, and Captain-General of the Leeward Iſlands, which being afterwards taken by the French, he bravely re-took them, and continued Governor of them to the time of his death.

[*D*] And

(1) The Iriſh Compendium, p. 359.

(2) The [illegible] York's [illegible] Memoirs, 8vo, p. [illegible]

all the commissions of Cornet, Lieutenant, and Captain (c), till he was advanced to be the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, in which he continued thirteen years, till 1685, though the regiment was almost constantly in service. In the year 1693, he married Alice, daughter of the Right Honourable William Baron Cawfield, afterwards created Viscount Charlemont (and always known by the memorable epithet of the good Lord Charlemont) who had a considerable jointure by her first husband, James Margetson, Esq; by the sale of part of which, he was enabled to purchase the King's own regiment of dragoons, which he commanded till he died. He served through the whole course of the last wars with France, Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, with unblemished honour and reputation; and distinguished himself to great advantage, by his courage, conduct, and humanity (d). For the particulars of his military atchievements we must refer the reader to the several Histories of those wars, in which, all his actions are recorded greatly to his honour. At the unfortunate battle of Almanza in 1707, by his prudent conduct in bringing up the rear in the last squadron of the retreat, he preserved the baggage of the whole army (e). In the action at Almenara, July 27, 1710, he was wounded, and had, among the other Generals, the honour of receiving the compliments of his Majesty Charles III. King of Spain, for their judicious conduct and bravery in that engagement (f). In defending the breach at Brihuega, he was again wounded most desperately, and had his advice been followed, the town had certainly held out till relieved by Count Staremberg [D]; instead of which, all our forces were, after an obstinate resistance against the whole French and Spanish army, taken prisoners here. The wound which Col. Carpenter received was by a musket ball, which broke part of his jaw-bone, beat out all his teeth on one side, and lodged itself in the root of his tongue, where it remained a whole year before it was extracted; during which time he underwent the most exquisite pain, and his life was despaired of, wholly subsisting by liquids, being incapable of swallowing any other food. In 1705, he was made Brigadier-General, in 1708 Major-General, and in 1710 Lieutenant-General. In 1714 he was chosen Member of Parliament for Whitchurch in Hampshire, and the year following was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna, having acquired the personal regard and esteem of the Emperor, by serving under him in Spain, but as he had prepared all things in readiness, and was just setting out for his embassy, the rebellion in 1715 broke out, and he was sent into the North, where he not only prevented the rebels from seizing upon Newcastle, and marching into Yorkshire, but having overtaken them at Preston, where they were invested by Major-General Willes, he, by altering the disposition which that General had made, cut off entirely both their escape and receiving any fresh supplies, and obliged them to send out hostages, that they should raise no works for the defence of the town, nor endeavour to escape themselves, or suffer any of their party to do so till the next morning, when they were to determine whether they would surrender at discretion or not, which, however, they accordingly did in the morning (g). This was all the treaty the General made with the rebels, nor were any hopes of pardon or mercy so much as suggested to them [E]. At the beginning of February 1716, General Carpenter sent a challenge

(c) See his epitaph in note [H]. As also, The Preamble to his Patent in note [G].

(d) See the Preamble to his Patent, note [G].

(e) Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. IX. p. 85.

(f) Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. IX. p. 94.

(g) See an Account of his conduct in this affair, in *A True Relation of the Pursuit of the Rebels in the North, and of their Surrender at Preston to Lieutenant-General Carpenter, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces there*; joined to a Plan published under this title, *An exact Plan of the Town of Preston, with the Barricadoes of the Rebels, and the Dispositions of the King's Forces under the Command of Lieutenant-General Carpenter, and Major-General Willes*. See likewise, The Political State of Great Britain, for Febr. 1715-16, Vol. XI. p. 179, &c.

[D] *And had his advice been followed, the town had certainly held out till relieved by Count Staremberg.*] In the Council of War, called upon the imminent danger in which they found themselves, upon being invested by the French and Spanish armies, Lieutenant-General Carpenter was of opinion, that all the horse and dragoons should march out of the town over the bridge, and that the foot, with the heavy baggage, should be left, where, by casting up entrenchments and barricadoes, they might hold out two or three days, till they could get succour from Count Staremberg. This counsel was the more to be regarded, in that they had a sufficient quantity of powder and shot for all the troops; they who should have taken care of it, having neglected to provide them before the armies separated. But whether, upon expectation of being timely relieved, or out of fear of losing their baggage and plunder, the majority resolved, that all the troops should stay in and defend the town. Count Staremberg, upon notice of their danger, marched with all possible expedition to their rescue: but before he could come up, they had been forced to yield prisoners of war for want of ammunition (3).

(3) Boyer's Reign of Queen Anne, p. 495.

[E] *This was all the treaty the General made with the rebels, nor was any hope of pardon or mercy so much as suggested to them.*] As is, without foundation, asserted by some favourers of those unhappy sufferers in that rebellion. Upon this account, we think it incumbent upon us to clear the General's conduct in this respect, which we cannot better do, than by giving the circumstances of these proceedings from the trial of Lord Wintoun (4).

(4) State Tryals, Vol. VI. p. 38.

'*Sir J. Jekyll.* Mr Carpenter, please to inform my 'Lords what passed at Preston after you came there?

'*Gen. Carp.* After I came, the rebels sent out to 'know, what terms they might expect? and were 'answered, None, but at discretion. They soon after 'sent out one Captain Dalziel, to desire a cessation 'till next morning; upon which I sent in Colonel 'Churchill, to tell them I agreed to a cessation, provided 'they sent out an English Lord, and a Scotch 'Lord, as hostages:——and he brought out my 'Lord Derwentwater, and Colonel Mackintosh, as 'hostages, that they should make no attempt to escape, 'nor any works for defence in the town.

'*Att. Gen.* Pray, Sir, acquaint my Lords who you 'sent in with Colonel Churchill?

'*Gen. Carp.* Colonel Cotton.

'*Att. Gen.* When did they agree to surrender the 'place?

'*Gen. Carpenter.* Not till the next morning. The 'hostages were, That none should attempt to escape, 'nor any defences should be made in the town, till 'the next morning; at which time they would determine, 'whether they would surrender, or not.

'*Att. Gen.* I desire you to acquaint my Lords, 'whether these were all the terms offered; or whether 'there were any hopes of mercy given them?

'*Gen. Carp.* I gave them none at all myself, and it 'is very unlikely any body else should. I commanded 'in Chief his Majesty's forces there: No body ought 'to have done it; and if any officer took upon him 'so to do, without my order or leave, it was very 'unanswerable by the rules and discipline of war, and 'what he cannot answer: I hope no body did: I am 'sure, I gave no such directions: Colonel Churchill 'can acquaint your Lordships, whether I directed him 'to mention any other conditions to them, than at discretion.

challenge by Col. Churchill to General Willes [*F*]; the motives reported for this were some words which had passed between them in Spain, and were revived again at Preston. But this duel was honourably compromised, by the generous interpositions of the Dukes of Marlborough and Montague. In 1716 he was constituted Governor of Minorca, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland; and in 1719, was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy in the county of Kilkenny in the kingdom of Ireland [*G*]; in the year 1722, Lord Carpenter was chosen member of Parliament for the city of Westminster, and was now as diligent in the service of his country in the House, as he had before been in the field, on all occasions voting for what he thought the good of his country, without any regard to party, from the strictest principles of honour, justice, and integrity,

'*Sir J. Jekyll.* Did you hear any other officer give them any hope or expectation of mercy?

'*Gen. Carp.* No, I did not.

[*In relation to General Carpenter's evidence, Colonel Churchill was sworn, and asked,* viz.]

'*Mr Cowper.* The question proposed is, Whether you was sent into Preston, and by whom?

'*Col. Churchill.* I came up to Preston on Sunday morning, under General Carpenter's command, about ten o'clock; about one, they sent out to capitulate; about five, I was sent in by General Carpenter; their request being, that they might have till next morning to consider whether they would surrender, or not. My directions were they should have that, upon condition they sent out hostages that none should attempt to escape, and that no defence should be made in the town. The people named to me by General Carpenter, were my Lord Derwentwater, or my Lord Widdrington; and my Lord Kenmure, or Mackintosh, was mentioned for the Scotch. I directed them to send hostages to me. They could not find my Lord Derwentwater nor Widdrington, and Mackintosh was gone to bed. A little before eight I went with them, and told them the terms I was to deliver to them, that they were to throw up no works to fortify themselves; and should answer that none of them should escape. My Lord Derwentwater and Mackintosh went out with me; I carried them to the two Generals there, and at seven o'Clock next Morning they surrendered themselves.

'*Mr Cowper.* Please to give me leave to ask you, whether you had any commission from the General that sent you into the town; or whether you of yourself, without such commission, gave them any hopes of mercy?

'*Col. Churchill.* I had not any power to do it; and was so far from doing it, that I don't remember a single syllable was mentioned either on our side, or theirs, about it.'

'*Mr Cowper.* Did you at any other time hear any other officers give them such assurance?

'*Col. Churchill.* I never heard a single word like it.'

Surrendering at discretion between an enemy and an enemy (said the General to a friend in the Court of Request who asked him the question) *always implies mercy, and is never refused; but,* added he, *the Law of Arms is the very reverse in cases of intestine commotions;* thus illustrating the case: *If a robber attempted my life, and missing his aim, threw himself at my feet, I would shew him mercy: but if my servant attempted my life, and missed his aim, were he ever so submissive, I would shoot him through the head* (5).

[*F*] *In the beginning of February* 1715-16, *he sent a challenge to General Willes.*] We shall represent this affair in the words of Mr A. Boyer, the author of *The Political State of Great Britain* (6). 'On Monday, February 6, the town was surprized, and all the well-affected concerned, to hear that Lieutenant-General Carpenter and Lieutenant-General Willes, two officers, who on all occasions had distinguished themselves for their bravery and conduct, were like to fight a duel. The truth is, a challenge was sent for that purpose from General Carpenter to General Willes; and Colonel Churchill, who carried it, was to be second to the first, and Brigadier Honeywood to the other. But this affair having taken vent, and reached the ears of the Duke of Montague, his Grace prevented the combat by sending a guard into the field. After which, the Duke of Marlborough interposed in, and allayed this unhappy quarrel, at which all the enemies of the government did heartily rejoice. The subject-matter of it is not yet fully known, but was then, and is still, reported to be, an old grudge upon a dispute that happened between these two great men in Spain, and which having bled a-fresh at Preston upon the competition of the command, they wisely thought fit to defer the decision of it, till they met in London, and in the mean time, to act with all the chearfulness and unanimity against the rebels.'

[*G*] *In* 1719, *he was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, in the county of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland.*] The preamble to his patent is as follows, in English (7). 'Since we and our predecessors have liberally bestowed titles of honour on persons eminent for arts and qualifications proper to a peaceable reign; we judge it most reasonable, that military virtue, which seems, for many years past, to have been a principal support of the government, should be distinguished by due rewards: For this reason especially, we have thought fit to advance our faithful and well-beloved GEORGE CARPENTER, Esq; Lieutenant-General of our armies, to the peerage of this kingdom; a person who, having applied himself early to the profession of arms, has passed through all the military employs, to the rank he now bears, by slow and gradual promotions, his service always preceding his advancement. When Britain was delivered from arbitrary power, he readily embraced the interest of the Revolution, and served under King William of Glorious Memory, and afterwards in Flanders, behaving himself as a brave and industrious officer. After a short interval of an unsafe peace, the war breaking out again with greater violence, and spreading itself almost through all Europe, Spain was the scene of his services. Earl Stanhope, Chief Commander of the British forces in that kingdom, freely imparted to him his designs, and in the execution of them successfully experienced his courage and conduct. And when that General's presence was required in England, he intrusted him with the command of his troops, as being fully assured that the public cause would suffer no disadvantage by his management; for his diligence and circumspection in performing the duties of his employment were not less remarkable, than his constancy and presence of mind in the time of action and most imminent danger. By his integrity, prudence, and evenness of temper, he not only gained the affections of his countrymen, but the esteem and regard of the Generals of the Allies, and even of his Imperial Majesty. We having had a proof of his loyalty and abilities in an instance very beneficial to the publick; for when sedition, which was seasonably repressed in other places, had taken root in the county of Northumberland, and there broke out into an open rebellion, he, by our command, hastened thither to extinguish this flame of civil war, though with unequal numbers. He prevented the rebels seizing Newcastle, intended by them for their place of arms; hindered their march into Yorkshire; and at last having overtaken them at Preston, where they were invested by other parts of our troops, blocked them up more closely, and obliged them to surrender, by which success peace was restored to England, which greatly conduced to the subduing the rebels in Scotland. For these reasons, that a person so well deserving of Great Britain and Ireland, allied by marriage to a noble family of that kingdom, may from himself transmit an honour to posterity, we create him a Peer, as being every way worthy of that honour, &c.'

(5) The Life of the late Right Hon. George Lord Carpenter, a pamphlet published in 1736.

(6) The Political State of Great Britain, for Feb. 1715-16, Vol. XI. p. 168.

(7) The Irish Compendium, p. 359.

[*H*] Where

integrity, never giving a vote till upon the maturest deliberation he was fully convinced of it's equity; after seven years constant attendance in Parliament, age came upon him, and he declined apace. In October 1731, being near seventy-four years of age, he began to labour under a failure of appetite; and having had a fall by which his teeth were loosened on that side, which had not been wounded, he was capable of receiving but little nourishment, which, together with old age and a gradual decay of nature, ended his life on the 10th of February 1731-2, his body was interred pursuant to his own directions in his will, at *Owselbury* in Hampshire, near his Lady, where a neat monument of white and blue-veined marble is erected to his memory, by his son [*H*] the present Lord Carpenter, which was all the issue he left.

[*H*] *Where a neat monument of white and blue-veined marble is erected to his memory by his son.*] Having the following inscription. 'Here lies the Right 'Honourable George Lord Carpenter, Colonel of his 'Majesty's own regiment of Dragoons, Governor of 'of the island Minorca, Lieutenant-General and Com-'mander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in North-'Britain; descended from an ancient family in Here-'fordshire, and bred in arms; having been fifty-nine 'years in the army, and passed through all the mili-'tary employs, from a private gentleman in the Horse-'guards, to the rank in which he died, by slow and 'gradual promotions; his services always preceding 'his advancement. He served through the whole 'course of the last wars of England with France, in 'Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, with honour and repu-'tation; was never absent from his post, when there 'was any action, or that action was expected; and 'was as remarkable for his great humanity, as for his 'courage and presence of mind in time of service and 'most imminent danger. By his prudence, integrity, 'and evenness of temper, during the Spanish war, he 'not only gained the affections of his countrymen, but 'the esteem and regard of the Generals of the Allies, 'and of the Emperor himself; to whom he was ap-'pointed Envoy-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in '1715. He married Alice daughter of the Lord 'Charlemount, by whom he left issue only one son; 'who erected this monument to the memory of the 'best of fathers. *Obiit* 10 *die Februarii* 1731 *ætat.* '74.' R

CARTWRIGHT (WILLIAM) an eminent Divine and Poet of the XVIIth Century, was born at Northway near Teuksbury in Glocestershire, in September 1611, and baptized the 26th of the same month. His father, Mr William Cartwright, having run out a fair estate, was obliged, for a subsistence, to keep a publick inn at Cirencester in the same county; where living in a middling condition, he caused this his son, a youth of great hopes, to be educated under Mr William Topp, Master of the Free-School in that town. From thence he was removed to Westminster-School, being chosen a King's Scholar; where compleating his former learning under the care of Mr Lambert Osbaldeston (*a*), he was elected a Student of Christ-Church in Oxford, in 1628, under the tuition of Mr Jerumael Terrent. Having gone thro' the classes of Logic and Philosophy, with unwearied diligence, he took the degrees in Arts, that of Master being compleated in 1635. Afterwards he went into holy orders, and became (as my author expresses it) a most florid and seraphical Preacher [*A*] in the university. In 1642, he had the place of Succentor in the Church of Salisbury conferred on him by Bishop Duppa (*b*), and, in 1643, was chosen junior Proctor of the university (*c*). He was also metaphysical Reader [*B*] to the university; and it

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II, col. 34.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 35.

(*c*) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, in 8vo, Lond. 1691, p. 52.

[*A*] *A florid and seraphical preacher.*] Hear how Dr Jasper Mayne celebrates Mr Cartwright's preaching (1).

(1) Among the Copies of Verses prefixed to Mr Cartwright's Works.

But these thy looser raptures must submit
To thy rare sermons and much holier wit;
In whose rich web such eloquence is seen,
As if the Roman Orator had been
Sent forth to preach the Gospel, and had stood
In our assemblies pouring out his flood.
Thou wert a Poet, but thy sermons do
Shew thee to be the best of preachers too;
Who to thy rhetorick did'st such skill impart,
As if thou heir to some Apostle wert,
Who, taking wing for Heav'n, behind him left
His fiery tongue to thee, and that tongue cleft
Into as many ways to save, as they
Who are worst sinners use to err and stray.
What holy craft did in thy pulpit move?
How was the serpent mingled with the dove?
How have I seen thee cast thy net, and then
With holy cozenage catch the souls of men?
Preach'd sin out of their bosoms, made them see
Both what they were, and what they ought to be?
Made them confess the strait way, by thee strow'd
With flow'rs, was far more pleasant than the broad.
Indeed, we scripture-wonders oft did spy,
Camels by thee drawn thro' a needle's eye.

Mr John Dell wrote these lines (2):

(2) Ibid.

Or view him, when his riper thoughts did bear
His studies into a diviner sphere.
When that his voice did charm th' attentive throng,
And every ear was link'd unto his tongue,
The numerous press, closing their souls in one,
Stood all transformed into his passion.

I shall only add, under this remark, the following lines by Mr Ralph Bathurst (3):

(3) Ibid.

But who cou'd hear without an extasy,
When, with a graceful conquering presence, He
Stood forth, and, like Almighty Thunder, flung
His numerous strains among th' amazed throng?
A pleasing horror struck thro' ev'ry limb,
And ev'ry ear was close chain'd up to him:
Such masculine vigour ravish'd our assent,
What he persuaded, was commandement:
A sweeter plenty Rhetorick ne'er knew
In Chrysostom's pulpit, nor in Tully's pew.

[*B*] *Metaphysical Reader.*] His Panegyrists have not failed to celebrate his lectures in the Metaphysicks. Mr Ralph Bathurst has these lines (4):

(4) Ibid.

How may we then admire his serious time,
That wrote so well, yet drove no trade in rhime!
If from the scene and walks such praise he share,
What must he from his Metaphysick Chair?
There he unriddled that mysterious book,
Which Aristotle made to be mistook;

it was generally said, those Lectures were never performed better than by Mr Cartwright and his predecessor Mr Thomas Barlow (*d*) of Queen's College (*e*). This ingenious gentleman died, the 23d of December 1643, in the thirty-third year of his age, of a malignant fever, called the Camp Disease, which then reigned in Oxford, and was fatal to many of his contemporaries; and was buried, December the 1st, towards the upper end of the south isle of the Cathedral of Christ-Church. His death was generally lamented, and particularly by the King and Queen, then at Oxford, who anxiously enquired after him all the time of his sickness (*f*). Mr Cartwright was extremely remarkable for both external and internal endowments, his body (as Langbaine expresses it) being as handsome as his soul. He was an expert linguist, understanding, not only Greek and Latin, but French and Italian as perfectly as his mother tongue: an excellent Orator, and at the same time an admirable Poet [*C*]; a quality (my author observes) which Cicero with all his pains could never attain to (*g*). The editor of his works (*h*) applies to him the saying of Aristotle concerning Æschron the poet, that *he could not tell what Æschron could not do*; and Dr Fell, Bishop of Oxford, said of him, *Cartwright is the utmost man can come to*. Ben Johnson had such an opinion of his genius, that he said; *my son Cartwright writes all like a man* (*i*). There are extant of this author's Four Plays, besides other Poems [*D*]; all which were printed together in 1651, accompanied by above fifty copies of

(*d*) Afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

(*e*) Preface to Mr Cartwright's Plays and Poems in 8*vo*, Lond. 1651.

(*f*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*g*) Langbaine, ubi supra, p. 52.

(*h*) In the Preface.

(*i*) Preface to his Works.

And his deep sense did so exactly tell,
Great Alexander knew't not half so well:
So were those oracles utter'd clear and good,
Which rude interpreters make less understood.

Mr Thomas Vaughan gives us the following encomium (5):

(5) Ibid.

When he did read, how did we flock to hear?
Sure some Professors became pupils there.
He wou'd refine Abstractions: it was He
That gave the text all it's authority;
As if the Stagyrite resign'd his pen,
And took his censure, not his comment, then.
And tho' with some the science goes for pelf,
His Lectures made it to *transcend* itself.

Mr Francis Palmer, these lines (6):

(6) Ibid.

He Aristotle has unbent,
Made musick, what he riddles meant;
Cloath'd his own reason like his Plays:
His Metaphysicks claim the Bays.

[*C*] *An admirable Poet.*] We shall select a few only of the numerous attestations of our author's poetical merit (7). The first shall be that of Sir Robert Stapylton.

(7) See the copies of Verses prefixed to his Works.

If time be measur'd by an *Hour-glass* run,
He may be Johnson's grand-child, Fletcher's son;
If by *desert*, a Muse might be his mother,
He Homer's heir, and Hesiod's elder brother.

Dr Jasper Mayne addresses the deceased author thus:

For thou to nature had'st join'd art and skill:
In thee *Ben Johnson* still held *Shakespear*'s quill;
A quill ruled by sharp judgment, and such laws,
As a well-studied mind and reason draws.
Thy lamp was cherish'd with supplies of oil
Fetch'd from the *Roman* and the *Grecian* soil——
Hence twin perfections, in thy writings knit,
Present us with strange contraries of wit:
Strength mix'd with sweetness, vigorous with fair,
Lucan's bold heights match'd with staid *Virgil*'s care;
Martial's quick salt joined to *Musæus*' tongue;
Soft thorns of fancy, which from roses sprung.

John Leigh, Esq; in a copy of verses to the Stationer Mr Mosely, on his printing Mr Cartwright's poems, after mentioning other poets, whose works he had published, has these lines:

But after all thou bring'st up in the rear
One that fills ev'ry eye, aud ev'ry ear;
Cartwright, rare *Cartwright*, to whom all must bow,
That was best preacher and best poet too;
Whose learned fancy never was at rest,
But always labouring, yet labour'd least.
His wit's immortal, and shall honour have,
While there's or slavish Lord, or *Royal Slave*.

We shall only add here, as to Mr Cartwright's poetical character in general, what Mr Ralph Bathurst says of his style.

His Style so pleases the judicious Gown,
As that there's something too for Wits o'th' town:
Rough-handed Criticks do approve, and yet
'Tis treasure for the Ladies cabinet.

[*D*] *Four Plays, besides other Poems.*] The first of his Plays is *The Lady-Errant*. We are told, it was esteemed to be a good Comedy; but where acted, is not known (8). The second is *The Royal Slave. A Tragi-Comedy. Presented to the King and Queen by the Students of Christ-Church in Oxford*, Aug. 30. 1636. *Presented since to both their Majesties, at Hampton-Court, by the King's servants.* This Play, Mr Langbaine tells us (9), gave such content to their Majesties and the whole Court, as well for the stately scenes, the richness of the Persian habits, the excellency of the songs (which were set to musick by that admirable Composer Mr Henry Lawes) as for the noble style of the Play itself, and the ready address, and graceful carriage, of the actors (among whom Dr Busby, the famous Master of Westminster-school, approved himself a second Roscius) that they unanimously acknowledged that it did exceed all things of that nature which they had ever seen. The Queen in particular so much admired it, that in November following she sent for the habits and scenes to Hampton-Court; she being desirous to see her own servants represent the same Play (whose profession it was) that she might the better judge of the several performances, and to whom the preference was due. The sentence was universally given, by all the spectators, in favour of the *Gown*, though nothing was wanting on Mr Cartwright's side to inform the players as well as the scholars, in what belonged to the action and delivery of each part. This play is particularly celebrated by Dr Jasper Mayne (10), in these lines:

(8) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, in 8*vo*, Lond. 1691, p. 53.

(9) Ibid. p. 54. See also Wood's Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 344, 345.

Witness thy *Royal Captive*, where we do
Read thee a poet, but sad prophet too:
A Play, where virtue so well-languag'd shines,
That Slaves are there made Princes by thy lines.

(10) Among the commendatory Verses.

Mr Cartwright's third Play is *The Ordinary*. A Comedy. When, and where acted, is not said. Part of the second Scene of the First Act, between the widow *Potluck*, *Slicer*, and *Hearsay*, is transcribed by the author of *Wit's Interpreter*, in his Love-dialogues, under the title of *The Old Widow* (11). The fourth and last is *The Siege, or Love's Convert*. A Tragi-Comedy. When, and where acted, not said. It is dedicated to King Charles I. by an epistle in verse. The story of *Misander* and *Leucasia* is founded upon that of *Pausania* and *Cleonice* in Plutarch's life of *Cymon*. The injunction

(11) Langbaine, ib. p. 53.

of commendatory verses by the most eminent Wits of the university. There are also some other pieces, mentioned by Anthony Wood [E].

injunction, which the rich widow *Pyle* lays upon her lovers, is borrowed from Boccace's *Novels*: *Day* 9. *Nov.* 1. This Play is humourously commended by Mr Jos. Howe, in a copy of verses (12), in which are these lines:

(12) Among the commendatory Verses.

Had this Scene-wit not met an age
That frowneth down the mourning Stage,
That all Dramatick Laws confutes,
And maketh all the actors mutes;
How had it crackt the rooms, and made
Play-seeing th' only London trade?
When if some close-laned citizen,
Zealous for his labouring hen,
Had panting for a midwife run,
To help into th' dark his coming son,
These Bills had made him stop, and send
To bid her groan till th' *Siege* did end,
Tho' of a Boy he lost the hope,
To heir his prunes and Castile-soap.

[E] *Some other pieces, mentioned by Anthony Wood.*] That author tells us (13), Mr Cartwright wrote also, I. *Poemata Græca et Latina.* i. e. 'Greek and Latin 'Poems.' II. *An Offspring of Mercy issuing out of the Womb of Cruelty.* A Passion Sermon, preached at Christ-Church in Oxford, on *Acts* ii. 23. *Lond.* 1652. 8vo. III. *On the final days in the month of November, in relation to the Crown and Royal Family.* A Poem. Lond. 1671. in one sheet, 4to. IV. *Poems and Verses*, containing *Airs* for several voices (14), set by Mr Henry Lawes. T

(13) Ubi supra.

(14) See a book intituled, Ayres and Dialogues for one, two, and three Voices, Lond. 1653, fol. composed by Mr Henry Lawes. Also another intituled, Select Ayres and Dialogues to sing to the Theorbo, Lute, and Bass Viol, Lond. 1669, fol. composed also by the said Henry Lawes.

CARY (HENRY) afterwards created Viscount Falkland, and descended from the family of the Cary's of Cockington in Devonshire [A], was the son of Sir Edward Cary of Berkhamsted and Aldenham in the county of Hertford, Knight, Master of the Jewel-office to Queen Elizabeth and King James I (a), by Catherine his wife, daughter of Sir Henry Knevet, Knight, and widow of Henry Lord Paget (b). He was born at Aldenham just now mentioned (c); and, when about sixteen years of age, was sent to Exeter-College in Oxford, where by the help of a good Tutor, and extraordinary parts, he became a most accomplished gentleman (d). It doth not appear he took any degree [B]: but, however, when he quitted the university, he left behind a celebrated name (e). Soon after, he was introduced to Court (f); and, in the year 1608, made one of the Knights of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales (g). In 1617, he was sworn in Comptroller of his Majesty's Houshold [C], and one of his Privy-Council (h). And on the 10th of November 1620, was created Viscount of Falkland in the county of Fife in Scotland (i). King James I. knowing his great abilities and experience, constituted him Lord Deputy of Ireland; into which high office he was sworn, September 18, 1622 (k); and continued in it till the year 1629 (l). During his administration, he kept a strict hand over the Roman Catholicks in that kingdom [D]; which gave them occasion to send complaints to the Court of England against him. And tho' he proceeded as honourably, justly, and nobly, as any man could do (m); tho' the Council did, on the 28th of April 1629, write a kind and true letter in vindication of his innocence (n); yet by the clamour of the Irish, and the prevailing power of his Popish enemies, he was removed in disgrace. But his innocence being afterwards vindicated, this affront was in some measure atoned for by the subsequent favour of the King (o). At his return to England, he lived in honour and esteem, till the year 1633; when having the misfortune to break one of his legs, on a stand in Theobald's-park, he died of that unhappy accident, in September (p); and was buried at Aldenham [E]. He

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I, col. 585. Peerage of Engl. by Arth. Collins, Esq; Lond. 1735, 8vo, Vol. III. p. 170.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 397. Wood, ubi supra.

(c) State Worthies by David Lloyd, edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 938; from Fuller's Worthies, in Hertfordshire, p. 23.

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

(e) Wood, as above.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 991. The Scottish Compendium, &c. by F. Nicholls, 3d edit. 1729, p. 383. It was not at the Creation of Charles Prince of Wales; as Wood says by mistake.

(h) Wood, ubi supra.

(i) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland; and The Scottish Compend. ubi supra.

(k) Ibid. and Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. fol. Lond. 1690, p. 39.

(l) Ibid. p. 53.

(m) As was attested by his successor, the Earl of Strafford. See his Tryal by Rushworth, p. 160.

(n) R. Cox, as above, p. 52. (o) Idem, Preface to Part ii. of his History. N. B. It is not paged. (p) Wood, ubi supra, col. 586. Fuller, and Lloyd, ubi supra. These two last by mistake, say, that it was in 1620.

[A] *Descended from the Cary's of Cockington in Devonshire.*] Sir Philip (1) Cary of Cockington, living in the first of Henry VI, married to his first wife, Anne daughter of Sir William Poulet, Knight, from whom the family of Cockington descended (2). His *second wife* was *Alice*, daughter of Sir Baldwin Fulford of Fulford in Devonshire, Knight, by which he had issue *Thomas*, who married *Margaret*, younger daughter, and coheir, of Sir Rober Spencer of Spencer-combe in the county of Devon, by Eleanor, sister and coheir to Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (3). By this Lady, Thomas Cary had two sons, *John* ancestor of the Lords Faulkland; and William, of the Lords Hunsdon. John was made a Knight of the Carpet, February 22, 1546. And by Joice his wife, daughter of —— Denny, Esq; and sister to Sir Anthony Denny, had issue Sir *Edward* Cary, Knight, father of Sir *Henry*, who is the subject of this article. Sir Edward died July 16, 1618 (4).

[B] *It doth not appear he took any degree.*] We are told (5), that during his stay in the University, his chamber was the rendezvous of all the eminent Wits, Divines, Philosophers, Lawyers, Historians, and Politicians of that time. But, says Mr Wood (6), 'How 'true it is, seeing he was then a young man and not 'graduated, I cannot in the least perceive. Had 'those things been spoken of Lucius Cary his son, who 'retired several times to, and took commons in Exeter-'College, while his brother Lorenzo studied there, 'in 1628, and after, I should have rather believed 'it.'

[C] *He was sworn in Comptroller of his Majesty's Houshold.*] But he was not, one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's bed-chamber: neither was he, the first who carried into Scotland the news of Queen Elizabeth's death: as the author of the Scottish Compendium falsely asserts (7). For he that carried those news, was, Robert Cary fourth son of Henry Lord Hunsdon, created afterwards Lord Lepington and Earl of Monmouth (8).

[D] *He kept a strict hand over the Roman Catholicks in Ireland.*] For, in his time, several Popish magistrates that had refused the oath of supremacy, contrary to the Statute of 2 Eliz. c. 1. were censured in the Star-Chamber on the 22d of November 1622; at which time Bishop Usher made that excellent speech about the lawfulness of that oath, which is published in his answer to Malone the Jesuit: and on the 21st of January 1623, there was issued out a Proclamation against the Popish Clergy, Secular and Regular, ordering them to depart the kingdom within forty days; after which all persons were prohibited to converse with them (9).

[E] *And was buried at Aldenham.*] Where, in the church, there is the following memorial of him, and his father. 'Edward Cary, Esq; Lord of the manor 'of

(1) Prince calls him Sir William, Worthies, p. 153.

(2) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 397.

(3) See Genealog. Hist. of the Kings of England, &c. by Fr. Sandford and S. Stebbing. edit. 1707, p. 334.

(4) Collins, ubi supra; and Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 153.

(5) Worthies of England, by T. Fuller; as quoted by Mr Wood, ubi supra.

(6) Col. 585.

(7) Page 383, edit. 1729.

(8) See Court and Character of King James, by Sir A. Welden, p. 2. and Mr Osborne's Traditional Memoirs of King James, Lond. 1658, 12mo, p. 5.

(9) R. Cox, ubi supra, p. 39.

He married Elizabeth sole daughter and heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with whom he had the manor of Great Tew, Burford, and other estates in Oxfordshire (*q*). He writ several things, which were not published [*F*]. With respect to his character; he was a most accomplished gentleman, and a compleat courtier (*r*).

(*q*) Wood, col. 586.

(*r*) Fuller and Lloyd, ibid.

'of Aldenham, and Patron of this Church, afterwards 'Sir Edward Cary, Knight, whose body was invaulted in the Chancel of this Church, August 6, 1618. 'Father of Henry I, Viscount of Falkland in Scotland, 'whose body was also invaulted in the Chancel of this 'Church, September 25, 1633 (10).'

[*F*] *He writ several things which were not published.*] This we learn from Mr Wood (11), who further informs us, That there was found among his papers, and published as his, the following book, 'The History of the most unfortunate Prince, King 'Edward II; with choice political Observations on 'him and his unhappy Favourites, Gaveston and 'Spencer: containing several passages of those times 'not found in other Historians.' Lond. 1680, fol. and 8*vo*. Wood says, it was published, when the press was open for all books that could make any thing against the then government, with a Preface to the reader patched up from very inconsiderable authors, by Sir James Harrington. —— The Lord Clarendon informs us (12), That this Lord Falkland, instead of enriching himself by his great places, wasted a full fortune at Court, in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. C

(10) The History of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, London, 1728, fol. p. 98.

(11) Ubi supra, col. 586.

(12) Hist. of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8*vo*, Vol. II. P. i. p. 353.

CARY (LUCIUS) eldest son of Henry Lord Viscount of Falkland mentioned in the last Article, was born, as is supposed, at Burford in Oxfordshire (*a*), about the year 1610 [*A*]. His education for some years was in Ireland, where his father carried him, when he was appointed Lord Deputy of that kingdom in 1622 (*b*). He received particularly his Academical Learning in Trinity-College in Dublin (*c*); and in St John's-College in Cambridge [*B*]. At first he proved but a wild youth [*C*], but being sent to travel under the care of a discreet Tutor, he soon shook off all levity and extravagance, and became a wise, sober, and prudent person (*d*). Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive (*e*). Shortly after that, and before he was of age, being in his natural inclination a great lover of a military life, he went into the Low-Countries, with a resolution of procuring a Command, and to give himself up to it; but he was diverted from it by the compleat inactivity of that summer. So he returned to England, and being a man of a fine genius, soon entered upon a very strict course of study (*f*). At first, he applied himself to polite Literature; and to Poetry (*g*), in which he made such successful attempts, that he gained the esteem and admiration of the most eminent Poets of his time [*D*]. But afterwards giving himself up to

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 586.

(*b*) The History of the Rebellion, &c. by Edward Earl of Clarendon, edit. 1731, 8*vo*, Vol. II. Part i. p. 351.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 357.

(*g*) Wood, ubi supra.

[*A*] *Was born at Burford —— about the year 1610.*] It is not quite certain, that he was born in that town; for the register-book of that place, which commences about the beginning of the reign of King James I, takes no notice of it. However, Mr Wood tells us, he was informed, That he was mostly nursed, and therefore very probably also born, at Burford (1). He was in the thirty-fourth year of his age, September 20, 1643, when he was killed (2), and consequently must have been born about the year 1610.

[*B*] *And in St John's-College in Cambridge.*] This appears from a letter of his to Dr Beale, Master of St John's, which is as follows. 'I received lately a 'letter from yourself and others of your noble Society; wherein, as many titles were given me, to 'which I had none, so that, which I should most 'willingly have acknowledged, and might with most 'justice claim, you were not pleased to vouchsafe me, 'that is, that of *a St John's man*. I confess, I am 'both proud and ashamed of that, and the latter, in 'respect that the fruits are unproportionable to the 'Seed-plot: yet, Sir, as little learning as I brought 'from you, and as little as I have since increased and 'watered; what I did bring, I am sure, I carry 'about me, an indelible character of affection and 'duty to that Society, and an extraordinary longing 'for some occasion of expressing that affection and that 'duty. I shall desire you to express this to them, and 'to add this, that as I shall never forget myself to be '*a Member of your Body*; so I shall be ready to catch 'at all means of declaring myself to be, not only to 'the Body, but every Member of it,

'A very Humble Servant,

'FALKLAND (3).'

However, there is no account of his admittance in St John's-College-Register.

[*C*] *At first he proved but a wild youth.*] And for some error or indiscretion was thrown into the Fleet, as is evident from the following petition of his father to the King.

The Lord Faulkland's petition to the King.

'MOST humbly shewing, that I had a sonne, 'until I lost him, in your Highness displeasure, 'where I cannot seek him, because I have not will to 'find him there. Men say, there is a wild young 'man now prisoner in the Fleet, for measuring his actions by his own private sence. But now that for the 'same your Majesties hand hath appeared in his punishment, he bows and humbles himself before, and 'to it: whether he be mine, or not, I can discern by 'no light, but that of your royal clemency; for only 'in your forgiveness can I own him for mine. Forgiveness is the glory of the supremest powers, and 'this the operation, that when it is extended in the 'greatest measure, it converts the greatest offenders 'into the greatest lovers, and so makes purchase of 'the heart, an especial priviledge peculiar and due to 'Sovereign Princes. If now your Majesty will vouchsafe, out of your own benignity, to become a second 'nature, and restore that unto me which the first gave 'me, and vanity deprived me of, I shall keep my 'reckoning of the full number of my sons with comfort, and render the tribute of my most humble 'thankfulness, else my weak old memory must forget 'one (4).'

[*D*] *He applied himself —— to Poetry, —— and gained the esteem of the most eminent Poets.*] Particularly of Ben Johnson, who celebrates him in his *Underwoods*, in a Poem, *To the immortal Memory and Friendship of that noble Pair, Sir* Lucius Cary, *and Sir* H. Morison (5). Sir John Suckling pays him also a fine compliment, in his *Session of the Poets*, as follows.

He was of late so gone with Divinity,
That he had almost forgot his Poetry,
Though to say the truth (and Apollo did know it)
He might have been both his Priest and his Poet.

[*E*] He

(1) Wood, Ath. col. 586.

(2) Clarendon, History, Vol. II. Part i. p. 359.

(3) Life of Dr John Barwick, in English, Lond. 1724, 8*vo*, Appendix, p. 551, 552.

(4) Cabala, edit. 1663, fol. p. 238.

(5) See Ben Johnson's Works, edit. fol. 1692, p. 571.

to the more solid parts of learning, he frequently retired, for the sake of books and conversation, to Oxford, and to his seat at Great Tew, near that University (h). There he contracted a familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men [E]; who found such immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by most exact reasoning, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing; that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College situated in a purer air. So that his house was an University in a lesser volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study (i). Among other things, he made himself in a very short time a perfect master of the Greek tongue [F], and accurately read all the Greek Historians (k). Before he was twenty-three years of age, he had perused and read over all the Greek and Latin Fathers, and was indefatigable in looking over all books, which with great expence he caused to be transmitted to him from all parts (l). He also diligently studied the controversies; and had a memory so stupendous, that he remembred on all occasions, whatsoever he read (m). About the time of his father's death, in 1633, he was made one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy-Chamber (n). Notwithstanding which, he continued frequently to retire to Great Tew, and Oxford, for the sake of the company and conversation of learned and ingenious men (o); and was a member of the most polite clubs (p). In 1639, he was in the expedition against the Scots; and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a voluntier with the Earl of Essex (q). Upon his going to this expedition, he was complimented with fine copies of verses, both by Mr Waller [G], and Mr Cowley [H]. He was chosen in 1640, a member of the House of Commons for Newport in the Isle of Wight, in the Parliament which began at Westminster the 13th of April the same year (r); and, from the debates which were managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that Parliament, he harboured some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined. He was chosen again for the same place, in the Parliament which began the 3d of November following; and in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances of the Court, which had been thought most grievous to the State (s). For he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules, that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them: and thought no mischief so intolerable, as the presumption of Ministers of State, to break positive rules for reasons of State; or Judges to transgress known laws, upon the title of conveniency or necessity (t). This made him so severe against the Lord Finch [I], and

(h) Ibid.

(i) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 351.

(k) Ibid.

(l) Lord Clarendon's Animadversions upon a book intituled, *Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr Stilling fleet, &c.* by S. C. Lond. 1674, p. 185.

(m) Idem, Hist. as above, p. 352.

(n) Wood, ubi supra.

(o) Ibid.

(p) Account of the Life of Mr Edm. Waller, prefixed to his Poems, p. xi. edit. 1711, 8vo.

(q) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 357.

(r) Rushworth's Hist. Collections, Vol. III. p. 1110.

(s) Clarendon, p. 353.

(t) Ibid.

[E] *He contracted a familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men.*] Among the rest, with William Chillingworth of Trinity-college; John Earle, and Hugh Cressy, of Merton; George Aglionby, and Tho. Triplet, of Christ-church; Charles Gataker of Penbroke-college, son of the learned Thomas Gataker of Redrith; George Sandys the poet, &c. (6).

[F] *He made himself, in a very short time, a perfect master of the Greek tongue.*] When he undertook to learn it, he resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned it; and, accordingly going to his own house in the country, he there pursued the study of that language with such indefatigable industry, that he became master of it in a very short time (7).

[G] *He was complimented with copies of verses by Mr Waller, &c.*] Mr Waller's begin thus: *To my Lord of* Falkland. *In the year* 1638.

Brave Holland leads, and with him Falkland goes;
Who hears this told, and does not straight suppose
We send the Graces and the Muses forth,
To civilize, and to instruct the North?

And a little after.

Ah, noble Friend with what impatience all
That know thy worth, and know how prodigal
Of thy great Soul thou art, longing to twist
Bays with that Ivy, which so early kist
Thy youthful temples, with what horror we
Think on the blind events of war and thee?
To Fate exposing that all-knowing breast
Among the throng, as cheaply as the rest. &c (8).

[H] *And Mr Cowley.*] In his poem, *To the Lord Falkland. For his safe return from the Northern Expedition against the Scots.* The first lines of which run thus:

Great is thy charge, O North; be wise and just,
England commits her Falkland to thy trust;
Return him safe: Learning would rather chuse
Her Bodley, or her Vatican to lose.
All things that are but writ or printed there,
In his unbounded breast engraven are.
There all the Sciences together meet,
And every Art does all her kindred greet.

And near the end.

He is too good for war, and ought to be
As far from danger, as from fear he is free (9).

[I] *This made him so severe against the Lord Finch.*] John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, and Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, was, on the 14th of January 1640-1, impeached by the Lord Falkland, in the name of the House of Commons, of having traiterously and wickedly endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and established government of the realm; on account, of his having hindered, when he was Speaker, the reading of some things in the House; of his having endeavoured to enlarge the bounds of the forest in Essex; and chiefly for being an adviser and promoter of Ship-money, &c (10). After the reading of the articles, the Lord Falkland made a severe speech against him, in which he observes, —— 'That his life 'appeared a perpetual warfare, by mines, and by battery, by battle, and by stratagem, against our fundamental laws.' Then, after having instanced in the particulars above-mentioned, he adds, —— 'That his 'crimes were in the highest degree of Parliamentary 'Treason, —— a Treason as well against the King, 'as

(6) Wood, Ath. col. 587.

(7) Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 351.

(8) Poems, &c. by Edm. Waller, Esq; 8th edit. 1711, p. 81.

(9) The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley, 7th edit. 1681, fol. p. 4, 5.

(10) Nalson's Collections, Vol. I. p. 722, 723.

and the Earl of Strafford [K]; contrary to his natural gentleness, and temper. But in both cases he was only misled by the authority of those, who, he believed, under-

(u) Ibid. stood the laws perfectly, of which he himself was utterly ignorant (u). For, though he was severe, so far was he from being violent, against those two noble Peers; that when it was moved in the House of Commons, That the Earl of Strafford might *forthwith* (at the time he was first accused) be impeached of High-Treason, the Lord Falkland, tho' he was very well known not to have any kindness for him, modestly desired the House to consider, 'Whether it would not suit better with the gravity of their

(w) Clarendon, Vol. I. Part i. p. 173, 174. 'proceedings, first to digest many of those particulars which had been mentioned, by a 'Committee, before they sent up to the House of Lords to accuse him? declaring him-'self however to be abundantly satisfied that there was enough to charge him (w).' He

(x) Ibid. p. 235, and Vol. II. Part i. p. 356. had contracted a prejudice against Archbishop Laud, and some others of the Bishops [L], which biassed his judgment so far, as to make him concur in the first bill to take away the votes of Bishops in the House of Lords (x), tho' he refused to be one of the Committee

(y) Idem, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 303. of to draw up reasons for it (y). This concurrence of his gave occasion for some to believe, and

'as against the kingdom; for whatsoever is against 'the whole, is undoubtedly against the head; which 'takes from his Majesty the ground of his rule, the 'laws, (for if foundations be destroyed, the pinacles 'are most endangered;) which takes from his Maje-'sty the principal honour of his rule, the ruling over 'freemen, a power as much nobler than over villains, 'as that is which is over beasts; which endeavoured 'to take from his Majesty the principal support of his 'rule, their hearts and affections over whom he rules, 'a better and surer strength and wall to the King, 'than the sea is to the kingdom; and by begetting a 'mutual distrust, and by that a mutual disaffection 'between them, to hazard the danger even of the de-

(11) Ibid. p. 725, 726. 'struction of both (11).' He had, on the 5th of December before, made another *Speech against the Lord Finch, and the Judges,* wherein he observes, 'That 'the cause of all the miseries they [the nation] had 'suffered, and the cause of all the jealousies they had 'that they should yet suffer, was, That a most excel-'lent Prince had been most infinitely abused, by his 'Judges telling him, That by policy he might do 'what he pleased.'———And, afterwards asserts, 'That common fame was ground enough for the House

(12) Ibid. p. 654—656. 'of Commons to accuse upon (12).'

[K] *And the Earl of* Strafford.] He hints at him, in the following passage which occurs in the last-mentioned speech.——'I will only say we have accused a 'great person of High-Treason, for intending to sub-'vert our fundamental laws, and to introduce arbi-'trary government, which we suppose he meant to

(13) Hist. Vol. II. Part i. p. 353. 'do.'——The Lord Clarendon observes (13), That they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride, thought that his sharpness against the Earl of Strafford, might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice from him towards his father.

[L] *He had contracted a prejudice against Archbishop* Laud, *&c.*] Having observed the Archbishop's passion, when it may be multiplicity of business, or other indisposition had possessed him, he therefore wished him less entangled and engaged in the business of the Court, or State.—Two reasons induced his Lordship to give his consent to the first bill for displacing the Bishops. First, His not understanding then the original of their right and suffrage there. Secondly, An opinion, that the combination against the whole government of the Church by Bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs, would not preserve the or-

(14) Ib. p. 356. der (14). However, what reasons or inducements soever he might be acted by, he made, on the 9th of February 1640, as violent and bitter a speech against the Bishops, as any of its most inveterate enemies. Some passages in it, are as follow.——'This king-'dom hath long laboured under many and great op-'pressions, both in Religion and Liberty, and a man's 'acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity less, 'who doth not both know and acknowledge, that a 'great, if not a principal, cause of both these have 'been some Bishops, and their adherents. A little 'search will serve to find them to have been the de-'struction of unity, under pretence of uniformity, to 'have brought in superstition and scandal, under the 'the titles of reverence and decency, to have defiled 'our Church, by adorning our churches, to have 'slackened the strictness of that union which was for-'merly between us and those of our Religion beyond 'the sea; an action as unpolitick as ungodly. We 'shall find them to have tithed mint and anise, and 'have left undone the weightier works of the Law; 'to have been less eager upon those who damn our 'Church, than upon those, who, upon weak con-'science, and perhaps *as weak reasons*, (the dislike of 'some commanded garment, or some uncommanded 'posture,) only abstained from it.—We shall find them 'to have resembled the dog in the manger; to have 'neither preached themselves, nor employed those 'that should, nor suffer those that would: to have 'brought in catechising only to thrust out preaching; 'cried down lectures by the name of factions.——'To go yet further, some of them have so industri-'ously laboured to deduce themselves from Rome, 'that they have given great suspicion that in grati-'tude they desire to return thither, or at least to meet 'it half way: Some have evidently laboured to bring 'in an English, though not a Roman Popery; I mean 'not only the outside and dress of it, but equally ab-'solute; a blind dependance of the people upon the 'Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themselves.—— 'We shall find some of them to have laboured to ex-'clude both all persons, and all causes of the Clergy, 'from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Temporal Ma-'gistrate, and by hindring prohibitions, to have taken 'away the only legal bound to their arbitrary power.— 'We shall find *some* of them to have both kindled and 'blown the common fire of both nations,——and 'to have been the almost sole abettors of my Lord of 'Strafford.'——All this he sums up, by laying the faults of the men upon the order of the Bishops, upon *Episcopacy.*——But afterwards he softens the sharpness of what he had advanced, in the following manner.——'If we consider, that if not the first planters, 'yet the first spreaders of Christianity, and the first 'and chief defenders of Christianity against Heresies 'within, and Paganism without, both with their ink 'and with their blood; and the main conducers to the 'resurrection of Christianity, at least here in the Refor-'mation (and we owe the light of the Gospel we now 'enjoy, to the fire they then endured for it) were all 'Bishops: and that even now in the greatest perfection 'of that order, there are yet some who have conduced 'in nothing to our late innovations, but in their si-'lence; some, who in an unexpected and mighty 'place and power, have expressed an equal moderation 'and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor 'proud after, either of the Crosier's Staff, or White 'Staff: Some who have been learned opposers of Po-'pery, and zealous opposers of *Arminianism*; be-'tween whom and their inferior Clergy, in frequency 'of preaching hath been no distinction; whose lives 'are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice; 'scarce to be equalled by those of any condition, or 'to be excelled by those in any Calendar.——If we 'consider this, this consideration will bring forth this 'conclusion, That Bishops may be good men (15).' (15) N... supra, p. 7... Rushwor... Collect. Vol. I.

By what his Lordship says of *Arminianism*, 'tis plain, that notwithstanding his great learning, he had never studied the Predestinarian Controversy; of which Arminianism gives a rational and consistent notion, agreeable to God's infinite Wisdom and Goodness; whereas rigid Calvinism represents God, the fountain of Goodness and Perfection, as the most cruel, arbitrary, and tyrannical Being in the world.

[M] For

and opportunity to others to conclude, that he was no friend to the Church, or the established government of the same (z); and it caused many in the House of Commons to imagine, and hope, that he might be brought to a further compliance with their designs (a). Indeed the great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active against the Court, especially of Mr Hamden, kept him for some time from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and tho' he differed from them commonly in conclusion, he believed long their purposes were honest. But when he grew better informed what was Law, and discerned in them a desire to controul that law by a vote of one, or both Houses, no man opposed more those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation (b). Accordingly, about six months after passing the above-mentioned bill for taking away the Bishops votes, when the same argument came again into debate, he changed his opinion, and gave the House all the opposition he could; nor was he reserved in acknowledging, That Mr Hamden had assured him, if that bill might pass, there would be nothing more attempted to the prejudice of the Church (c). Tho' he thus voted against the Bishops, yet we are assured, that he had the order itself in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men (d). For some time he continued averse to the Court, and was so jealous of the least imagination of his inclining to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court, and the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, or divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him (e). And therefore, when he heard that he was to be made a Privy-Counsellor, and Secretary of State, he resolved to decline the one, and refuse the other. But, at length, for certain reasons [M] he submitted to the King's pleasure (f); and served his Majesty in those employments, with great ability, being well versed in languages; and with the utmost integrity, being above corruption of any kind: though, at first, he was so totally unacquainted with business, and the forms of it, that he did believe he could not execute the office with any sufficiency. He was employed by the King, to demand from the Earls of Essex and Holland, the badges of their offices of Lord Chamberlain, and Groom of the Stole (g), and also to require the Seal from the Lord Keeper Littleton (h). June 15, 1642, he was one of the Lords who signed a Declaration, wherein they professed, they were fully persuaded that his Majesty had no intention to raise war upon his Parliament (i). About the same time, he subscribed to levy twenty horse for his Majesty's service (k). Upon which, and other accounts, he was excepted from the Parliament's favour, in the instructions given by the two Houses to their General, the Earl of Essex (l). He attended the King to Edgehill-fight, where, after the enemy was routed, he had like to incur great danger, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms (m). He was also with his Majesty at Oxford [N], and at the siege of Gloucester, where he exposed himself to danger (n). From the

(z) Vol. II. P. i. p. 356.

(a) Vol. I. P. i. p. 236.

(b) Idem, Vol. II. Part i. p. 353.

(c) Idem, Vol. I. Part i. p. 236.

(d) Id. Vol. II. P. i. p. 357.

(e) Ib. p. 353, 354.

(f) Ibid. p. 355. and Vol. I. P. ii. p. 340, 366.

(g) Ibid. Vol. I. P. ii. p. 477. This harsh office might have been more naturally and as effectually performed, by a Gentleman-Usher; and therefore the Lord Falkland was a little troubled at receiving the command, but however would make no excuse, ibid.

(h) Ibid. p. 571, 573.

(i) Ib. p. 655, 656.

(k) List, at the end of the King's Answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons presented to him at York, June 17, 1642, Lond. 4to.

(l) Id. Vol. II. Part i. p. 28.

(m) Ibid. p. 357.

(n) Ibid. p. 359.

[M] *For certain reasons.*] His reasons for accepting of the Seals, were these two. First, The consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's affairs, and that men would think he had refused so great an honour and trust, because he must with it have been obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. The other was, Lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were very much troubled at the displacing of Sir Henry Vane. For, as he had a full desire of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients. —— Whilst he continued in his office, there were two things he could never bring himself to. The one was, employing of spies, or giving any contenance or entertainment to them; namely, to such persons, who by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts, and secrets, as enable them to make discoveries. The other, The liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion, that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, such instruments must be void of all ingenuity, and common honesty, before they could be of use; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound, and corruption of human society, as the cherishing such persons would carry with it. The last, he thought, such a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could justify him in the trespass; and tho' he was convinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to declined, and were necessary to be practised, he found means to put it off from himself (16).

[N] *He was also with his Majesty at Oxford.*] During their residence there, his Majesty went one day to see the publick library, where he was shewed among other books a Virgil nobly printed, and exquisitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the King, would have his Majesty make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, an usual kind of divination in ages past, made by opening a Virgil. Whereupon, the King opening the book, the period which happened to come up, was that part of Dido's imprecation against Æneas, *Æneid.* lib. iv. ver. 615, &c. part of which is thus translated by Mr Dryden.

Oppress'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men discourag'd, and himself expell'd;
Let him for succour sue from place to place,
Torn from his subjects, and his son's embrace, &c.

King Charles seeming concerned at this accident, the Lord Falkland, who observed it, would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner; hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the King's thoughts from any impression the other might make upon him: but the place Lord Falkland stumbled upon, was yet more suited to his destiny than the other had been to the King's; being the following expressions of Evander, upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, *Æneid.* lib. xi. ver. 152, &c.

Non hæc, O Palla, dederas promissa parenti, &c. thus translated by Mr Dryden.

O Pallas! thou hast fail'd thy plighted word,
To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword:
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew,
What perils youthful ardour would pursue:
That boiling blood would carry thee too far;
Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war!
O curst essay of arms, disastrous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come (17)!

(17) Memoirs, &c. by J. Welwood, M.D. edit. 1718, 12mo, p. 90—92.

the beginning of the Civil War, his natural chearfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to. After the resolution of the Two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of unchearfulness; and he, who had been exactly easy and affable to all men, became on a sudden less communicable, and very sad, pale, and extremely affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had before always minded with more neatness, industry, and expence, than is usual to so great a soul, he became not only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, so quick, sharp, and severe, that it made him be looked upon as proud and imperious. When there was any overture, or hope for peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly sollicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it. And sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, he would, with a shrill and sad accent, repeat the word *peace*, *peace*; and would passionately profess, That the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation, the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart (*o*). This extreme uneasiness seems to have hurried him on to his destruction. For, the morning before the first battle of Newbury, he called for a clean shirt, and being asked the reason of it, answered, That 'if he were slain 'in the battle, they should not find his body in foul linnen.' Being dissuaded by his friends to go into the fight, as having no call to it, and being no military officer, he said 'he was weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his own country, and 'did believe he should be out of it e're night (*p*).'. Putting himself therefore into the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, he was shot with a musquet, in the lower part of the belly, on the 20th of September 1643, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning (*q*). Thus fell that incomparable young man (*r*), much lamented by all that knew him, or heard of him (*s*), in the thirty-fourth year of his age; having so much dispatched the true business of his life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency (*t*). His contemporaries have agreed to bestow upon him the highest commendations imaginable. They assure us, that he was a man of excellent, nay of exceeding great, and prodigious parts, both natural and acquired (*u*); of a wit so sharp, and a nature so sincere, that nothing could be more lovely (*w*); of great ingenuity and honour (*x*); of the most exemplary manners, and singular good-nature, and of the most unblemished integrity (*y*); of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and innocency of life, as could hardly be equalled (*z*). His answers were quick and sudden, and tho' he had a great deal of true worth, yet he was withal very modest (*a*). His familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity. He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune (*b*). He was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced by difference of opinion in matters of Religion, that in all his disputes with Priests, and others of the Roman Communion, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and esteem of their learning or ingenuity (*c*). As his parts were great, so also was his knowledge and learning very considerable. Of which he hath left signal proofs in his learned writings [*O*], and in the assistance he gave the immortal Chillingworth, in his book of *The Religion of Protestants*, &c [*P*]. To

(*o*) Ibid. p. 357, 358, 359.

(*p*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 73, 74.

(*q*) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 359.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Whitelock, p. 74.

(*t*) Clarendon, p. 359.

(*u*) Idem, Vol. I. P. ii. p. 340. and Bishop Barlow's Genuine Remains, edit. 1693, p. 328.

(*w*) Clarendon, in the place last cited.

(*x*) Whitelock, ubi supra.

(*y*) Clarendon's Animadversions on *Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church*, by S. Cressy, &c. p. 185.

(*z*) Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 350.

(*a*) Wood, Athen. ubi supra, from Dr Triplet's Preface to Lord Falkland's Discourse of Infallibility.

(*b*) Clarendon, ibid. p. 351.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 352.

[*O*] *His learned writings.*] They are, first *Poems*. Next, besides those *Speeches* of his mentioned above, I. A Speech, 'Of Uniformity,' as we are informed by Mr Wood (18): but if he means the same which is in Rushworth (19), under that title, it is no more than the beginning of his Lordship's Speech against the Bishops, and Episcopacy, of which we have given an extract. II. A Speech, 'Of ill Counsellors about the 'King: in 1640 (20).' III. 'As for the Speech 'about Ship-money, December 5, 1640.' And, the 'Speech concerning John Lord Finch and the Judges.' mentioned as two distinct ones by Mr Wood (21), they are one and the same: namely, that mentioned under the note [*I*]. IV. 'A Draught of a Speech, concerning Episcopacy, found amongst the Lord Falkland's papers since his death, written with his own 'hand.' Oxford, one sheet, 4*to*. 1644. V. 'A Discourse concerning Episcopacy.' Lond. 1660, 4*to*. VI. 'A Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church 'of Rome.' Oxford 1645, 4*to*. George Holland, a Cambridge Scholar, and afterwards a Romish Priest, having written an Answer to this *Discourse of the Infallibility*, &c. the Lord Falkland made a Reply to it, intituled, VII. 'A View of some Exceptions made 'against *The Discourse of the Infallibility of the 'Church of Rome*.' Printed at Oxford 1646, 4*to*. *The Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome*; and the *Reply* to the Answer made thereto by G. Holland; were afterwards printed together, with a Preface signed J. P. supposed to be John Pearson (22). They were reprinted again in 1651, with this title, 'Sir *Lucius Cary*, late Lord Viscount of *Falk-'land*, his Discourse of Infallibility; with an Answer 'to it, and his Lordship's Reply, never before pub-'lished; together with Mr Walter Montague's Letter 'concerning the changing his Religion, Answered by 'my Lord Falkland.' This Letter of Mr W. Montague is dated from Paris, November 21, 1635. VIII. The Lord Falkland was also author of 'A Letter to 'Mr F. M. *anno* 1636,' printed at the end of Mr Charles Gataker's *Answer to Five captious Questions propounded by a Factor for the Papacy, by parallel Questions and positive Resolutions.* Lond. 1673, 4*to*. This Factor for the Papacy was the same Fr. M. to whom the Lord Falkland's letter is addressed.

[*P*] *He assisted Mr Chillingworth in his book of The Religion of Protestants*, &c. This particular we learn from Bishop Barlow (23), who says, That 'when Mr 'Chillingworth undertook the defence of Dr Potter's 'book against the Jesuit, he was almost continually at 'Tew with my Lord, examining the reasons of both 'parties, *pro* and *con*, and their invalidility or con-'sequence;

(18) Ath. Vol. I. col. 587.

(19) Historical Collections, P. ii. Vol. II. p. 1342.

(20) Ibid. p. 1351.

(21) Ubi supra.

(22) Wood, ubi supra, col. 581.

(23) [illegible] nuine [illegible] &c. L[illegible] 8vo, [illegible]

To his honour be it spoken, he was also a sincere Christian (*d*), and a true son of the Church of England (*e*). Some indeed have charged him with being a Socinian (*f*), but all that knew him have cleared him from that imputation (*g*). And it is well known, how ready violent and passionate men are, to charge those that any way differ from them, with the damnable sin, as they think it, of heresy. Upon the whole, therefore, he was the envy and the wonder of his time, and the greatest ornament to this nation, that the last age, nay that any age hath ever produced (*h*). As to his person, he was little, and of no great strength; his hair was blackish and somewhat flaggy; and his eye black and lively (*i*). His body was buried in the Church of Great Tew (*k*). His usual saying, was, 'I pity unlearned Gentlemen, in a rainy day (*l*).'

(*d*) Dr Triplet, in Wood, ubi supra, col. 587.
(*e*) Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 328.
(*f*) See Wood, col. 587.
(*g*) S. Cressy in his Epistle Apologetical, printed 1674, §. 7. and Dr Triplet in his Epist. Dedicat. before the Lord Falkland's book of Infallibility.
(*h*) Dr Triplet, ibid. and Clarendon, in his Animadversions, ubi supra.
(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.
(*k*) Ibid.
(*l*) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 941.

'sequence; where Mr Chillingworth had the benefit 'of my Lord's company, and his good library. The 'benefit he had by my Lord's *company*, and rational '*discourse*, was very great, as Mr Chillingworth would 'modestly and truly confess. And so was also that 'which he received from his *library*, which was well 'furnished with choice books, such as Mr Chillingworth neither had, nor ever heard of many of them, 'till my Lord shewed him the books and the passages 'in them, which were significant and pertinent to the 'purpose. So that it is certain, most of those ancient 'authorities which Mr Chillingworth makes use of, 'he owes, first to my Lord of Falkland's learning, 'that he would give so good directions; and next 'to his civility and kindness, that he would direct 'him.' C

CARY (ROBERT) a learned Chronologer in the XVIIth Century, and nephew of Sir George Cary, Knt. Lord Deputy of Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's reign (*a*), was born at Cockinton (*b*) in the county of Devon, about the year 1615 (*c*); being the second son of George Cary, Esquire [*A*]; and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry-castle, Baronet (*d*). When he was well grounded in School-Learning, he went to Oxford, and was admitted Sojourner of Exeter-College, on the 4th of October 1631, aged sixteen. Having continued there about three years, he was in October 1634, chosen Scholar of Corpus-Christi-College in the same university (*e*). The next year, on December the 3d, he was admitted Bachelor of Arts (*f*); and the 23d of February 1638-9, proceeded Master of Arts (*g*). And it is probable, that he was also chosen Fellow of his College, tho' Mr Wood professes, he did not know (*h*). On November 4, 1644, he was created Doctor of Laws, by virtue of mandatory letters from the Chancellor, William Marquis of Hertford, who was his kinsman (*i*). Some time after, he travelled into France, the Low-Countries, and other foreign parts. At his return, he was presented, by the Marquis of Hertford, to the Rectory of Portlemouth, near Kingsbridge in Devonshire, a living of a very good value (*k*). There he settled, and lived in very good repute: and being distinguished by his birth, degrees, and learning, the Presbyterian Ministers of those times never left him, till they had drawn him over to their party. For his greater encouragement, they made him Moderator of that part of the second Division of the county of Devon, which was appointed to meet at Kingsbridge (*l*). However, he was never zealous in their interest: for, upon the Restoration of King Charles II, he was one of the first that congratulated that King upon his return. For which, he was soon after preferred to the Archdeaconry of Exeter, which he was installed into August 18, 1662 (†). But he was, in a little while, namely, in 1664, affrighted and ejected out of it, by some great men then in power: who taking advantage of some infirmities, or perhaps imprudences, of his, resolved to throw him out, in order to raise a favourite upon his ruins (*m*). Being thus deprived of his Archdeaconry, he retired to his Rectory at Portlemouth; where he spent the remainder of his days, in a private, chearful, and contented condition; in good repute with his neighbours; and as much above contempt, as he was below envy. Having lived to a good old age of seventy-three years, he departed this life, at the parsonage house of Portlemouth, and was buried in his own Church there, on the 19th of September 1688, without any funeral monument (*n*). He was a man very perfect in curious and critical learning (*o*), particularly in Chronology: of which he gave a full testimony, in the excellent book he published, intituled, *Palælogia Chronica. A Chronological Account of ancient Time, in three Parts, 1. Didactical. 2. Apodeictical. 3. Canonical.* Lond. 1677, folio [*B*]. He was also, in his younger years, pretty

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon, &c. by J. Prince, fol. Exeter, 1701, p. 197, 198.
(*b*) Wood says, it was at Berry Pomeroy, Athen. Vol. II. col. 825; but we chuse to follow Mr Prince.
(*c*) Wood says, ibid. that he was aged 16 in 1631, and consequently must have been born in 1615.
(*d*) Prince, ubi supra, p. 197.
(*e*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 825.
(*f*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 261.
(*g*) Ibid. col. 276.
(*h*) Athenæ; See Prince, ubi supra, p. 198.
(*i*) Prince, ibid. and Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 42.
(*k*) Prince; and Wood's Athen. ubi supra.
(*l*) Prince, ubi supra.
(†) Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. edit. 1728, p. 744; and Le Neve's Fasti, p. 93.
(*m*) Ibid.
(*n*) Ibid.
(*o*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

[*A*] *Being the second son of George Cary, Esq;*] Sir George Cary, Knt. above-mentioned, formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland, dying in 1615, without issue, adopted *George* of whom we speak here; who was the third son of his second brother Robert, according to one author (1), or, according to another (2), fifth son of his fourth brother John. This *George Cary*, Esq; had several sons and daughters; of whom the eldest, Sir Henry Cary, Knt. was entirely ruined by the civil wars. The second son was Dr *Robert Cary*, who is the subject of this article. Sir George Cary, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was his great uncle.

[*B*] *Palælogia. A Chronological Account, &c.*] 'The design of that work (as the author himself says 'in the beginning of it) is to determine the just interval of time, between the great Epoch of the creation of the world, and another of the destruction of 'Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, in order to the assignment of such particular time, wherein persons and 'affairs of old had their existence. The design of it 'was laid in the days of Cromwell's usurpation, and 'came, in process of time, to be quickened by a survenient occasion from some learned gentlemen of his 'acquaintance after the Restauration (3); who agreeing together in some appointed meetings, to discourse 'of the abstruser parts of the Holy Scriptures, having 'charged themselves with the several subjects, it was 'recommended to him, as his province, to account 'for the Chronology thereof.' In part I. He treats of time, as divided into hours, minutes, weeks, and years: and of the several sorts of years, the Chaldæan, and Ægyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Jewish; of all which he exhibits the calendars. Part II. Treats of the several epochs of time, and of the ancient monarchies

(1) Sir W. Pole in Cock.
(2) Westc. Ped. [illegible] by Mr Prince, p. 197.
(3) These are the author's own words, in his Preface.

pretty well ſkilled in Poetry, as well Latin as Engliſh: tho' he publiſhed nothing in this kind, but thoſe Hymns of our Church, that are appointed to be read after the Leſſons, together with the Creed, *&c.* Theſe being tranſlated by him into Latin verſe, were printed on the flat ſides of two ſheets in folio. As to his perſon; he was of a middle ſtature, ſanguine of complexion, and in his elder years ſomewhat corpulent. In his carriage and behaviour, he was as much a Gentleman, as he was in his birth and extraction: free and generous, courteous and obliging, and very critical in all the arts of complaiſance and addreſs (*p*).

(*p*) Prince, ubi ſupra.

chies and kingdoms; containing alſo liſts, of the Kings of Sicyon, Argos, and Athens; of the Ptolemies; Syro-Macedonian, Median, Lydian, Aſſyrian, Chaldæan, Arabian, Ægyptian, Chineſe, Lacedæmonian, Corinthian, and Latin, Kings or Monarchs: a liſt of the Roman Conſuls; a ſcheme of the Athenian Magiſtrates, *&c.* Then follows a connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory; a ſcheme of concurrent ſucceſſions from Nabopolaſſar to the death of Alexander the Great; a ſcheme of the Jewiſh High-Prieſts; of the Kings of Judah and Iſrael; Kings of Tyre; Syria, Damaſcena, *&c.* the time of Chriſt's nativity; the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles timed; and many other curious particulars relating to the Bible. Part III. Conſiſting of 97 pages, is entirely Canonical; being drawn up after the pattern of Helvicus. There is an account of this book in *The Philoſophical Tranſactions* (4).

(4) No. 132, p. 808.

C

CASAUBON (Isaac) one of the moſt learned Criticks, in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth, century; was born at Geneva, Febr. 18, 1559; being the ſon of Arnold Caſaubon and Jane Roſſeau (*a*) [*A*]. He was educated at firſt by his father, and being a youth of excellent parts, made ſo quick a progreſs in his ſtudies, that at the age of nine years he could ſpeak and write Latin with great eaſe and correctneſs. But his father being obliged, for three years together, to be always abſent from home, on account of buſineſs; he came thereby to be neglected, and entirely forgot what he had learned before. At twelve years of age he was forced to begin his ſtudies again, and to learn as it were by himſelf; his father's frequent abſence, and many avocations, hindering his teaching of him, except at vacant times. But as he could not in this method make any conſiderable progreſs, he was ſent in 1578 to Geneva, to compleat his ſtudies under the Profeſſors there. By his indefatigable application he quickly recovered the time he had loſt. He learned the Greek tongue of Francis Portus the Cretan, and ſoon became ſo great a maſter of that language, that this famous man thought him worthy to be his ſucceſſor in the Profeſſor's chair, in 1582, when he was but three and twenty years of age. In 1586, Feb. 1, he had the misfortune to loſe his father [*B*]. The 28th of April following, he married Florence, daughter of Henry Stephens the celebrated Printer [*C*], by whom he had twenty children. For fourteen years he continued Profeſſor of the Greek tongue at Geneva; and in that time ſtudied Philoſophy and the Civil Law under Julius Pacius. He alſo learned Hebrew, and ſome others of the Oriental Languages, but not enough to be able to make uſe of them afterwards [*D*]. In the mean time he began to be weary of Geneva; either becauſe he could not agree with his father-in-law, Henry Stephens, a moroſe and peeviſh man; or that his ſalary was not ſufficient for his maintenance; or becauſe he was of a rambling and unſettled diſpoſition. He reſolved therefore, after a great deal of uncertainty, to accept the place of Profeſſor of the Greek tongue and polite literature, which was offered him at Montpellier, with a more conſiderable ſalary than he had at Geneva. To Montpellier he removed about the end of the year 1596, and began his Lectures in the February following. About the ſame time, the city of Niſmes invited him to come and reſtore their univerſity, but he excuſed himſelf. 'Tis alſo ſaid, he had an invitation from the univerſity of Franeker, but that is not ſo certain. At his firſt coming to Montpellier, he was much eſteemed and followed, and ſeemed to be pleaſed with his ſtation. But this pleaſure did not laſt long; for what had been promiſed him was not performed; abatements were made in his ſalary; which alſo was not regularly paid: in a word, he met there with ſo much uneaſineſs, that he was juſt upon the point of returning to Geneva. But a journey he took to Lyons in 1598, gave him an opportunity of taking another, that proved extreamly advantageous to him. Having been recommended by ſome gentlemen of Montpellier (*b*) to M. de Vicq, a conſiderable man at Lyons; this took him into his houſe, and carried him along with him to Paris, where he cauſed him to be introduced to the

First-

(*a*) Iſ. Caſauboni Vita, inter ejus Epiſtolas, edit. Theod. Janſon ab Almeloveen Roter. 1709. Niceron, Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtr. Tom. XVIII. 8*vo*, p. 118, *&c.* and Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Juillet 1710, Artic. 1. p. 5, 6, *&c.*

(*b*) *Viz.* Philip de Canaye, Lord of Freſne, Firſt Preſident of the Chamber of the Edict at Caſtres; and Mr Gillet.

[*A*] *Being the ſon of Arnold Caſaubon.*] This Arnold was a native, and Miniſter, of Bourdeaux, a village of Diois in Dauphiné, but was obliged, on account of the perſecution for Religion, to fly to Geneva. When that ceaſed, he was choſen Miniſter of Creſt in Dauphiné; and here it was, that his ſon Iſaac learned the firſt rudiments of Grammar. That he was born at Geneva, he informs us himſelf (1); and therefore Moreri confounds the father with the ſon, when he ſays, that the latter was born at Bourdeaux.

[*B*] *Had the misfortune to loſe his father.*] He died at Die, aged 63. Charles Bonarſcius, and Andr. Eudæmon-Joannes, have affirmed, that he was hanged. But his ſon hath fully confuted that falſe and ſcandalous ſtory (2).

[*C*] *He married Florence, daughter of Henry Stephens, the celebrated Printer.*] Who had withdrawn from Paris to Geneva. There had been a long intimacy between him and Caſaubon; and that, probably, is what gave the enemies of the latter occaſion to aſſert, that he had ſpent his youth in correcting the books printed by H. Stephens: which indeed is falſe, though no blemiſh to his reputation, if it had been true (3).

[*D*] *But not enough to be able to make uſe of them afterwards.*] About the year 1591, he fell into great trouble, of which he complains extremely in his letters, by being bound in a great ſum for Mr Wotton, an Engliſhman, which he was obliged to pay. This ſtraitened him, till he was reimburſed by the care of his friends, and particularly of Joſeph Scaliger, about a year after (4).

[*E*] At

(1) In his 879th Letter, of Theod. Janſon of Almeloveen's edition.

(2) Niceron, ubi ſupra, p. 123.

(3) Idem, p. [illegible]

(4) Bernard, as above, p. 8.

First-President de Harlay, the President de Thou, Mr Gillot, and Nicolas le Fevre, by whom he was very civilly received. He was also presented to King Henry IV, who being informed of his merit, would have him leave Montpellier for a Professor's place at Paris. Casaubon having remained for some time in suspence which course to take, went back to Montpellier, and resumed his Lectures. Not long after, he received a letter from the King, dated January 3, 1599, by which he was invited to Paris, in order to be Professor of Polite Literature. He set out for that city the 26th of February following. When he came to Lyons, M. de Vicq advised him to stay there till the King's coming, who was expected in that place. Mean while, some domestick affairs obliged him to take a turn to Geneva, where he complains that justice was not done him with regard to the estate of his father-in-law. Upon his return to Lyons, having waited a long while in vain for the King's arrival, he took a second journey to Geneva, and then went to Paris; though he foresaw, as M. de Vicq and Scaliger had told him, he should not meet there with all the satisfaction he at first imagined. The King gave him indeed a gracious reception, but the jealousy of some of the other Professors, and his being a Protestant, procured him a great deal of trouble and vexation, and were the cause of his losing the professorship, of which he had the promise. Some time after, he was appointed one of the Judges on the Protestants side, at the conference between James Davy du Perron, Bishop of Evreux, afterwards Cardinal, and Philip du Plessis-Mornay [*E*]. As Casaubon was not favourable to the latter, who, as we are assured, did not acquit himself well in that conference; it was reported, that he (†) would soon change his religion, but the event showed that this report was groundless. When Casaubon came back to Paris, he found it very difficult to get his pension paid, and the charges of removing from Lyons to Paris, because M. de Rosny was not his friend; so that, it was not without an express order from the King, that he obtained the payment even of three hundred crowns. The 30th of May 1600, he returned to Lyons, to hasten the impression of his *Athenæus* which was printing there; but he had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of his great friend M. de Vicq, who had all along entertained him and his whole family in his own house, when they were in that city; because he refused to accompany him into Switzerland. The reason of this refusal was, his being afraid of losing in the mean time the place of Library-Keeper to the King, whereof he had a promise, and that was likely soon to become vacant, on account of the Librarian's illness. He returned to Paris with his wife and family the September following, and was well received by the King, and by many persons of distinction. There he read private Lectures, published several works of the Ancients, and learned Arabic; in which he made so great a progress, that he undertook to compile a Dictionary, and translated some books of that language into Latin. In 1601 he was obliged, as he tells us himself (*c*), to write against his will to James VI King of Scotland, afterwards King of England, but does not mention the occasions of it. That Prince answered him with great civility, which obliged our author to write to him a second time. In the mean time, the many affronts and uneasinesses he received from time to time at Paris, made him think of leaving that city, and retiring to some quieter place. But King Henry IV would never permit him; and, in order to fix him, made an augmentation of two hundred crowns to his pension: and granted him the reversion of the place of his Library-Keeper, after the death of John Gosselin, the then Librarian. He took a journey to Dauphiné in May 1603, and from thence to Geneva about his private affairs; returning to Paris on the 12th of July. Towards the end of the same year, he came into possession of the place of King's Library-Keeper, vacant by the death of Gosselin [*F*]. His friends of the Roman Catholick persuasion made now frequent attempts, to induce him to forsake the Protestant religion. Cardinal du Perron, in particular, had several disputes with him upon that point: after one of which a report was spread, that he had then promised the Cardinal he would turn Roman Catholick. So that, in order to stifle that rumour, the Ministers of Charenton, who were alarmed at it, obliged him to write a letter to the Cardinal to contradict what was so confidently reported, and took care to have it printed. About this time, the Magistrates of Nismes gave him a second invitation to their city, offering him a house, and a salary of six hundred crowns of gold a year, but he durst not accept of it for fear of offending the King. In 1609, he had, by that Prince's order who was desirous of gaining him over to the Catholick religion, a conference with Cardinal du Perron upon the controverted points; but it had no effect upon him, and he died a Protestant. The next year two things happened that afflicted

(†) *Viz.* Casaubon.

(*c*) See Bernard, as above, p. 14.

[*E*] *At the conference between James D. du Perron,———and Philip du Plessis-Mornay.*] This conference was held at Fontainebleau May 4, 1600. It was at first designed, that it should continue several days, but the indisposition of Mr du Plessis-Mornay was the cause of its lasting but one. The other judge on the Protestants side, was Mr Canaye, who convinced, as he pretended, by the arguments that were then used, became a convert to Popery. He used his utmost endeavours, to persuade Casaubon to follow his example; but not being able to prevail, he grew very cool towards him, and ceased to have the same regard and friendship for him, as he had, till then, expressed. As for Casaubon, he clears himself, in several of his letters, of the imputations thrown upon him, of his favouring Popery (5).

[*F*] *He came into possession of the place of King's Library-keeper, vacant by the death of Gosselin.*] His being possessed of that place, was a great advantage to him; not only on account of the salary, but because he had then free access to the books in that valuable library, which Gosselin would not permit him to have, as much as he desired, or wanted (6).

(5) See Letters, 319, 343.

(6) Niceron, as above, p. 127.

afflicted him extreamly; one was the murder of King Henry IV, which deprived him of all hopes of keeping his place; the other, his eldest son's embracing Popery [*G*]. The loss of the King, his patron and protector, made him resolve to come over into England, where he had often been invited by King James I. So, having obtained leave of the Queen-Regent of France, to be absent for a while out of that kingdom, he came to England in October 1610, along with Sir Henry Wotton, Embassador-Extraordinary from King James I. He was received in England with the utmost civility, by most persons of learning and distinction [*H*]. He waited upon the King who took great pleasure in discoursing with him, and even did him the honour of admitting him several times to eat at his own table. His Majesty likewise made him a present of a hundred and fifty pounds, to enable him to visit the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (*d*). The 3d of January 1611, he was made a Denizon. And the 19th of the same month, the King granted him a pension of three hundred pounds (*e*): as also two Prebends, one at Canterbury (*f*), and the other at Westminster. He likewise wrote to the Queen-Regent of France, to desire Casaubon might stay longer in England than she had at first allowed him. But Casaubon did not long enjoy these great advantages. For a painful distemper, occasioned by his having a double bladder (*g*), soon laid him in his grave. He died July 1, 1614, in the 55th year of his age; and was buried in Westminster-abbey [*I*]. He had, as is already hinted above, twenty children [*K*]. We shall give an account of his writings, and of the books he published, in the note [*L*]. This great man received the highest encomiums from

(*d*) Niceron, as above, p. 130.

(*e*) Conventiones Fœdera, &c. published by T. Rymer, Vol. XVII. p. 707, 710.

(*f*) J. le Neve says, that he was made Prebendary of Canterbury in the 8th stall, in 1609, which certainly must be a mistake, Fasti, p. 17, edit. 1716.

(*g*) See Dr Thorius's Letter, *de Isaaci Casauboni morbi mortisque causa*, printed among Casaubon's Letters.

[*G*] *His eldest son's embracing Popery.*] This last accident gave him a great deal of affliction and uneasiness; and the more, because a report was spread, that he himself had charged George Strauchan, a Scotchman, who taught his son the Mathematicks, to instruct him at the same time in the Popish Religion (7).

(7) Niceron, as above, p. 129.

[*H*] *He was received in England with the utmost civility by most persons of learning and distinction.*] But it seems he did not meet with the like treatment from the inferior sort of people. For he complains in one of his letters (8), that he was more insulted at London, than he had ever been at Paris in the midst of the Papists; that stones were thrown at his windows night and day; that he received a great wound as he went to Court; that his children were affronted in the streets; and he and his family were sometimes pelted with stones.——He doth not mention, what were the grounds of those many incivilities, to himself, and family. But, if we may be allowed to guess; perhaps, his differing in some points from the Puritans of those times, might get him an ill name among the populace, and so draw upon him the uncivilities he complains of. For such was the common behaviour of those saints!

(8) In the 1056th of Almeloveen's edition.

[*I*] *And was buried in Westminster-abbey.*] Where there is a monument erected to his memory, with the following inscription.

Isaacus Casaubonus,
(O Doctiorum quicquid est, assurgite
Huic tam colendo Nomini.)

Quem Gallia Reip. literariæ bono peperit, Henricus IV, Francorum rex invictissimus Lutetiam literis suis evocavit, Bibliothecæ suæ præfecit, charumque deinceps dum vixit habuit; eoque terris erepto Jacobus Mag. Brit. monarcha, Regum doctissimus, doctis indulgentiss. in Angliam accivit, munifice fovit, posteritasque ob doctrinam æternum mirabitur, H. S. E. invidia major. Obiit ætern. in Christo vitam anhelans, Kal. Julii 1614. *Ætat.* 55.

Viro opt. immortalitate digniss. Thomas Mortonus Episc. Dunelm. jucundissimæ quoad frui licuit consuetudinis memor. Pr. S. P. Cu. 163.

Qui nosse vult Casaubonum,
Non Saxa sed Chartas legat
Superfuturas marmori,
Et profuturas posteris.

[*K*] *He had——twenty children.*] *John*, the eldest, turned Roman Catholick, as hath been mentioned above. Another, named *Augustin*, did the like, and became a Capuchin at Calais, where he was poisoned, with eleven others of the same order (9). Mr Du Pin relates of him the following particular, upon the authority of Mr Cotelier: Before he took the vow of Capuchin, he went to ask his father's blessing, which the father readily granted him; adding, 'My son, I do not condemn thee; nor do thou condemn me; we shall both appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ (10).' What became of the rest of his children, (except Meric, mentioned in the next article,) is not known. In 1612 he had a son born in England, to which the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury were godfathers, and Sir George Cary's Lady godmother (11).

(9) Ogier, in his Travels.

(10) Niceron, as above, p. 132.

(11) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; Vol. III. p. 407.

[*L*] *We shall give an account of his writings, and of the books he published.*] They are as follows, I. *In Diogenem Laërtium Notæ Isaaci Hortiboni. Morgiis* 1583. 8vo. He was but twenty-five years old when he made these notes, and intended to have enlarged them afterwards, but was hindred. He dedicated them to his father, who commended him, but told him at the same time, 'He should like better *one* note of his upon the Holy Scriptures, than all the pains he could bestow upon profane authors.' These notes of Casaubon were inserted in the editions of Diogenes Laërtius, printed by H. Stephens in 1594 and 1598 in 8vo. and have been put in all other editions published since. The name of *Hortibonus*, which Casaubon took, is of the same import as *Casaubonus*, i. e. a good Garden; *Casau*, in the language of Dauphiné, signifying a Garden, and *bon*, good. II. *Isaaci Hortiboni Lectiones Theocriticæ*; in Crispinus's edition of Theocritus, *Genev.* 1584, 12mo. reprinted several times since. III. *Strabonis Geographiæ Libri* XVII. *Græce & Latine, ex Guil. Xylandri Interpretatione, edente eum Commentariis Isaaco Casaubono. Genevæ* 1587. fol. Casaubon's notes were reprinted, with additions, in the Paris edition of Strabo in 1620, and have been inserted in all other editions since. IV. *Novum Testamentum Græcum cum Notis Isaaci Casauboni in quatuor Evangelia & Actus Apostolorum. Genevæ* 1587, 16to. These notes were reprinted afterwards at the end of Whitaker's edition of the New Testament. Lond. and inserted in the *Critici Sacri*. V. *Animadversiones in Dionysium Halicarnassensem*, in the edition of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, published by our author with Æmilius Portus's Latin version. Genev. 1588, fol. These were written in haste, and of no great value. VI. *Polyæni Strategematum, Libri* VIII. *Græce & Latine, edente cum Notis Isaaco Casaubono. Lugduni* 1589, 16*to*. Casaubon was the first who published the Greek text of this author. The Latin version, joined to it, was done by Justus Vulteius, and first published in 1550. VII. *Dicæarchi Geographica quædam, sive de Statu Græciæ; Ejusdem descriptio Græciæ versibus Græcis jambicis, ad Theophrastum; cum Isaaci Casauboni & Henrici Stephani notis. Genevæ* 1589, 8*vo*. VIII. *Aristotelis Opera Græce, cum variorum Interpretatione Latina, & variis Lectionibus & Castigationibus Isaaci Casauboni. Lugduni* 1590, fol. *Genevæ* 1605, fol. These notes are only marginal, and were composed at leisure hours. IX. *C. Plinii Cæc. Sec. Epist. Lib.* IX. *Ejusdem & Trajani imp. Epist. amœbææ. Ejusdem Pl. & Pacati, Mamertini, Nazarii Panegyrici. Item Claudiani Panegyrici. Adjunctæ sunt Isaaci Casauboni Notæ in Epist. Genevæ* 1591, 12*mo*. *Ibid.* 1599, 1605, 1610, and 1611, 12*mo*. These notes are but very short.

from persons of learning in his time, and he really deserved them, not only on account of his

short. X. *Theophrasti Characteres Ethici Græce & Latine, ex versione & cum commentario Isaaci Casauboni. Lugduni* 1592, 12*mo*. and 1612, 12*mo*. This latter edition is the most exact of the two, being revised by the author. Casaubon's edition of Theophrastus is still highly esteemed, and was one of those works which procured him most reputation. Joseph Scaliger highly extols it (12). XI. *L. Apuleii Apologia, cum Isaaci Casauboni Castigationibus. Typis Commelini* 1594, 4*to*. In this edition he shewed himself as able a critic in the Latin, as he had done before in the Greek tongue. It is dedicated to Joseph Scaliger. XII. *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Opera cum Isaaci Casauboni Animadversionibus. Genevæ* 1595, 4*to*. *Item editio altera emendata & aucta*. Paris 1610. This second edition is enlarged. XIII. *Publii Syri Mimi, sive sententiæ selectæ, Latine, Græce versæ, & Notis illustratæ per Jos. Scaligerum; cum præfatione Isaaci Casauboni. Lugd. Batav.* 1598, 8*vo*. XIV. *Athenæi Deipnosophistarum, Libri* XV. *Græce & Latine, Interprete Jacobo Dalechampio, cum Isaaci Casauboni Animadversionum, Libris* XV. *Lugduni* 1600, 2 vol. fol. *Ibid* 1612, 2 vol. fol. Casaubon's notes take up the second volume, and are very large, and full of great learning. XV. *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores, cum commentario Isaaci Casauboni*. Paris 1603, 4*to*. reprinted at Paris in 1620, with Salmasius's Commentaries on the same authors, fol. and at Leiden, in 1670, 2 vol. 8*vo*. XVI. *Diatriba ad Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes*, published in the edition of that author by Frederick Morel at Paris 1604, fol. XVII. *Persii Satyræ ex recensione & cum Commentar. Isaac Casauboni*. Paris 1605, 8*vo*. Lond. 1647, 8*vo*. These notes upon Persius, are Lectures he had formerly read at Geneva. They were enlarged in the edition of 1647. Scaliger used to say of them, 'That the sauce was better than the fish.' *i. e.* The commentary better than the text (13). XVIII. *De Satyrica Græcorum Poesi, & Romanorum Satyra Libri duo*. Paris 1605, 8*vo*. In this work Casaubon affirms, That the Satyr of the Latins was very different from that of the Greeks. Wherein he is contradicted by Daniel Heinsius, in his two books, *De Satyra Horatiana. Lugd. Batav.* 1629, 12*mo*. But the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (14), after having examined the arguments of these two learned men, hath declared for Casaubon. Crenius hath inserted this tract of Casaubon, in his *Musæum Philologicum & Historicum. Lugd. Batav.* 1699, 8*vo*. and also the following piece, which was published by our author, at the end of his two books, *De Satyrica poesi*, &c. XIX. *Cyclops Euripidis Latinitate donata a Q. Septimio Florente*. XX. *Gregorii Nysseni Epistola ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam, & Basilissam, Græce, & Latine, cum notis Is. Casauboni. Paris* 1601, 8*vo*. *Hanoviæ* 1607, 8*vo*. This letter was first published by Casaubon. XXI. *De Libertate Ecclesiastica Liber* 1607, 8*vo*. pages 264. This book was composed by the author during the disputes between Pope Paul V. and the Republick of Venice; and contained a Vindication of the Rights of Sovereigns against the incroachments of the Court of Rome. But those differences being adjusted while the book was printing, King Henry IV. caused it to be suppressed. However, Casaubon having sent the sheets, as they came out of the press, to some of his friends, by that means some of the copies came to be preserved. Melchior Goldast inserted that fragment in his *Collectanea de Monarchia S. Imperii*, Tom. I. pag. 674. and Almeloveen reprinted it in his edition of our author's letters. XXII. *Inscriptio vetus dedicationem fundi continens, ab Herode Rege facta, cum Notis Isaaci Casauboni*. This small piece, published in 1607, hath been inserted by T. Crenius in his *Musæum Philologicum*. Casaubon's notes are short, but learned; however, he appears to have been mistaken, in ascribing the inscription on which they were made to Herod, King of Judæa, instead of Herodes the Athenian. XXIII. *Polybii Opera Græce & Latine ex versione Isaaci Casauboni. Accedit Æneas Tacticus de toleranda obsidione, Græce & Latine. Paris* 1609, fol. & *Hanoviæ* 1609, fol. The Latin version of these two authors was done by Casaubon; who intended to write a commentary upon them, but went no further than the first book of Polybius, being hindred by death. What he did of that, was published after his decease (15). The great Thuanus, and Fronto Ducæus the Jesuit, were so pleased with that Latin version, that they believed it was not easy to determine, whether Casaubon had translated Polybius, or Polybius Casaubon —— *ut non facile dici posse crederent, Polybiumne Casaubonus, an Casaubonum Polybius convertisset* (16). At the head of this edition there is a Dedication to King Henry IV. which passes for a master-piece of the kind. And, indeed, Casaubon had a talent for such pieces, as well as for Prefaces. In the former, he praises without low servility, and in a manner remote from flattery: In the latter, he lays open the design and excellencies of the books he publishes, without ostentation, and with an air of modesty. So that he may serve as a model for such performances. XXIV. He published, *Josephi Scaligeri Opuscula varia. Paris* 1610, 4*to*. *Et Francofurti* 1612, 8*vo*. with a preface of his own. XXV. *Ad Frontonem Ducæum Epistola, de Apologiâ, Jesuitarum nomine, Parisiis edita. Londini* 1611, 4*to*. Casaubon, after his coming to England, was forced to alter the course of his studies, and to write against the Papists, in order to please his patron King James I. who affected to be a great Controversist. He began with this Letter, dated July 2. 1611. which is the 730th in Almeloveen's collection, and for which King James made him a considerable present. It is a confutation of *la Reponse Apologetique à l'Anti-coton, par François Bonald. Au Pont*. 1611, 8*vo*. XXVI. *Epistola ad Georgium Michaelem Lingelshemium de quodam libello Sciopii*, 1612, 4*to*. This letter is dated *Aug*. 9. 1612, and is the 828th of Almeloveen's collection. XXVII. *Epistola ad Cardinalem Perronium. Londini* 1612. 4*to*. This letter, which is the 838th in Almeloveen's collection, is dated Novemb. 9. 1612. It is not so much Casaubon's own composition, as an exact account of the sentiments of King James I, whose, and the Church of England's Secretary, he was, as he tells us, with regard to some points of Religion. Accordingly, it was inserted in the edition of that King's Works, published in 1619 by Dr Montague Bishop of Winchester. It is written with moderation. Cardinal du Perron undertook to give an Answer to it, which was left unfinished at his death. It has been likewise animadverted upon by Valentine Smalcius, the Socinian, in his, *Ad Isaacum Casaubonum Parænesis. Racoviæ*, 1614, 4*to*. publish'd under the name of *Anton. Reuchlin*. XXVIII. *De Rebus sacris & Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes xvi. Ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales, & primam eorum partem, de Domini nostri Jesu Christi Nativitate, Vita, Passione, Assumtione. Londini* 1614, *fol*. *Francofurti* 1615, 4*to*. *Genevæ* 1655 & 1663, 4*to*. What was the occasion of this work we learn from Mr Bernard (17): Namely, That soon after Casaubon's arrival in England, Peter du Moulin wrote to Dr James Montague, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, to inform him, that Casaubon had a great inclination to Popery; that there were only a few Articles, which kept him among the Protestants; and if he returned to France, he would change his Religion, as he had promised. Therefore, he desired him to endeavour to keep him in England, and to engage him in writing against the Annals of Baronius, since he knew *that he had materials ready for that purpose*. Accordingly King James employed him in that work, which was finished in eighteen months time. Niceron thinks (18), that Casaubon was not equal to this work, because he had not sufficiently studied Divinity, Chronology, and History, and was not conversant enough in the Fathers. So that he is charged with having committed more errors than Baronius in a less compass. Besides, as he comes no lower than the year 34 after Christ, he is said to have pulled down only the pinnacles of Baronius's great building. It appears from letter 1059th of our author, that Dr Richard Montague, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, had undertaken to write against Baronius at the same time with himself; and he threatens to complain of him to the King, who had engaged him in that work. XXIX. *Ad Polybii Historiarum Librum primum Commentarius. Paris* 1617, 8*vo*. See above, N°. XXIII. XXX. *Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ. Hagæ Comit*. 1638, 4*to*. published by John Frederic Gronovius. A second edition — *Octoginta duabus Epistolis auctior, & juxta seriem temporum digesta* —— was published afterwards by John George

(12) Speaking of the pleasure he received upon the perusal of it, he says, *de potestate mei exivi, neque me continere potui, quin ea de te prædicarem, quæ & meritum tuum & amor meus postulabant, quanquam quicquid de te dixero, omne infra virtutes ingenii tui fuerit.*

(13) Scaligerana.

(14) In the preface to his translation of the Emperor Julian's Cesars.

(15) See below, No. 29.

(16) Huetius *de optimo interpretandi genere*, ap. Blount Censura celebriorum authorum, p. 884. edit. Genevæ, 1694. 4*to*.

(17) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Juillet 1710, Artic. 1.

(18) Memoires, &c. as above, p. 145.

his extensive knowledge, but likewise of his modesty, sincerity, and probity. Some writers indeed, even of the Reformed Religion (*b*), have undervalued him, and called him a Half-Divine. But the reason they did not like him was, because he did not entirely agree with their sentiments in every point. For though he was a Protestant, he disapproved of some of Calvin's notions: and whoever doth so, is sure to be branded, by some zealot or other, with the odious name of Heretick, if not worse.

(*b*) Particularly Mr Colomiés. See Niceron, p. 133.

George Grævius: At Magdeburgh, and Helmstadt, 1656, 4*to*. These editions are eclipsed by the following one; intitled, *Is. Casauboni Epistolæ, insertis ad easdem responsionibus, quotquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt, secundum seriem temporis accurate digestæ. Accedunt huic Editioni, præter trecentas ineditas Epistolas, Is. Casauboni vita, ejusdem Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, Poemata, Fragmentum de Libertate Ecclesiastica. Item Merici Casauboni Epistolæ, Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, & Tractatus quidam rariores. Curante Theodoro Janson ab Almeloveen. Roterodami*, 1709, *fol.* The letters in this volume are 1059 in number, placed according to the order of time in which they were written; and 51 without dates. A certain writer finds in them, neither elegancy of Style, nor fineness of Thoughts; and censures, as very disagreeable, the mixture of Greek words and expressions that are dispersed throughout; affirming besides, that they contain no particulars tending to the advancement of Learning, or that are of any great importance (19). Another owns, that there is in them, the History of a man of probity and learning; but nothing otherwise very remarkable, except the purity of the language, and the marks of a frank and sincere mind (20). One author, on the other hand, assures us (21), that they are all perfectly beautiful; and makes no scruple, to compare them to those of Grotius and Scaliger with regard to learning; and to assert, that they exceed them for the easiness and purity of the style, which is entirely epistolary, and not at all affected. XXXI. In 1710 were published, *Casauboniana, sive Isaaci Casauboni varia de Scriptoribus Librisque judicia, Observationes sacræ in utriusque Foederis Loca, Philologicæ item & Ecclesiasticæ, ut & Animadversiones in Annales Baronii Ecclesiasticos ineditæ, ex variis Casauboni MSS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana reconditis nunc primum erutæ a Jo. Christophoro Wolfio, &c. Accedunt duæ Casauboni Epistolæ ineditæ, & Præfatio ad Librum de Libertate Ecclesiastica, cum Notis Editoris in Casauboniana, ac Præfatio, qua de hujus generis Libris disseritur. Hamburgi*, 1710, 8*vo*. There is nothing very material in this collection. C

(19) Niceron, as above, p. 146.

(20) Sorberiana, p. 50.

(21) *Melanges d'Histoire & de Literature*, published under the name of *Vigneul-Marville*. See Bernard, ubi supra.

CASAUBON (Meric) son of Isaac recorded in the foregoing article, and the only one of his sons whose name deserves to be transmitted to posterity, was born at Geneva, August 14, 1599 (*a*). He had the name of Meric given him from Meric de Vicq, a great friend and benefactor to his father (*b*). His first education he received at Sedan, but coming to England, with his father in the year 1610, He was instructed by a private master till 1614 (*c*) when he was sent to Christ-Church-College in Oxford; and being put there under a most careful Tutor, Dr Edward Meetkirk (made in 1620, the King's Hebrew Professor) was soon after elected a Student of that house. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 8, 1618 (*d*), and that of Master, June 14, 1621 (*e*), being even at that time eminent for his extensive learning. For, the same year, tho' he was but two and twenty, he published a book in defence of his father, against the calumnies of certain Roman Catholicks [*A*]. This book made him known to King James I, who ever after entertained a good opinion of him; and also brought him into reputation abroad, especially in France, whither he was invited with offers of promotion, his godfather Meric de Vicq being then, or soon after, Keeper of the Great Seal of that kingdom. Three years after, he published another vindication of his father [*B*], written

(*a*) Niceron Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans la Republique des Lettres, Tom. XVIII. Paris 1732, p. 148. A. Wood says, by mistake, that he was born in September. Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 485.

(*b*) Niceron, ibid. See the last article.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 209.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 218. Niceron is mistaken, when he says, he was admitted at Oxford in 1616; for if so, he could not have been Master of Arts till 1623. But probably he was led into this mistake by an *erratum* in Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 281.

[*A*] *He published a book in defence of his father, against the calumnies of certain Roman Catholicks.*] The title of it, is, *Pietas contra maledicos patris nominis & religionis hostes. Londini* 1621, 8*vo*. In this book he mentions several particulars of his father's life, and vindicates him against the calumnies of Caspar Scioppius, Julius Cæsar Boulanger, Andreas Eudæmon-Joannes, Heribert Rosweid, and others, who had cast odious imputations upon his morals and religion (1).

[*B*] *Three years after, he published another vindication of his father.*] It was intitled, *Vindicatio patris adversus Impostores, qui librum ineptum & impium de origine Idololatriæ nuper sub Isaaci Casauboni nomine publicarunt. Londini* 1624, 4*to* (2). It is inserted, as well as the foregoing, in Mr Almeloveen's edition of Casaubon's letters. The occasion of this book was as follows. In 1624, there was published at London a treatise, intitled, 'The Original of Idolatries, or the 'Birth of Heresies. First faithfully gathered out of 'sundry Greek and Latin authors, as also out of 'divers learned Fathers, by that famous and learned 'Isaac Casaubon, and by him published in French for 'the good of God's Church, and was translated into 'English for the benefit of this monarchy, by Abra-'ham Darcie.' It was dedicated to Prince Charles, and presented to King James I, and all the Lords of the Council. The end of it was to prove, 'That 'the Mass, (a word of great extent and antiquity, 'which made the authors of the Augustane Confession, 'subscribed by Calvin, say, *False accusantur Ecclesiæ 'nostræ, quod Missam aboleant, retinetur enim Missa 'apud nos, & summâ reverentiâ celebratur*) or rather 'indeed the whole Liturgy, antient and late, and 'every part of it, was derived from ancient Heathens, 'Numa Pompilius, &c. and some part also taken 'out of the Alcoran; which to prove, his authors 'for the most part are some late collectors of Roman 'Antiquities, as Blondus, Alexander ab Alexandro, 'and the like, who say no such thing; but from 'what they say of the Romans, he makes his wrong 'inferences and applications (3).' Meric Casaubon thinking his father much injured by the publication of that book, writ a letter, which he got one of the Bishops to shew to the King: his Majesty discovering thereby the fraud, ordered Nath. Butter the Bookseller, and Abraham Darcie to be committed to prison; and it was with great difficulty, that Dr Mountaine, Bishop of London made his Chaplain's peace, on account of his licensing it (4). Soon after, a French book, the original of the English translation being produced, it was found, continues our author (5), 'That an old 'title page had been by art and cunning transformed, 'the years altered, and the name of Isaac Casaubon 'inserted; and thus the world for mere gain and lucre '(for I do not believe there was any further mystery 'in at first) shamefully abused. Other editions or 'copies of the same book were found, and shewed to 'the King; yea, translations of it, that had been 'made, when my father was yet scarce born, &c.' Upon this, Meric Casaubon, published his *Vindicatio patris*, which, by the King's command, was translated in French and English. And yet, some years after, the same English translation was reprinted at Amsterdam, as is supposed, with this title, 'The Original of 'Popish Idolatry; or the Birth of Heresies. Pub-'lished under the name of *Casaubon*, and called in, 'the same year, upon misinformation. But now upon 'better consideration reprinted with Allowance; being

(1) Niceron, as above, p. 150. and Fuller's Church Hist. B. x. p. 90.

(2) Containing eight sheets.

(3) This account Meric Casaubon himself gives us, in his Necessity of Reformation, in and before Luther's time, &c. Lond. 1664, 4*to*, p. 157, 158.

(4) Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. x. p. 112.

(5) Necessity of Reformation, &c. as above, p. 159.

written by the command of King James I. About that time he was collated by Dr Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, to the Rectory of Bledon in Somersetshire (f); and on the 14th of June 1628, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (g). He had now formed the design of continuing his father's Exercitations against Baronius's Annals, but was diverted by some accident. At length, when he came to maturity of years for such a work, and had acquainted Archbishop Laud his great friend and patron with his design, who was very ready to place him conveniently in Oxford or London, according to his desire, that he might be furnished with books necessary for such a purpose, the troubles and divisions began in England: so that having no fixed habitation, he was forced to sell a good part of his books, and, in the end, after about twenty years sufferings, was grown so old and infirm, that he could not expect to live many years, and thereupon was forced to give over that project (h). On the 19th of June 1628, he was made Prebendary of Canterbury, through the interest and recommendation of Bishop Laud (i). And when that Prelate was promoted to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, he further preferred him; for on the 4th of October 1634, he collated him to the Vicarage of Minster in the Isle of Thanet, and the 25th of the same month, he was inducted into the Vicarage of Monckton in the same island (k). The 31st of August 1636, he was created Doctor in Divinity, by order of King Charles I, who was entertained at the same time, with his Queen, by the University (l). About the year 1644, during the heat of the Civil Wars, he was deprived of his preferments, abused, fined, and imprisoned (m). In 1649, one Mr Greaves of Gray's-inn, an intimate acquaintance of his, brought him a message from Oliver Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General of the Parliament forces, desiring him to come to White-hall, on purpose to confer with him about matters of moment; but his wife being lately dead, and not, as he said, buried, he desired to be excused. Greaves came again afterwards, and Dr Casaubon being under some uneasiness, least some evil should follow, desired him to tell him the meaning of the matter, but Greaves refusing, went away the second time. At length he returned again, and told him, that the Lieutenant-General intended his good and advancement, and his particular errand was, That he would make use of his pen to write the History of the late war, desiring withal, that nothing but matters of fact should be impartially set down. The Doctor answered, that he desired his humble service and hearty thanks should be returned for the great honour done unto him: but, that he was uncapable in several respects for such an employment, and could not so impartially engage in it, but his subject would force him to make such reflections as would be ungrateful, if not injurious, to his Lordship. Notwithstanding this answer, Cromwell seemed so sensible of his worth, that tho' he could not gain him to do what he desired, yet he acknowledged a great respect for him, and, as a testimony of it, ordered, that upon the first demand there should be delivered to him three or four hundred pounds, by a Bookseller in London, whose name was Cromwell, whenever his occasions should require, without ackowledging, at the receipt of it, who was his benefactor. But this offer he rejected, tho' his condition was then mean. At the same time, it was proposed by Mr Greaves, who belonged to the Library at St James's, that if our author would gratify him in the foregoing request, Cromwell would restore unto him all his father's books, which were then in the Royal Library, having been purchased by King James; and withal give him a patent for three hundred pounds a year, to be paid to the family as long as the youngest son of Dr Casaubon (n) should live; but this also was refused. Not long after, a proposal was made to him by the Embassador of Christina Queen of Sweden, whereby, he was invited by that Queen into her country, to have the government of one, or inspection of all her Universities; and for an encouragement, she proposed not only an honourable salary for himself, but offered to settle three hundred pounds a year upon his eldest son during life: but this also he waved, being fully determined to spend the remainder of his days in England (o). At the Restoration of King Charles II, he recovered his preferments; namely, his Prebend of Canterbury on the 13th of July 1660, and his Vicarages of Monckton, and Minster the same year (p). But, two years after, he exchanged this last for the Rectory of Ickham, near Canterbury, to which he was admitted, October 4, 1662 (q). He had a design, in the latter part of his days, of writing his own life; and would often confess, that he thought himself obliged to do it out of gratitude to the Divine Providence, which had preserved and delivered him from more hazardous occurrences, than ever any man (as he thought) besides himself had encountred with. Particularly, in his escape from a fire in the night-time, which happened in the house where he lived, at Geneva, while he was a boy: in his recovery from a sickness at Christ-Church in Oxford, when he was given over for dead, by a chymical preparation administered to him by a young Physician (r): in his wonderful preservation from drowning, when overset in a boat

(f) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 48: Of this he takes notice in his 1st part *Of Credulity and Incredulity*, &c. edit. 1668, 8vo, p. 115.

(g) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 242.

(h) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(i) Wood, ib. and Wharton, Collectan. MS. fol. p. 77.

(k) Wharton, ib.

(l) Wood, Fast. Vol. I. col. 276.

(m) Wharton, ib. and Attempt towards recovering the numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, P. ii. p. 8.

(n) Wood, by mistake, calls here Dr Casaubon, *Isaac*.

(o) Woo^d, Athens as above, col. 485, 486.

(p) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 204, 645, 727.

(q) Wharton, Collectan. as above, p. 77.

(r) See his treatise of Credulity and Incredulity, &c. P. i. p. 16, 17. edit. 1668.

'being a true and exact Description, &c.' Printed ——— 1630. A Preface also was added in justification of the book and the first editors of it, where, among other things, it is said, 'That they that did suppress, were either Papists in their hearts, or such as hold with Papists, That ignorance is the mother of devotion, that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ was departing from the land, &c. Since that, a Pamphlet came out, much to the same purpose, in the very front of which Casaubon's name was placed (6); if it was that, intituled, *Isaaci Casauboni Corona Regia*, the true author was Caspar Scioppius (7).

(6) Ibid. p. 160.

(7) Niceron, p. 151.

(s) Wood, Ath. col. 488.

(t) Wood, Ath. col. 488; and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 282.

(u) Hist. & Antiq. ibid.

boat on the Thames near London, the two Watermen being drowned, and himself buoyed up by his Priest's coat: and in his bearing several abuses, fines, imprisonments, *&c.* laid upon him by the fanaticks in the time of his sequestration. But deferring it from time to time, he did not live to do it (*s*). He died on the 14th of July 1671, in the seventy-second year of his age; and was buried in the south part of the first south cross-isle of Canterbury-Cathedral (*t*). Over his grave was soon after erected a handsome monument, with an inscription. He left by will a great number of manuscripts to the University of Oxford (*u*), and was author of several learned works [*C*]. His character is

[*C*] *And was author of several learned works.*] They are, besides his two vindications already mentioned, these that follow. I. *Optati Libri* vii. *de Schismate Donatistarum, cum Merici Casauboni Notis & Emendationibus. Londini* 1632, 8*vo*. II. A translation from Greek into English of 'M. Aurelius Antoninus's Meditations concerning himself, with notes,' London 1634, and 1635, 4*to*. again with additions and corrections. Lond. 1664, 8*vo*. III. 'A Treatise of Use and Custom.' This is the whole title; but, as the author himself observes (8), there might be added, 'in things Natural, Civil, and Divine.' Lond. 1638, 8*vo*. The occasion of this treatise, as he tells us in the same place, was, 'His being at that time much troubled, and as he thought injured, by what in the law of this realm, goes under the name of *Custom*; to him before little known.' IV. 'The Use of daily publick Prayers in three Positions.' Lond. 1641, 4*to*. V. *Marci Antonini Imperatoris de Seipso & ad Seipsum Libri* xii. *Guil. Xylander Augustanus Græcè & Latinè primus edidit: nunc verò, Xylandri versionem locis plurimis emendavit, & novam fecit: in Antonini libros Notas & Emendationes adjecit Mericus Casaubonus, Is. F. In eosdem Xylandri Annotationes. Lond.* 1643, 8*vo*. There are in the beginning learned *Prolegomena* of our author; and at the end his notes; then those of Xylander follow. It is a neat and accurate edition. VI. 'The original of temporal Evils; The Opinions of the most ancient Heathens concerning it examined by the Sacred Scriptures, and referred unto them, as unto the source and fountain, from whence they spring.' Lond. 1645, 4*to*. VII. 'A Discourse concerning Christ his Incarnation and Exinanition.' With an Introduction, 'Concerning the Principles of Christianity and Divinity.' Lond. 1646. 4*to*. VIII. *De verborum usu, & accuratæ eorum cognitionis utilitate Diatriba. Londini* 1647, 8*vo*. IX. This same year, he published a more compleat edition of his father's notes upon Persius, than was that of 1605. The title of this second edition runs thus, *Persii Satyræ cum notis Isaaci Casaubon. Londini* 1647, 8*vo*. X. *De quatuor Linguis Commentationis, Pars* I. *Quæ de Lingua Hebraica & de Lingua Saxonica. Accesserunt Gulielmi Somneri ad verba vetera Germanica Lipsiana Notæ. Londini* 1650, 8*vo*. He had not an opportunity of finishing the two other languages, Greek and Latin. XI. *Terentius, cum notis Thomæ Farnabii in quatuor priores Comoedias, & Merici Casauboni in Phormionem & Hecyram. Londini* 1651, 12*mo*. Farnaby dying before he had finished his notes upon Terence, the Bookseller engaged Casaubon to write notes upon the two last Comedies, the Phormio and the Hecyra, which the other had not done. XII. 'Some Annotations on the Psalms and Proverbs.' He tells us (9), that these observations were extorted from him, by the importunity of Printers, when he was not very well furnished either with books or leisure; but, worst of all, of will, when nothing could be expected to be acceptable and welcome, but what relished of schism and rebellion. These Annotations were inserted in one of the latter editions of the *Assembly's Annotations on the Bible*. XIII. *In Hieroclis commentarium de Providentia & Fato, Notæ & Emendationes. Lond.* 1655, 8*vo*. and 1673, 8*vo*. Our author designed at first, to have corrected the Latin translation of Hierocles, which abounded with faults; but not knowing that the work was printing till it was almost entirely finished, he contented himself with adding a few grammatical and critical notes at the end. XIV. 'A Treatise concerning Enthusiasm, as it is an effect of Nature; but is mistaken by many for either divine Inspiration, or diabolical possession.' Lond. 1655, 8*vo*. In this book, which is divided into six chapters, he treats, 1. Of Enthusiasme in general. 2. Of Divinatory Enthusiasme. 3. Of contemplative and philosophical Enthusiasme. 4. Of rhetorical Enthusiasme. 5. Of poeticall Enthusiasme. 6. Of precatory Enthusiasme. XV. *De nupera Homeri editione Lugduno-Batavica Hackiana, cum Latina versione, & Didymi Scholiis; sed & Eustathio, & locis aliquot insignioribus ad Odysseam pertinentibus. Item super loco Homerico dubiæ apud Antiquos Interpretationis, quo Dei in hominum tam mentes quam fortunas imperium asseritur, binæ Dissertationes. Londini* 1659, 8*vo*. reprinted in Almeloveen's edition of Casaubon's Letters. XVI. *Epicteti enchiridion, Græcè & Latinè, cum notis Merici Casauboni; & Cebetis Tabula cum notis ejusdem. Lond.* 1659, 8*vo*. The Latin translation in this edition is that of Jerom Wolfius. XVII. An English translation of, and notes on, 'Lucius Florus's History of the Romans.' Lond. 1659, 8*vo*. XVIII. He published, 'A true and faithful relation of what passed for many years between Dr John Dee and some Spirits, *&c.*' And put in the beginning a long Preface, to confirm the truth of what is said in that relation concerning Spirits. Lond. 1659, fol. XIX. He was author of, 'A Vindication of the Lord's Prayer as a formal Prayer, and by Christ's Institution to be used by Christians as a Prayer. Against the Antichristian practice and opinion of some men. Wherein also their private and ungrounded zeal is discovered, who are so strict for the observation of the Lord's-day, and make so light of Lord's prayer.' Lond. 1660. The first occasion of this treatise, as the author tells us in the Preface, was the relation of a strange affront done publickly unto Christ; or, if you will more punctually, to the Lord's prayer, in St Mary's Church in Oxford, by Dr John Owen, Dean of Christ-Church, who had the chief government of that University from 1652 to 1657; namely, *His putting on his Hat*, when the Lord's prayer was repeating by the preacher. This, Dr Owen denied afterwards (10); 'But therein, saith Mr Wood (11), he doth much err, for several now living in Oxon (*i. e.* in Wood's time) knew it well enough.' XX. 'A King and his Subjects unhappily fallen out, and happily reconciled, in a Sermon preached at Canterbury, on *Hosea* iii. *ver.* 4, 5.' Lond. 1660, 4*to*. XXI. 'The Question to whom it belonged anciently to preach? And whether all Priests might or did? Discussed out of Antiquity. Occasioned by the late Directions concerning Preachers.' Lond. 1663, 4*to*. These directions were set forth by the King, October 14, 1662, to restrain the abuses and extravagances of Preachers (12). XXII. *Notæ & Emendationes in Diogenem Laërtium de Vitis, &c. Philosophorum.* These notes were added to those of his father, in the editions of Laërtius printed at London 1664, fol. and Amsterdam in 1692, 4*to*. XXIII. 'Of the necessity of Reformation in and before Luther's time, and what visibly hath most hindred the progress of it. Occasioned by some late virulent books written by Papists, but especially by that, intituled, *Labyrinthus Cantuariensis*. Here, besides some other points, the grand business of these times, *Infallibility*, is fully discussed.' Lond. 1664, 4*to*. This is chiefly an answer to *Labyrinthus Cantuariensis*, printed at Paris in 1658; which pretends to confute 'Archbishop Laud's Relation of a Conference with Fisher the Jesuit:' and in the 11th, 13th, and 14th Chapters of which, it is asserted, 'That Protestants are Schismaticks, and no part of the Catholick Church.' XXIV. 'An Answer concerning the new way of Infallibility lately devised to uphold the Roman cause; the ancient Fathers and Councils laid aside, against J. S. (the author of *Sure-footing*) his Letter lately published.' Lond. 1665, 8*vo*. This Letter of J. S. (*i. e.* John Sarjeant, the author of *Sure-footing, &c.* so learnedly confuted by Archbishop Tillotson) was a sort of an answer to some passages in Dr Casaubon's book 'Of the Necessity of Reformation, *&c.*' and was printed at the end of Sarjeant's Sure-footing in Christianity. XXV. 'A Letter of Meric Casaubon, D. D. *&c.* to Peter

(8) Of Credulity & Incredulity, *&c.* P. i. p. 15.

(9) Of Credulity and Incredulity, Part i. p. 106.

(10) In a Letter to Dr Lewis du Moulin. See Dr John Durel's *Vindiciæ Eccles. Angl.* c. iii. p. 33.

(11) Athen. Vol. II. col. 487.

(12) They are extant in Bishop Kennet's Register an Chronicle, *&c.* Lond. 1728, fol. p. 794, *&c.*

is thus represented. He was a general Scholar, but not extraordinary in any one sort, unless in criticisms, wherein probably he was assisted by his father's notes and papers (*w*). According to the ill custom of the times he lived in, he mixes too much Greek and Latin in his writings: but, however, that shows his very extensive reading. He was wont to ascribe to Descartes's philosophy, the little inclination people had in his time for polite learning (*x*). He was eminent for his piety, charity to the poor, and his courteous and affable disposition towards Scholars (*y*). He had several children, but none made any figure in the learned world: one, named John, was a Chirurgion at Canterbury (*z*).

(*w*) Id. Athen. col. 486.

(*x*) Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Tom. XXXV. Juillet 1710. Artic. I. p. 28.

(*y*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282.

(*z*) Niceron, as above, p. 149. Wood, Athen. p. 486.

'Peter du Moulin, D. D. &c. concerning Natural Experimental Philosophy, and some books lately set out about it.' Cambridge 1669, 4*to*. five sheets. XXVI. 'Of Credulity and Incredulity in things Natural, Civil, and Divine; wherein, among other things, the Sadducism of these times in denying Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations, by pregnant instances and evidences is fully confuted; Epicurus his cause discussed, and the juggling and false dealing lately used to bring him and Atheism into credit, clearly discovered; the use and necessity of ancient Learning against the innovating humour all along proved and asserted.' Lond. 1668, 8*vo*. containing two parts. The third part was printed at London 1670, 8*vo*. under the following title, 'Of Credulity and Incredulity; in things Divine and Spiritual: wherein (among other things) a true and faithful account is given of the Platonick Philosophy, as it hath reference to Christianity: as also the business of Witches and Witchcraft, against a late 'writer, fully argued and disputed.' The *late writer*, attacked only in the two last sheets of this book, was Mr John Wagstaff, who published, 'The question of Witchcraft debated; or, a discourse against their opinion, that affirm Witches.' Lond. 1669, 8*vo*. But these two parts of Dr Casaubon's book lying dead on the Bookseller's hands, he printed a new title to them, running thus, 'A Treatise, proving Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations by pregnant instances and evidences, &c.' Lond. 1672 (13). XXVII. *Notæ in Polybium*, printed for the first time in the edition of that author, published by James Gronovius at Amsterdam in 1670, 8*vo*. XXVIII. *Epistolæ, Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, & Tractatus quidam rariores. Curante Theodoro Janson ab Almeloveen*; printed at the end of Isaac Casaubon's Letters. Roterodami 1709. XXIX. *De Jure cocionandi apud antiquos* (14). This seems to be the same as the Treatise mentioned above No. 22. or perhaps it was a Latin translation of it (15). C

(13) Wood, Ath. col. 488.

(14) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282.

(15) This Catalogue of Casaubon's Works is taken from Niceron, as above, p. 150, &c. and from Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282. and Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 486, 487, 488.

CAVE (WILLIAM) a very learned Divine in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, was born at Pickwell in Leicestershire (*a*), of which parish his father was Rector [*A*]. On the 9th of May 1653, he was admitted into St John's-College in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1656; and commenced Master in that faculty in 1660 (*b*). The 7th of August 1662, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Islington in Middlesex (*c*); and, some time after, became Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in the year 1672 (*d*): and on the 16th of September 1679, was collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Rectory of Alhallows the Great in Thames-street, London (*e*). The 12th of July 1681, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (*f*). On the 21st of November 1684, he was installed Canon of Windsor, upon the death of Mr John Rosewell (*g*); about which time, as Mr Wood tells us (*h*), he became Rector of Hasely in Oxfordshire: but that seems to be a mistake [*B*]. He resigned his Rectory of Alhallows in 1689 (*i*), and the Vicarage of Islington in 1691 (*k*). But on the 19th of November before, namely, in 1690, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Isleworth in Middlesex (*l*), which being a quiet and retired place, probably suited best his most studious temper. He hath published the following books. I. 'Primitive Christianity: or the Religion of the ancient Christians in the first Ages of the Gospel.' London 1672. reprinted several times since. II. *Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ*, Tables of the ecclesiastical writers. Lond. 1674. reprinted at Hamburgh in 1676, without his knowledge (*m*). III. *Antiquitates Apostolicæ*: 'or the History of the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the holy Apostles of our Saviour, and the two Evangelists S. S. Mark and Luke. To which is added an introductory Discourse concerning the three great Dispensations of the Church, Patriarchal, Mosaical, and Evangelical. Being a Continuation of *Antiquitates Christianæ*, or the Life and Death of holy Jesus;' written by Jeremy Taylor, afterward Bishop of Down and Connor (*n*). Lond. 1676, fol. IV. *Apostolici*: 'or the History of the Lives, Acts, Deaths, and Martyrdoms of those, who were contemporaries with or immediately succeeded the Apostles. As also of the most eminent of the primitive Fathers for the first three hundred years. To which is added, a Chronology of the three first Ages of the Church.' Lond. 1677, fol. V. 'A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at St Mary-Le-Bow, on the fifth of November, M.DC.LXXX.' Lond. 1680, 4*to* [*C*]. VI. 'A Dissertation concerning

(*a*) See an Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, M.A. Lond. 1714, fol. Part ii. p. 220.

(*b*) From the college-books and university-registers, communicated by the learned Dr W. Richardson.

(*c*) Newcourt Repertorium Eccles. &c. Lond. 1708, fol. Vol. I. p. 678.

(*d*) From the Registers, as above.

(*e*) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 249.

(*f*) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 218.

(*g*) J. Le Neve, Fasti Eccles. Angl. Lond. 1716, p. 387.

(*h*) Fasti, ubi supra.

(*i*) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 249.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 678.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 676.

(*m*) *Me plane inscio*, saith the author, in his Preface to *Chartophyl. Ecclesiastic.* at the beginning.

(*n*) See Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol II. col. 404.

[*A*] *Of which parish his father was Rector.*] His father was John Cave, M. A. third son of John Cave, Esq; He was born at Pickwell, [of which he afterwards became Rector] and educated at Lincoln-College in Oxford, where he was Chamber-fellow with the famous Dr Saunderson for eight years. During the unhappy Civil Wars, he was several times plundered, imprisoned, and many other ways miserably abused; and at last dispossess'd of his Living, and turn'd out of doors, with a wife, and six children he then had. See a full Account of it in Mr Walker's *Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c (1).

(1) As quoted above, p. 220, 221.

[*B*] *But that seems to be a mistake.*] For the Rectory of Hasely is annex'd to the Deanry of Windsor (2).

[*C*] *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor*, &c. *on the fifth of November*, 1680.] It is dedicated by the Author to Sir Patience Ward, Lord Mayor of London, and to the Court of Aldermen. His Text is Acts xvii. 6. These that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also. Upon which he discourseth under these three heads. '1. He shews, that this has been an old charge upon Religion, and the Professors of it, to be disturbers of the publick peace. 2. That Christianity is so far from being justly obnoxions

(2) See *Liber Valorum & Decimarum*, by Mr Ecton, 3d edit. Lond. 1728, 8*vo*, p. 270.

'cerning the Government of the Ancient Church, by Bishops, Metropolitans, and Pa-'triarchs. More particularly, concerning the ancient Power and Jurisdiction of the 'Bishops of Rome, and the Encroachments of that upon other Sees, especially the See 'of Constantinople.' Lond. 1683, 8vo. VII. *Ecclesiastici*: 'or the History of the 'Lives, Acts, Death, Writings of the most eminent Fathers of the Church, that flou-'rished in the fourth Century. Wherein among other things an account is given of the 'Rise, Growth, and Progress of Arianism, and all other Sects of that age descending 'from it. Together with an Introduction, containing an historical Account of the State 'of Paganism under the First Christian Emperor.' Lond. 1682, fol. VIII. 'A Ser-'mon preached before the King at Whitehall on Sunday, January 18, 1684-5,' on Psalm iv. 7. Published by his Majesties Special Command.' Lond. 1685, 4to. IX. *Chartophylax Ecclesiasticus* [*D*]: Lond. 1685, 8vo. X. *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria*: i. e. A Literary History of Ecclesiastical Writers [*E*], in Two Parts, fol. the first printed at Lond. 1688; and the second in 1698. XI. 'A Serious Exhor-'tation, with some important Advices relating to the late Cases about Conformity, re-'commended to the present Dissenters from the Church of England.' It is the twenty-second in the *London Cases*. This very learned person, died at Windsor on the 4th of August 1713, and was buried in Islington Church, where a monument was erected to his memory (*o*). He was an excellent and universal Scholar, an elegant and polite Writer, and a florid and very eloquent Preacher. He was throughly acquainted with the History and Constitution of the Christian Church. His works, particularly his Lives of the Apostles, Lives of the Fathers, and Primitive Christianity, as they evince his great knowledge of Antiquity, so are they justly esteemed the best books, written upon those important subjects.

(*o*) Annual List of the Deaths of eminent persons, at the end of Boyer's History of Queen Anne, fol. Lond. 1735, p. 63.

'noxious to this charge, that of all Religions it best 'secures the interests of Civil Authority, and the Peace 'of the world. 3. He enquires, whether there be 'any part of the Christian Church at this day justly 'guilty of this charge.' And without hesitation he lays the charge at the door of the Church of Rome. It is one of the best, and most eloquent Sermons, ever preach'd upon that subject. The Author appears by it, to have been a man of prodigious reading, and an universal scholar.

[*D*] *Chartophylax Ecclesiasticus.*] This book is an improvement of the *Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ* above mentioned; and a kind of abridgment of the author's *Historia Literaria*: It containing a short account of most of the Ecclesiastical Writers from the birth of Christ to the year 1517.

[*E*] *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria.*] This learned and useful work was reprinted at Geneva in 1705 and 1720: and a new Edition of it was lately printed at London by Subscription, with very large Additions and Emendations throughout the whole, made by the Author during the last twelve Years of his life. Together with new *Prolegomena* composed also by the Author. C

CAVENDISH, or CANDISH (THOMAS) a famous Navigator in the XVIth Century, and the second Englishman that sailed round the world, was the son of William Cavendish of Trimley St Martin [*A*], in the county of Suffolk, Esquire (*a*). He was born at Trimley, where he had a fine seat, and large possessions (*b*): but having in a few years consumed almost his whole estate, in gallantry and following the Court, he thought to recover his sinking fortune by a voyage to the South-Sea (*c*). At that time, the Spaniard against whom England had some time before declared war, was looked upon as a formidable enemy, whom it was necessary to distress on every side: Mr Cavendish, therefore chose to endeavour to do it on the side of America. For that purpose, he procured three ships; namely, *The Desire* of one hundred and twenty tuns; *The Content* of sixty; and the *Hugh Gallant*, a bark of forty tuns: two of them new built from the stocks. They carried in all, an hundred and twenty-three persons of all sorts; and had victuals sufficient for two years, with all other necessaries, furnished by Mr Cavendish himself; who was Admiral of this little fleet. They sailed from Plymouth the 21st of July, 1586; and, on the 26th of August, arrived at Sierra Leona, which was nine hundred and thirty leagues from the place of their departure (*d*). There they landed, and going up to one of the Negroes towns, burnt two or three houses, and took what spoil they would, all the inhabitants being fled into the woods. But, a few days after, the Negroes had their revenge, hurting many of the English, and killing one with a poisoned arrow. They departed from Sierra Leona the 6th of September, and staid till the 10th, at one of the Cape-Verd islands. The last day of October, about twenty-four leagues from Cape-Frio in Brasil, they fell in with a great mountain, which had a high round top like a town,

(*a*) The Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, Esq; edit. 1735, 8vo, Vol. I. p. 121.

(*b*) Ibid. and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 809.

(*c*) The Naval Hist. of England, by T. Lediard, edit. p. 229.

(*d*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. published by R. Hakluyt, Vol. III. edit. 1600, p. 803.

[*A*] *Was the son of William Cavendish of Trimley St Martin.*] That ancient family derives its descent from the *Gernons*, whose ancestor Robert de Gernon came into England with William the Conqueror. Roger de Gernon was seated at Grimston-Hall in Suffolk, and died in 1318, the 11th of Edward II, having had to wife the daughter and heir of John Potton Lord of Cavendish in Suffolk, by whom he left issue four sons, who all took the name of *Cavendish*. Roger the second, married Alice, daughter of Geoffrey de Stratton, with whom he had the manor of Stratton, and from him descended Sir Richard Cavendish, Captain and Governor of Blacknes, who was knighted in Scotland by the Earl of Hertford, Sept. 23. 1546, and by Inquisition the 6th of February 1552, the 6th of Edward VI, after the death of Henry Duke of Suffolk, (who died without issue, July 14, the 5th of Edward VI.) was found to be sixty years of age, and was one of his coheirs, viz. son of Richard Cavendish, son of Augustine Cavendish, who married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir William Brandon, Knight, grandfather of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. This Sir Richard Cavendish had issue William Cavendish of Trimley St Martin, who died in 1572, possessed of the ancient inheritance of his ancestors; namely, Grimston, Stratton, and other manors, leaving Thomas his son and heir under age, whom we treat of in this article (1).

(1) Ar. Collins, ubi supra; and The British Compendium, by F. Nicholls, 7th edit. P. i. p. 107, 108.

[*B*] He

a town, with two little islands from it. On the 1st of November, they went in between the island of St Sebastian and the main-land, where carrying their things ashore, and erecting a forge, they built a pinnace, repaired what was out of order, and took in water; all which detained them till the 23d of that month. The 16th of December, they fell in with the coast of America in forty-seven degrees ½ South Latitude, and ran along the shore till they came into forty-eight degrees, finding it a steep beach all along. They came to a harbour, the next day, which Mr Cavendish named Port-Desire; and continued in it until the 28th following (e). On the 3d of January 1586-7, they fell in with a great Cape in fifty-two degrees, forty-five minutes; from which there runneth a low beach about a league to the Southward, that reaches to the opening of the Streights of Magellan. He was passing those Streights, from the 6th of January to the 24th of February [B], tho' they are but about ninety leagues in length (f). Within them, in fifty-three degrees latitude, he named a place Port-Famine [C]; another, Muscle-Cove; and another, Elizabeth-Bay. The 24th of February, they entered into the South-Sea; and the four first days of March met with a violent storm: during which, the Hugh Gallant had like to be lost, but the two other ships rid it out at the island of La Mocha. Here, some of the men going on shoar, met with a warm reception from the Indians of Arauco, a country abounding with gold, and never conquered by the Spaniards. The 16th of the same month, they came to St Mary's island, and finding there large quantities of wheat and barley laid up in store-houses, for the use of the Spaniards who are masters of that place, they took some of the corn, and likewise hogs, fowls, potatoes, and other provisions. They left this island on the 18th; anchored under another called the Conception on the 19th; and on the 30th, came into the Bay of Quintero, which stands in thirty-three degrees, fifty minutes South Latitude. About fifty or sixty of the men landed the next day, and went up seven or eight miles into the country, well armed; but saw no human creature, tho' there were two hundred Spanish horesemen watching for them, who espied them out, but durst not attack them. The day following, being April 1, they took their opportunity, and came pouring down from the hills upon a few unprepared and unarmed English Sailors, who were filling water. Some they killed, and took a few prisoners, about twelve being lost in all: the rest were rescued by fifteen Soldiers, who obliged the enemy to retire with the loss of twenty-four men. The 5th day of April, they sailed from this place, and on the 15th, came to an excellent harbour in twenty-three degrees and a half, called Morro Moreno [D]. Whilst they remained here, they took a small bark from Arica, which they kept, and called the George. They took also three other vessels (one of them laden with wine): two of which they burnt, and sunk the third (g). On the 13th of May, they made themselves masters of a ship of three hundred tuns; and of two others, loaden with sugar, and provisions, of which one was valued at twenty thousand pounds: they took out what they wanted, and burnt the rest, with the ships. The 20th of the same month, they came to Paita, in five degrees, four minutes South Latitude. Having driven the inhabitants up into the mountains, they pillaged the town (where they found twenty-five pounds weight of pieces of eight) and then set it on fire; with a barke that was riding in the road. The town contained two hundred houses. Sailing thence, they arrived on the 25th, at the island of Puna, in one degree South Latitude, where most of the cables in the South-Sea were made. They found in the harbour a ship of two hundred and fifty tuns, which they sunk: and also burnt a church that was in that island, and brought the bells away. The Governor of the

(e) Ib. p. 804, 805.

(f) Ib. p. 806, 807.

(g) Ibid. p. 808, 809, 810.

[B] *He was passing those Streights from the 6th of January to the 24th of February.*] The mouth of them, both on the eastern and western sides, lies between 52 and 53 degrees of latitude. But they are very winding; the southermost point of them, called Cape Froward, standing in near 54 degrees of latitude. The best and most accurate description of them, is in Sir John Narbrough's Voyages. Lond. 1694, 8vo. reprinted since.

[C] *He named a place Port-Famine.*] By reason of above three hundred Spaniards having been *famished*, or starv'd to death, there. For one Don Sarmiento having pass'd through the Streights of Magellan from the South-sea, in the year 1579, did, at his return to Spain, persuade King Philip II. to send two Colonies to plant in and fortify the Streights of Magellan, in order to prevent and obstruct the Navigations, Depredations, or Settlements of the English and Dutch in those parts (2). Accordingly four hundred Spaniards were sent thither in 1584, who built a town, which they called King Philip's city. But during the two years they were there they could not get any thing to grow, or thrive. And, on the other side, the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them; so that the stock of provisions they brought from Spain growing short, and having no means to renew it, they died for hunger in their houses, and even in their clothes. At length the whole town being thereby tainted, and rendered unwholsome, the poor remains of the four hundred, which were now reduced to twenty one men and two women, forsook the place, and taking only a fowling-piece, and what little furniture they could carry, marched along the sea-side, and lived above a year upon muscles, limpets, roots, leaves, and sometimes a fowl they killed, or a deer. And in that miserable condition Mr Cavendish found them (3).

(2) See *An Account of several late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North, &c.* by Sir John Narbrough, &c. Introduct. p. vii. edit. 1694, 8vo.

(3) Hakluyt, ubi supra, p. 806.

[D] *Called Morro Moreno.*] About thirty of the English went here on shore; and, at their landing, the natives of the place came down from the rocks to meet them, with fresh water and wood on their backs. The account they give of their Customs and Manners, is as follows, and may serve for a sample of the Manners of several American nations. 'They are in great awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and live in an extremely savage manner. They brought us to their abodes, about two miles from the harbour, where we saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast layed upon the ground; and over them, instead of houses, is nothing but five or six sticks laid across, which stands upon two forks with sticks on the ground, and a few boughs laid on. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they bury their bows and arrows with them, with their canoe, and all that they have: for we opened one of their graves, and saw the order of them (4).'

(4) Hakluyt, ubi supra, p. 809.

the island, upon their approach, had sent his riches upon the Continent; and his furniture and other valuable effects, to a neighbouring isle: which last being discovered, the English took of them what they liked. But, on the 2d of June, they being carelessly dispersed about in getting provisions, a hundred Spanish Soldiers and many Indians came down rushing upon them, killed five, took three prisoners, and four were otherwise destroyed; with the loss, however of forty-six Spaniards and Indians (b). Going ashore again the same day, with seventy men, they met a hundred Spaniards armed with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bows and arrows, whom they put to flight; reduced their town to ashes, which had three hundred houses; made havock of their fields and gardens; and burnt four great ships, which were on the stocks. The 5th of June, they quitted this place, and watered at Rio Dolce: and by that time, had lost so many men, that they were obliged to sink their bark, called the Hugh Gallant, for want of hands to navigate it. They passed the Equinoctial Line on the 12th, and continued a northerly course all the rest of that month. The first of July, they came within sight of the coast of New Spain, being then in ten degrees Northern Latitude: and, on the 9th of the same month, took a new ship of one hundred and twenty tuns, out of which taking the men, and what else they wanted, they set it on fire. The next day, they seized an advice-boat, which they also burnt. On the 26th, they came to an ancher in the river of Copalita, in sixteen degrees Northern Latitude: from whence, the same night, thirty of them rowed in the pinnace to Aquatulco, that was two leagues off. Coming there, the next morning, July 27, by break of day, they landed, and burnt the town; with the church; and customhouse, in which were six hundred bags of anile to dye cloth, each bag worth forty crowns; and four hundred bags of cocoa, valued at ten crowns each. They were joined, the day following, by the rest of the fleet, which found it difficult to water at Copalita, and therefore proceeded for that purpose to the Bay of St Jago, in nineteen degrees, eighteen minutes Latitude. In the mean time, Mr Cavendish went, on the 24th of August, in his pinnace, with thirty men, to Puerto de Natividad; and missing of a prize he expected to find there, he burnt the town, and two new ships of two hundred tuns each. The 3d of September, they came into the Bay of Malacca, and going up into the country, burnt the town of Acatlan, which consisted of about thirty houses. Thence they proceeded to Chaccalla, and the isle of St Andrew; and, on the 24th, arrived at Massatlan, which stands under the Tropic of Cancer. The 27th, they went to an island near it, where they refitted, and furnished themselves with necessaries. Having staid there till the 9th of October, they departed for the Cape of St Lucar, on the South of the island of California; with which they fell in, on the 14th, and lay near it till the 4th of November. On that day, they met the St Anne, a ship of seven hundred tuns, being the Spanish Admiral of the South-Sea; which, after three sharp engagements, they made themselves masters of. It had in it an hundred and twenty thousand pezo's, or pieces of gold, each worth eight shillings, and great quantities of rich silks, and other valuable commodities, the chief of which they shared amongst themselves. After having put on shore (at Puerto Seguro) the whole crew, consisting of an hundred and ninety persons, they set fire to the ship, having five hundred tuns of goods in it, and saw it burnt down to the water, on the 19th of November (i). Thus did Mr Cavendish, and his company, ravage the coasts of Chili, Peru, and New Spain, from the middle of February to the middle of November 1587. But after his last great booty, he began to think of returning back to England, by the way of the East-Indies. Accordingly, he set sail from Puerto Seguro in California, November the 19th; and in forty-five days, namely, on the 3d of January 1587-8, came within sight of Guana, one of the Ladrones island, in thirteen degrees ⅔ of Northern Latitude. The 14th of the same month, they fell in with Cabo del Spirito Santo, a promontory of one of the Philippine islands, three hundred and ten leagues from Guana; and, the next day, arrived at Capul, where he staid nine days: during which, he exacted a tribute of provisions from the Caciques of this, and a hundred islands more. But, after having acquainted them, that he and his company were Englishmen, and enemies to the Spaniards; and made them promise, That they, and all the neighbouring islands, would assist him, whenever he should come again, to overcome the Spaniards; he returned them the value of their tribute in money (k). The 24th, they left this place, and sailing between the islands of Panama (or Panay) and Negros, they coasted along Gilolo, and the adjoining clusters of islands, till the 1st of March; when having passed the Streights of Java, they anchored South of that place, and took in fresh provisions. On the 16th of March, they sailed from hence for the Cape of Good Hope, which they made the 16th of May; having in nine weeks run about eighteen hundred and fifty leagues. They arrived at St Helena the 19th of June, where having refreshed themselves, and taken in necessaries, they set sail, on the 20th, for England. The 24th of August, they came within sight of the Azores; and the 9th of September, after a terrible storm, which carried away most of their sails, arrived at Plymouth, from whence they first set out (l): having spent two years, one month, and nineteen days, in sailing round the globe. Mr Cavendish had been so fortunate in this voyage, that he undertook another in 1591, but with very different success. He set sail from Plymouth the 26th of August,

(b) Ibid. p. 811, 812, 813.

(i) Ibid. p. 814, 815, 816. They burnt and sunk nineteen ships in all, small and great. Ibid. p. 837.

(k) Ib. p. 816—819.

(l) Ib. p. 819—825.

August, with three tall ships, and two barks [E]; and in about a month, came within sight of the Canary islands (m). But, under the Equinoctial Line, he had the misfortune to be becalmed for seven and twenty days together, driving to and fro without the least wind; in which time most of his men fell sick of the scurvy. At length, a North-west wind brought them, in twenty days (n), namely, on the 29th of November, to the Bay of Salvador, on the coast of Brasil. Here they took a small bark, laden with negroes, sugar, and Haberdashers-wares. A few days after, they came to Placentia, or Ilha Grande, where they rifled some houses inhabited by Portuguese; which they afterwards set on fire, together with a new ship: and left on shore the negroes they had taken in the Bay of Salvador (o). But the pleasure, or advantage, of having taken this place, was spoiled by unreasonable quarrels amongst Mr Cavendish's men [F]. The 11th of December, they quitted this place, and on the 14th, arrived at the isle of St Sebastian, five leagues from Santos; which last place they resolved to make themselves masters of, as being very proper to supply all their wants. Having agreed, that their long boat, with one sloop, and a hundred men, were sufficient for the taking it; they accordingly watched their opportunity, early in the morning on the 24th of December, when the chief of the inhabitants, were at high-mass [G], and with twenty-three men only seized the town (p). There they continued too long [H], which proved the ruin of their intended voyage. Nay, some were for wintering at that place, but Mr Cavendish would by no means agree to it. So, after having burnt the out-parts of the town, and set all the ships in the harbour on fire, they marched, on the 22d of January, by land to St Vincent, which they burnt to the ground (q). On the 24th of the same month, they set sail with a fair wind for the Streights of Magellan; but, in about thirty-seven degrees of Southern Latitude, they had a most violent storm [I], which began the 7th of February and lasted till the 9th, whereby the ships were separated and much damaged. The Desire and the Roebuck, after having suffered great hardships, arrived together at Port-Desire, the general rendezvous, on the 6th of March. The 16th of the same month, the Black-pinnace came also thither; but Mr Gilbert's Bark, instead of proceeding so far, returned to England. As for the Galeon, commanded by Mr Cavendish, it did not arrive till the 18th (r). The Captain having in his passage been in continual danger from his ship's crew, which never ceased to mutiny against him (s). For that reason, he quitted his own ship, the Galeon, and went into the Desire. The 20th of March, they departed from Port-Desire; and on the 8th of April fell in with the Streights of Magellan, having suffered much by several violent storms. The 14th, they passed the first Streight; and on the 16th, the second, which was ten leagues distant from the first. The 18th, they doubled Cape Froward; but, three days after, were forced by the violence of the weather to put into a small bay, upon the South shore, where they remained till the 15th of May (t). In this place they endured inexpressible hardships, as well for want of provisions, as by the excessive cold [K]. And Mr Cavendish not being able to provide for the many sick men he had in the

(m) Purchas his Pilgrimes, P. iv. edit. 1625, p. 1202.

(n) Ibid. and Hakluyt, ubi supra, p. 842.

(o) Purchas, ubi supra.

(p) Purchas, p. 1202, 1203; and Hakluyt, ubi sup.

(q) Purchas, p. 1203, 1204; and Hakluyt, ubi sup.

(r) Hakluyt, ubi supra; and Purchas, p. 1192, 1193.

(s) Purchas, p. 1192.

(t) Hakluyt, as above, p. 843.

[E] *With three tall ships, and two barks.*] Namely, The Galeon, wherein Mr Cavendish himself went as Admiral: The Roe-buck, Vice-Admiral, Capt. Cocke: The Desire, Rear-Admiral, Capt. John Davis: The Black Pinnace: And a Bark of Mr Adrian Gilbert, commanded by Capt. Randolph Cotton (5). To which add, The Dainty, that went volunteer, and returned to England, after the taking of Santos.

[F] *By unreasonable quarrels amongst Mr. Cavendish's men.*] One of them gives us this account (6). 'Here we had such disorder amongst ourselves, that if the Portugueze had been of any courage, they might have killed many of us; for our men would fight for their victuals as if they had been no Christians but Jews; and they that got the best, would get them into some hole, or into the wilderness under some tree, and there they would remain as long as they had meat. For mine own part, there was such sharking, I could in that place get neither meat nor money.'

[G] *They watched their opportunity,——when the chief of the inhabitants were at high-mass, and with 23 men only seized the town.*] Upon their landing, they marched directly to the church; where, besides women and children, there were three hundred men, whose swords they took from them without resistance. They kept them prisoners there, till the long boat could come with more men, to their assistance. And then they plundered the town, where they found great store of gold, sugar, and cassavy-meal of which they made very good bread. One of the sailors in particular met with a little chest, in a frier's cell, in which there were 1700 rials of eight, worth four shillings a-piece. The conductor in this expedition, was, Captain Cock: And as for the most convenient time for landing, they had the direction of a Portugueze pilot which they had on board. But by not watching carefully enough the inhabitants, most of them removed, with their best effects, up into the country. So that Mr Cavendish, and his company, did not make so much advantage by the taking of this place, as, with due care, they might otherwise have done (7).

[H] *There they continued too long.*] Ant. Knivet says, that they continued *two months* at Santos (8): But by the journal of this voyage, written by John Jane (9), it appears, that they continued at Santos, only from the 15th of December to the 22d of January. However, by this unnecessary delay they lost the proper season for pursuing their voyage into the South-sea.

[I] *They had a most violent storm.*] 'Which indeed, [to use his own words (10)] I think to be such, as worser might not be indured. ——Such was the furie of the west-south-west, and south west windes, as wee were driven from the shore foure hundred leagues, and constrained to beate from fiftie degrees to the southward into fortie to the northward again, before we could recover nere the shore. In which time, we had a new shift of sailes cleane blowne away, and our ship in danger to sinke in the sea three times: which with extremitie of mens labour we recovered. In this weaknesse wee departed for the Straits, being from that harbour eight leagues, and in eighteene days wee got the Straits.——And now we had been almost foure moneths betweene the coast of Brasile and the Straits, being in distance not above six hundred leagues, which is commonly run in twentie or thirtie days: but such was the adverseness of our fortunes, that in coming thither wee spent the summer, and found in the Straits the beginning of a most extreame winter, not durable for Christians (11).' In this storm Mr Cavendish lost his boat with three men: The Roebuck likewise lost her boat with two men: And the Crow, a boat of twenty tun, sunk with twelve men and a boy (12).

[K] *They endured inexpressible hardships, as well for want of provisions, as by the excessive cold.*] After the

(5) Hakluyt, as above, 842.

(6) A. Knivet, in Purchas's Pilgrimes, Part iv. p. 1202.

(7) Purchas, as above, p. 1203; and Hakluyt, ubi supra, p. 842.

(8) See in Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1203.

(9) Published by Hakluyt, ubi supra, Vol. III. p. 842.

(10) In his Letter to Sir Tristram Gorges. See Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1192.

(11) Purchas, ib. p. 1192, 1193.

(12) Ib. p. 1204.

the Galeon, ordered them to be put on shore; where they miserably perished with cold and famine. Having now not above fifty men in that ship fit for service (for forty died in seven or eight days, and seventy fell sick) and perceiving that the frost and snow decayed his tackling, and was likely to last two months more, he found it absolutely impossible to stay longer in that miserable place, without utter ruin. Whereupon, he acquainted his company, That, finding it impracticable to pursue his voyage to China, as he intended, through the Streights of Magellan, he would go thither by the Cape of Good Hope. But they prevailed upon him to return to the coasts of Brasil, till a more favourable season; which he the more readily complied with, as he had not above four months provisions left, and wanted both ropes and sails (u). The 15th of May they set sail, and on the 18th were out of the Streights. The 20th, being over-against Port-Desire, in forty-seven degrees Southern Latitude, the Desire and the Black Pinnace left him [L] which proved the chief cause of his ensuing misfortunes (w). However, he held on his course for Brasil, together with the Roe-buck; which in Latitude thirty-six, was parted from him by a most violent storm [M]. Mr Cavendish arrived at length, with extreme difficulty and great danger, at Santos, and came to an anchor in the Bay of St Vincent. Here, twenty-five of his men going on shore to fresh themselves, got drunk, and were all cut to pieces by the Indians and Portuguese. To be revenged on the Portuguese, Mr Cavendish firmly resolved to go and beat Santos to the ground (having the Roebuck in his company, which was now come in) but the river being too narrow, he only landed a little above the town, and plundered some farm-houses. He intended to have gone from thence to a small island, twenty leagues off, in order to furnish himself with necessaries; and then casting off the Roebuck, whose wants he could not supply, to have returned again at a seasonable time for the Streights of Magellan (x). In the mean time, being advised by a Portuguese pilot to go to Spirito Santo, he rashly sent and attacked that place, before which he lost fourscore men, and forty were sorely wounded. When he saw he could do no good there, he determined to go to the island of St Sebastian; and, after having burnt one of his ships for want of hands, to go back to the Streights of Magellan. But the Roebuck's crew hearing of this his intention, run away from him in the night [N], carrying off all his Chirurgions, and leaving him full of sick men, and in a distressed condition (y). Thus forsaken, he made for St Sebastian's island, then two hundred leagues distant, where he arrived when he had but one cask of water left. There he set twenty sick men on shore. Having refitted and refreshed himself, he would fain have sailed back again

(u) Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1181.

(w) Hakluyt, ubi supra, p. 843, 844. Purchas, p. 1194.

(x) Purchas, as above, p. 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1205, 1206.

(y) Ibid. p. 1198, 1206.

the month of May was come in, there was 'nothing but such flights of snow, and extremities of frosts, as (saith he) in all the time of my life, I never saw any to be compared with them (13). The men were well in the morning, and by night frozen to death.' One of them, in particular, named Antony Knivet, going a shore to get some food, (for the allowance of their ship was little,) and coming aboard again with his feet wet, and wanting shift of clothes, the next morning he was numbed, so that he could not stir his legs. All his feet were as black as soot: He had no feeling in them: And when he pulled off his stockings his toes came with them. Another —— Harris, a goldsmith, lost his nose; for going to blow it with his fingers, he cast it into the fire. In a word, out of Mr Cavendish's ship, there died eight or nine men with the cold every day. And as to provisions, they had not more than for four months; so that, to save their victuals, they were forced in a great measure to live upon sea-weeds, muscles, penguins, and the fruits of the country (14).

(13) See Purchas, p. 1193. When it is summer with us, it is winter in those parts where Mr Cavendish then was.

[L] *The Desire and the Black Pinnace left him.*] This, Mr Cavendish imputed to the treachery of Capt. John Davis, commander of the Desire, of whom he speaks in the severest terms. 'And now, saith he, to come to that villaine that hath beene the death of me, and the decay of this whole action, I meane Davis, whose only treacherie in running from me, hath beene an utter ruine of all. ——As I since understood Davis his intention was ever to run away. This is God's will, that I should put him in trust, that should be the end of my life, and the decay of the whole action. For had not these two small ships parted from us, we would not have miscarried on the coast of Brasile; for the only decay of us was, that we could not get into their barred harbours. ——The short of all is this, Davis his only intent was to overthrow me, which he hath well perform'd (15).' In Hakluyt (16), there is a testimonial of the company of the Desire, touching their losing of their General, Mr Cavendish; wherein they declare, that it was utterly against their will. It is dated in Port-Desire, 2 June, 1592. and therein they 'protest they know not, whether they lost the others, or they them.'

(14) Purchas, as above, p. 1181, 1204, 1205. 'Many of the men died with cursed famine, and miserable cold, not having wherewith to cover their bodies, nor to fill their bellies.' Jane's Journal, in Hakluyt, as above, p. 843.

(15) Purchas, ib. p. 1192, 1194.

(16) Vol. III. p. 845.

However, they were as unfortunate as their General. Thrice they passed through the Straights of Magellan, and entered the South-sea, and yet were forc'd back each time by bad weather. At length, after numberless misfortunes and distresses, their men being reduced to sixteen, and of them only five fit for service, they arrived the 11th of June 1593, at Bear-haven in Ireland. The Black Pinnace was lost in the South-sea (17).

(17) Ibid. p. 846—852.

[M] *Was parted from him by a most violent storm.*] 'The most grievous storm (as he saith himself) that ever any Christians endured upon the seas, to live (18).'

(18) Purchas, p. 1194.

[N] *But the Roebuck's crew hearing of this his intention, run away from him in the night.*] Of which he gives the following account. 'They instantly desired nothing more, than to return home; all affirming, that it was pity such a ship [as the Roebuck] should be cast off. But in truth, it was not of any care of the ship, but only of a most cowardly mind of the master, and the chiefest of the company to return home. Now you shall understand, that the captain was very sick, and since the time that the ship lost her masts, she became the most laboursome ship that ever did swim on the sea, so as he was not able to endure in her, and at that present he lay aboard my ship; so as there was none of any trust, or account, left in her. But such was the case of that ship, being without sails, masts, or any manner of tackle, as in the sense and judgment of any man living, there did not live that desperate minded man in the world, which, in that case she was then in, would have ventur'd to have sailed in her, half so far as England. ——These villains, having left in my ship all their hurt men, and having aboard of them both my surgeons, I having not one in mine own ship which knew how to lay a plaister to a wound, much less to cure any by salves; and further, having in their ship three times the proportion of my victuals, —— as having in them, at their departure, but six and forty men, and carrying away with them the proportion for six months victual of one hundred and twenty men at large; I leave you to consider of this part of theirs, and the miserable case I was left in (19).'

(19) Ibid. p. 1198.

[O] But

again for the Streights of Magellan. But his mutinous crew obliged him to sail for England, 'Tho' he rather desired to die in going forward than basely in returning back 'again (z).' Several attempts he made to reach the isle of St Helena, and all to no purpose, being perpetually crossed by his own men, who were bent upon returning to England, tho' entirely against his own inclination (a). At length he died of a broken heart, and continual labour and vexation; but whether at sea or land, is uncertain [O]. Such was the end of the unfortunate Thomas Cavendish: his first voyage was as full of glory, as this of unhappiness. No man ever compassed the globe in so little time; no man ever did greater things abroad, and returned to his country in greater pomp and triumph than he: and it is not unlikely, that he might have shone this last time as bright as he did the first, had not the ill humours of a company of base fellows interposed and eclipsed him (b). We are informed, that 'he was of a delicate wit and personage (c).'

(z) Ibid. p. 1198, 1200.

(a) Ibid. p. 1199, 1203.

(b) See Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. edit. 1705, fol. Vol. I. p. 698.

(c) Stow's Annales, ubi supra.

[O] *But, whether at sea or land, is uncertain.*] We know for certain, that he came as far as eight degrees northern latitude in his way towards England: But that he came nearer, there is no evidence. He sent an account of his misfortunes to Sir Tristram Gorges, whom he appointed his executor: but doth not mention when, nor at what place, he writ it. Nor is it known how it was convey'd to England (20). By some passages therein, it appears, that he was very near death; for it begins thus. 'Most loving friend, 'There is nothing in this world, that makes a truer 'triall of friendship, than at death, to shew mindfulnesse of love and friendship, which now you shall 'make a perfect experience of: desiring you to hold 'my love as deare, dying poore, as if I had beene 'most infinitely rich. The successe of this most unfortunate action, the bitter torments thereof lye so heavie upon mee, as with much paine am I able to write 'these few lines, much lesse to make discoverie unto 'you of all the adverse haps, that have befallen me in 'this voyage, the least whereof is my death (21).' And lower, he hath these expressions;—'But now I am 'growne so weake and faint, as I am scarce able to 'hold the penne in my hand; wherefore I must leave 'you to inquire of the rest of our most unhappy proceedings (22).'——'And now by this, what with 'griefe for him, [the loss of his cousin John Lock,] 'and the continuall trouble I indured among such hel-hounds, [his ship's crew,] my spirits were cleane 'spent; wishing myself upon any desart place in the 'world, there to dye, rather than thus basely to returne home againe: which course I had put in execution, had I found an island, which the charts make 'to be in eight degrees to the southward of the Line. 'I sweare to you, I sought it with all diligence, 'meaning (if I had found it) to have there ended my 'unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happinesse to light upon me, for I could by no meanes 'find it, so as I was forced to go towards England; and 'having gotten *eight degrees by north the Line*, I lost 'my most dearest cousin.' He concludes the whole thus, 'Beare with this scribling: for I protest, I am 'scant able to hold a pen in my hand (23).' It is likely that he dyed at sea; and that this letter was brought by his ship, the Galeon, which, in all probability, reached England. C

(20) It is inserted in Purchas, his Pilgrimes, P. iv. edit. 1625, p. 1192.

(21) Ibid. p. 1192.

(22) Ibid. p. 1200.

(23) Ibid. p. 1200, 1201.

CAVENDISH (Sir WILLIAM) a great favourite and Privy-Counsellor of three Princes, *viz.* Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary. He was the second son of Thomas Cavendish, of Cavendish in the county of Suffolk, Clerk of the Pipe in the reign of Henry VIII (a), and was born about the year 1505, being descended of very ancient and honourable families both by his father and mother, as appears by unquestionable authorities [A]. He had a liberal education given him by his father, who settled upon him also certain lands in the county of Suffolk, but made a much better provision for him, by procuring him to be admitted into the family of the great Cardinal Wolsey, upon whose person he waited in quality of Gentleman-Usher of his chamber, at a time when he lived with all the state and dignity of a Prince, having a retinue of no less than eight hundred persons, and amongst them nine or ten Lords, who had each of them two at least if not three servants allowed them at the Cardinal's cost, and the Earl of Derby had no less than five (b). As Mr Cavendish was the Cardinal's countryman, and as he had a great kindness for his father, he took him early into his confidence, and shewed him, upon all occasions, very particular marks of kindness and respect. In 1527, he attended his master in his splendid embassy to France, where he arrived at Amiens in the

(a) Madox, Baron. Angl. p. 105. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(b) Life of Cardinal Wolsey, by our author, p. 19, 20.

[A] *As appears by unquestionable authorities.*] The surname of this family was originally Gernon, and they descended lineally from Robert de Gernon, a Norman, who came over with the Conqueror (1); and whose descendant Roger Gernon of Grimston-Hall in the county of Suffolk, marrying the daughter and sole heiress of John Potton, Lord of Cavendish, or as it was anciently written Caundish, in the same county in the reign of Edward II, had by her four sons, John, Roger, Stephen, and Richard, who all took the name of Cavendish, as was usual enough in those times (2); from the eldest of these sons, John Cavendish, who was Chief Justice of the King's Bench (3), our Sir William Cavendish descended in a direct line; for the son of this Judge, Sir John Cavendish, who was knighted for killing Wat Tyler (4), had three sons, William, Robert, and Walter. William, the eldest of these, left behind him an only son, Thomas, who inherited both his father's and his uncle Robert's estate, who was a Serjeant at Law (5); he married Catherine Scudamore, and was stiled Thomas Cavendish of Cavendish and Poslingford in the county of Suffolk; he departed this life in 1477, and left behind him an only son, Thomas Cavendish of Cavendish, the father of our Sir William (6). He applied himself to the study of the Laws, and by the interest of the Howard family, was brought into the Exchequer (7), where he became Clerk of the Pipe, as is mentioned in the text; he married Alice, the daughter and coheiress of John Smith of Padbrook-Hall, an old family, and in which there was a good estate (8). He had issue by her three sons, George, William, and Thomas; it appears by his last will, which is dated April 13, 1523, that he lived in the parish of St Alban's Wood-street, and that he had acquired an estate in Kent; it also appears by this will, that his two younger sons, Thomas and William were under age (9); and from his naming Thomas before William, one would have judged he was the second son, but all the old genealogies of this family agree in making him the youngest; he became afterwards a Knight of Malta, and consequently left no family (10). As for the eldest son, George Cavendish, he was seated at Glemsford in Suffolk, and left issue William Cavendish, Esq; who had two sons, William and Ralph, who both died without issue; so that Sir William Cavendish of whom we are speaking, and his descendants, inherited all the estates of the family (11).

(1) Lib. Domesday, fol. 137, 138.

(2) MS. in Bibl. Cotton. sub Effig. Julii, F. 11.

(3) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 48, 50.

(4) Stow's Annals, p. 289, 290.

(5) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 61.

(6) Vincent's MS. Baron. in Offic. Arms, Numb. 20. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(7) Madox, Bar. Angl. p. 105.

(8) Weaver's Funeral Monum. p. 693.

(9) Ex Regist. Bedfeld qu. 23. not. 21, in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

(10) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 168.

(11) From an ancient Genealogy of the line of Cavendish.

the month of August, and was present at that most magnificent entertainment, which was given by the French King to the Cardinal, and at all the following feasts that lasted for fourteen days (c). He was from thence dispatched to Compeigne to prepare his master's lodgings, where one side of the castle was entirely assigned to the use of the Cardinal, and the other reserved for the King, and in like manner, the gallery which united the apartments was divided between them (d). He returned with that great Prelate into England, and served him with the utmost zeal and fidelity, as well in his disgrace as when in the highest favour, and was one of the few servants that stuck close to him, when he had neither office nor salary to bestow upon them (e). This was so far from prejudicing him in the opinion of his Sovereign, that on this very account he took particular notice of him, and gave him singular intimations of his grace and favour; and after the Cardinal's death, upon whom Mr Cavendish waited to the last, and delayed going to Court till he had seen his body interred, the King took him into his own family and service [B]. He was also constituted one of the Commissioners for visiting and taking the surrenders of several religious houses; and in 1531, he took several surrenders in that capacity (g). In 1540 he was appointed one of the auditors of the Court of Augmentation (h), and soon after had a very considerable grant made him, of several lordships in the county of Hertford (i). In 1546 he was made Treasurer of the Chamber to his Majesty, and on Easter-day the same year he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, and was soon after sworn of the Privy-Council (k). He continued to enjoy both these honours for the space of eleven years, in which time his estate was much increased, by the grants (l) he received from King Edward VI in seven several counties; nor does it appear that he was in less credit or favour with Queen Mary, under whose reign he died in the year 1557 (m). He married three wives, the first was Anne, daughter of Edmund Bostock of Cheshire, Esq (n), by whom he had a son who died young, and two daughters. His second wife was Margaret, daughter to Thomas Parker of Poslingford in the county of Suffolk, Esq; who died June 16, 1540 (o). His third and last wife, who survived him, was the widow of Robert Barley, Esq; and was very justly considered as one of the most famous women of her time, and of whom therefore it is requisite that we should take particular notice (p) [C]. By her he had issue three sons, and as many

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 532. Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 49.

(d) Herbert's Hist. of the Reign of Henry VIII. p. 84. Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 58.

(e) Ibid. in the Prologue; or, as it stands in the printed edition, the Dedication.

(f) Ibid. p. 156, 157.

(g) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIV. p. 437. Stowe's Annals, p. 576. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 112.

(h) Pat. 31 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

(i) Chauncey's Hist. and Antiq. of Hertfordshire, p. 163.

(k) Pat. 37 Hen. VIII. m. 2. MS. Not. Claudius, c.iii. p. 149, in Bibl. Cotton. Rafe Brooke's Catal. of the Nobility, under the title of Devon.

(l) Chauncey's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 501. Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamshire, p. 186.

(m) From an ancient Pedigree of the Family.

(n) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 186.

(o) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(p) Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamshire, p. 187.

[B] *The King took him into his own family and service.*] It was on the fourth of November 1530, that the Cardinal was arrested in his own palace at Cawood (12); and at that time, Sir Walter Welch told Mr Cavendish how good an opinion the King had of him, and that it was his Majesty's command he should remain about the person of the Cardinal, and have the chief direction of every thing, giving him certain directions in writing, which, when Mr Cavendish had read, he undertook to obey, and was thereupon sworn to the performance of them (13). In consequence of this, he went with his master to the Earl of Shrewsbury's at Sheffield-Park, where, when Sir William Kingston, whom the Cardinal always dreaded and hated, came to receive him in his custody, the Earl sent for Mr Cavendish, and addressed him thus: 'Forasmuch, as I have always perceived you to be a man in whom my Lord putteth great affiance, and I myself knowing you to be a man very honest (with many other words of commendations and praise) *said further*, Your Lord hath often desired me to write to the King, that he might answer his accusations before his enemies. And this day I have received letters from his Majesty, by Sir William Kingston, whereby I perceive, that the King hath him in good opinion, and upon my request hath sent for him by the said Sir William Kingston. Therefore, now I would have you play your part wisely with him, in such sort as he may take it quietly and in good part, for he is alway full of sorrow and much heaviness at my being with him, that I fear he would take it ill if I bring him tidings thereof: and therein doth he not well, for I assure you, that the King is his very good Lord, and hath given me most hearty thanks for his entertainment: and therefore go your way to him, and persuade him I may find him in quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you (14).' He performed this commission the best he could, but the sending of Sir William Kingston proved the death of the Cardinal, whom he carried as far as Leicester, and there he finished his days (15). When Mr Cavendish came to Court, he was introduced to the King by Sir Henry Norris, at that time Groom of the Stole, and after a long conference, his Majesty was pleased to tell him, that for his honesty and fidelity he should be servant in his chamber, in the same manner as he had been with his late master; adding at parting, 'Therefore, go your ways to Sir John Gage, our Vice-Chamberlain, to whom we have spoken already, to admit you our servant in our chamber; and then go to the Lord of Norfolk, and he shall pay you your whole year's wages, and a reward besides (16).' It is very remarkable, that of all the dependants upon the Cardinal, there were two that particularly distinguished themselves by a steady and close adherence to him; the first was Mr Thomas Cromwell, whom the King made afterwards Lord Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Knight of the Garter, and Prime Minister; the other was Mr William Cavendish, whom he immediately took into his own service, knighted him afterwards, made him Treasurer of his Chamber, and a Privy-Counsellor (17). What the nature of his office in the Houshold was at that time, will best appear by the following clause from an Act of Parliament, which is very remarkable. This Act relates to the receivers of the King's revenue; and it is therein declared (18), 'That every person whom the King hereafter shall name and appoint to the room and office of Treasurer of his Chamber, be not accomptable in the Exchequer, for any such his or their receipt, or any part or parcel of the premises, but to the King's Highness or his heirs, or before such as his Grace shall thereunto limit and appoint. Also, that all such persons as have paid, or hereafter shall pay, any sum or sums of money to the King's use, to the hands of the Treasurer of his Chamber for the time being, and for the proof of the which payment, the said person or persons bring, or caused to be brought, the said bills into the King's Receipt of the Exchequer, that then immediately, upon sight of the said bill or bills, the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the said Exchequer shall strike or cause to be striken a tally or tallies for the discharge of the said person or persons, that so have paid their money to the said Treasurer of the King's Chamber, as if they had paid the said sum or sums of money in the Receipt before said, without any other warrant in that behalf to be obtained, and without any fine, fee, or reward, therefore to be taken.'

[C] *That we should take particular notice.*] This Lady, as she was certainly one of the most remarkable persons of her time, so her memory is celebrated, and the most memorable passages of her life preserved, by several of our ablest Antiquaries, most considerable Historians, and most eminent Divines. Yet we hope, in the compass of this note, to give more remarkable facts relating to this wonderful woman, and that too with greater exactness than are any where to be met with in so narrow a compass. Elizabeth Hardwick, for such was this Lady's name, was the daughter of John Hardwick of Hardwick

(12) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 147.

(13) Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 55, 56.

(14) Ib. p. 137, 138.

(15) Chauncey's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 450.

(16) Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 156, 157.

(17) Remarks on the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, p. 95.

(18) Rot. Parl. 6 Hen. VIII.

many daughters, and of whom we shall say somewhat in the notes [D]. It was in the latter

Hardwick in the county of Derby, Esq; by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Leeke of Loasland in the same county, Esq; and in process of time became coheiress of his fortune, by the death of her brother John Hardwick, Esq; without children (19). It is not easy to say in what year she was born, tho' the date of her death, and her age, both appear on her magnificent tombstone (20); the former indeed is certain, but the latter not so; for if it were, she would have been hardly twelve years old when her first husband died; by comparing of circumstances, however, it is highly probable, that she was born in 1516, and being extremely beautiful, and having the advantage of an excellent education, she captivated the heart of Robert Barley of Barley in the county of Derby, Esq; a young gentleman of a large estate, all of which he settled absolutely upon her on their marriage; which was celebrated when she was scarce fourteen. By this gentleman she had no issue; but by his death, which happened February 2, 1532 (21), she became a very rich widow, and remained so for about twelve years; when she married Mr Cavendish, by whom she had Henry Cavendish, Esq; who settled at Tutbury in Staffordshire, but had also considerable estates in Derbyshire; William Cavendish, of whom we shall speak in the next article; and Charles Cavendish, who was the ancestor of the Dukes of Newcastle of that name; and three daughters, Frances, who married Sir Henry Pierpoint of Holm Pierpoint in the county of Nottingham, from whom the Dukes of Kingston are descended (22). Elizabeth, who espoused Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, younger brother of Henry King of Scots, father of King James I (23); and Mary, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards. Some years after, she by his death, was a second time a widow; she consented to become a third time a wife; and accordingly married Sir William St Lowe, Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth, who was a man of plentiful fortune, and had a large estate in Gloucestershire; all which he settled upon her, excluding as well as his brothers who were heirs male, as his own female issue by a former Lady (24). We are in the dark as to the time of this marriage, and of the death of this Sir William St Lowe; but it is certain, that the charms of this Lady's person and mind were of so lasting a nature, that in her third widowhood they made such an impression on the heart of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, then one of the greatest subjects in the English nation, that he was very desirous of engaging her to alter the state of life she led for the fourth time; but before he could persuade her thereto, he was obliged to consent unto terms that were very advantageous for her family (25). Her Ladyship could not indeed insist that the estates of the family should be settled upon her, but she took care that they should be at all events enjoyed by her posterity, by causing the Earl to give his youngest daughter the Lady Grace, to her eldest son Henry Cavendish, Esq; and at the same time, married her youngest daughter Mary, to Gilbert the Earl's second son, who proved afterwards the heir of his honours and estates (26). The felicity of this last marriage seems to have been somewhat troubled by her Lord's having the custody of the Queen of Scots; for we are told by a certain author (27), that the Countess being at Court, and Queen Elizabeth demanding how that Princess did? She answered, *Madam, she cannot do ill while she is with my husband; and I begin to grow jealous, they are so great together.* We are likewise told by Mr Camden, that it was considered as a very high proof of the Earl's wisdom, that in such ambiguous times (this is our author's own word) he should be able to maintain his credit, notwithstanding the practices of his enemies, Court calumnies, and the disturbances given him by his second wife (28). All this taken together, rose so high as to become the subject of a publick prosecution (29). And in the inscription upon the Earl's tomb (30) it is asserted, that notwithstanding the scandalous report spread by malicious people, of his familiarity with the captive Queen, his conduct was entirely honourable and innocent. But these rumours gave occasion to the removing that unhappy Princess into the custody of Sir Amias Pawlet, with whom she remained till the time of her deplorable death (31). This noble Peer dying November 18th, 1590 (32), the Countess became a widow for the fourth time, and so continued for the remainder of her days. As her whole life was, with a very few interruptions, a continued series of prosperity, she was at liberty to discover the nobleness and magnificence of her nature; which she did in monuments as lasting as it was in the power of so prudent and discreet a person to contrive. She built three of the most elegant seats that were ever raised by one hand, within the same County, beyond example, Chatsworth, Hardwick, and Oldcotes, all transmitted entire to the first Duke of Devonshire (33). At Hardwick she left the ancient seat of her family standing, and at a small distance, still adjoining to her new fabrick, as if she had a mind to preserve her cradle and set it by her bed of state. Which old house has one room in it, of such exact proportion, and such convenient lights, that it has been thought fit for a pattern of measure and contrivance, of a room in the late Duke of Marlbrough's noble house at Blenheim (34). Some memorials also are still preserved of the royal guest entertained here fifteen years; for the Queen of Scots chamber, and rooms of state, with her arms, and other ensigns of her dignity, are still remaining at Hardwick: Her bed was taken away for plunder in the Civil Wars. At Chatsworth the new lodgings that answer the old are still called the Queen of Scots apartment; and an island plat, on the top of a square tower, built in a large pool, is still called the Queen of Scot's garden, and some of her own royal work is still preserved among the treasures of this family (35). A carpet embroidered with her needle, and particularly a suit of hangings now remaining in a chamber at Hardwick, wherein all the Virtues are represented in symbolical figures and allusive motto's; an ornament and a lecture. Neither was she unmindful, in the midst of so much abundance, of such of her fellow creatures, and fellow Christians, as by the permission of the same divine Providence, which dealt so bountifully with her, were left in all the bitterness of want, and therefore she endowed a noble Hospital at Derby, for the entertainment of twelve poor people, who have each about ten pounds a year for their subsistence (36). In this manner lived and died Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury, on the 13th of February, 1607. her body lying buried in the south isle of Allhallows Church in Derby, under a stately monument, which she took care to erect in her own life-time, on which her statue, curiously wrought, lies at full length (37). On this tomb there is also a large inscription, placed there many years after her death, wherein she is said to have been in her 87th year, which must be a mistake, for reasons before mentioned, and which plainly show, that she must have been at least in the 91st year of her age. Her funeral sermon, with a large encomium on her many shining qualities, was preached by Dr Toby Mathew, Archbishop of York, who chose for his text, Prov. xxxi. 25. to the end of the chapter (38). Her memory was long after celebrated by another eloquent Prelate, who, after running through the principal passages of her life, sums up all in the following courtly phrases, 'A change of conditions that, perhaps, never fell to any one woman, to 'be four times a creditable and happy wife; to rise 'by every husband into greater wealth and higher honours; to have an unanimous issue by one husband 'only; to have all those children live; and all, by 'her advice, be honourably and creditably disposed of 'in her life-time; and, after all, to live seventeen years 'a widow in absolute power and plenty (39).'

[D] *We shall say somewhat in the notes.*] The names of Sir William Cavendish's children, by his last lady, we have already mentioned, and therefore here we shall take notice only of some particulars relating to his eldest and youngest sons; and to the youngest of his daughters, because they seem necessary to the right understanding several passages in the succeeding articles. Henry Cavendish, his eldest son, was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Derby, in the Parliament held in the 14th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and served for the same county in five other succeeding parliaments (40). In 1578 he went over into the Low-Countries, and served there with great reputation (41). He had no issue by his Lady, who was the daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury; but having lived with universal reputation, died at Endsore, near Chatsworth, in Derbyshire, Oct. 12, 1616. and was buried in the Church there, where we find an inscrip-

tion

(19) Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamshire, p. 186, 187.

(20) See that inscription at large in Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(21) Life of William Duke of Newcastle, by his Duchess, p. 154.

(22) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

(23) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(24) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(25) Life of William Duke of Newcastle by his Duchess, p. 154.

(26) Bishop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, p. 517.

(27) Fuller's Worthies in Com. Derby, p. 237.

(28) Camden, Annal. p. 622, 623.

(29) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 216, 217.

(30) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 56.

(31) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 384.

(32) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 333.

(33) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 141.

(37) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(38) This Sermon, in the Archbishop's own hand writing, was in the curious and copious Collection of Rarities belonging to R. Thoresby, Esq; of Leeds.

(39) Bishop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, p. 67.

(40) Brown Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. II. p. 222.

(41) Annal Camden. p. 310.

latter part of his life, at the instance of the lady he last married, that Sir William Cavendish sold most of his estates in other parts of the kingdom, in order to purchase lands in Derbyshire, where her estates lay, and began to build a noble house at Chatsworth which he did not live to finish (*q*). He appears from his writings to have been a man of great honour and integrity, a good subject to his Prince, a true lover of his country, and one who preserved, to the last, a very high reverence and esteem for his old master, and first patron, Cardinal Wolsey, whose Life he wrote in the latter part of his own, and there gives him a very high character, affirming, that in his judgment, he never saw the kingdom in better obedience and quiet, than during the time of his authority, or justice better administered (*r*). This work of his remained long in manuscript, and the original is, or at least was a few years ago, in the hands of the Duke of Kingston (*s*). It had been seen and consulted by the Lord Herbert, when he wrote his History of the Reign of King Henry VIII, but he was either unacquainted with our author's christian name, or mistook him for his elder brother George Cavendish of Glemsford in the county of Suffolk, Esq; for by that name his Lordship calls him; but it appears plainly from what he says, that the History he made use of was our author's, and that he gave great credit to it, since in his character of Cardinal Wolsey he agrees entirely with him (*t*). Bishop Burnet also had seen and made use of our author's History (*u*), in relation to which there are some very curious remarks in a work of Mr Strype's, which deserve the reader's notice, and are therefore placed at the bottom of the page [*E*]. It might be of some use to the learned world, if, by collating the several manuscripts that are still extant of this work, a new and correct edition of it was published, with notes shewing wherein it differs from other Histories of that famous Cardinal.

(*q*) Life of William Duke of Newcastle, by his Duchess, p. 154.

(*r*) In the Prologue or Dedication to the Marquis of Dorchester.

(*s*) Supposed to be given by the author to his daughter, who married into that family.

(*t*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 122.

(*u*) History of the Reformat, Vol I. p. 8.

tion to preserve his memory (42.) His youngest brother, and the third son of Sir William Cavendish, seated himself at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire; and, being knighted, was stiled Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck. He married Catherine, second daughter to Cuthbert Lord Ogle, and by that marriage acquired a large estate. He died in the month of June, 1617, and was buried at Bolesover, in the County of Derby (43). Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, youngest Daughter of Sir William Cavendish, interested herself deeply in the affairs of her neice, Lady Arabella Stuart, and thereby brought herself into very great troubles, as we have shewn in another place (44). And we take notice of it here, only to put the reader in mind, that this lady, who was so nearly allied to the Crown, was the granddaughter of our Sir William Cavendish.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The passage referred to in the text runs thus (45); 'Cardinal *Wolsey*'s 'life was long in MS. written by *Cavendish*, his do'mestick. Afterwards printed, *Anno* 1667. for *Dor'man Newman*, entitled, *The Life and Death of* THO'MAS WOLSEY *Cardinal, once Archbishop of York and 'Lord Chancellor of England, containing,* I. *The Ori'ginal of his Promotion, and the Way he took to obtain 'it.* II. *The Continuance in his Magnificence.* III. '*His Negotiations concerning the Peace with* France '*and the* Netherlands. IV. *His Fall, Death, and 'Burial. Wherein are things remarkable for those 'times. Written by one of his own servants, being his 'Gentleman-Usher.* An ancient MS. of this life, 'which seemed to be original, I once bought of Mr '*Woodward:* which I afterwards parted with to Se'cretary *Harley*, afterwards Lord High-Treasurer and 'Earl of *Oxford and Mortimer*. The printed Book 'aforesaid was dedicated to *Henry* Lord Marquis of '*Dorset*. By which Dedication, it seems, it was now 'newly reprinted. The Preface is of the Author's 'own writing, having these expressions: *The Cardinal 'was my lord and master, whom, in his life-time, I 'served: And so remained with him in his fall conti'nually, during the time of all his troubles, both in the 'south and north parts, until he died. In all which 'time I punctually observed all his demeanours, as also 'his great triumphs and glorious estate,* &c. *Never'theless, whatsoever any man hath conceived of him in 'his life, or since his death, thus much I dare say, 'without offence of any, that in my judgment I never 'saw this realm in better obedience, and quiet, than it 'was in the time of his authority; nor justice better 'administered, without partiality, as I could justly 'prove, if I should not be taxed with too much affection.* 'This Book is misprinted very much, as I have given 'a *Specimen* in my marginal Notes in the beginning of 'the Book. In the edition of it *Anno* 1667, I did 'in the beginning write as followeth. This Book was 'printed again, *Anno* 1706, with another title, *viz.* '*Memoirs of the great Favourite Cardinal* Wolsey: '*With Remarks on his Rise and Fall, and other secret 'Transactions of his Ministry. Together with a Me'morial presented to Queen Elizabeth by* Will. Cecil 'Lord Burghley, *to prevent her Majesty's being engros'sed by any particular Favourite.* But this can be 'none of the Lord *Burghley*'s, as may be concluded 'by divers phrases and manners of speech that were 'not used in those times. Nor would that Lord have 'dared to write so plain and bold to the Queen; nor 'would she have born it. It is plain this discourse was 'levelled at some of the Ministry in that time of Queen '*Anne*, in order to make way for another Ministry. 'The original Book is not divided into chapters, as this 'is, but a continued discourse. It hath the very faults 'and misprintings of the former edition; as p. 2. *Fo'rest* for *Feast*, and Sir *James Pawlet* for Sir *Amyas*. 'The Preface, which is called the Prologue in the Ma'nuscript, varies and changes words, and leaves out, 'to make the language more suitable to the present 'age. But indeed, rather mars than mends the 'stile.' E

(42) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 138.

(43) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(44) See the article of ARABELLA (Lady) in this Dictionary.

(45) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 128.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) second son of the former, and the first of this family raised to the dignity of Peerage. At the time of his father's decease he was very young, and but a child when his mother married the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whose children he was brought up, and by the care of the Earl had an excellent education (*a*). As he was his mother's favourite, she gave him in her life-time, and left him at her decease, so plentifully, that he had a better estate than his elder brother (*b*). He was chosen member for Newport in the county of Cornwall, in the Parliament held in the thirty-first of Elizabeth (*c*); and it is probable that he sat in succeeding Parliaments, though we are not able to say for what place. He was very early, and very much considered in the Court of King James, so that in the month of May 1605, at the christening of the Princess Sophia, when his Majesty was pleased to advance some of the Nobility, and to create others, he was honoured with the title of Baron Cavendish of Hardwicke, in the county of Derby (*d*). It does not appear that he was desirous of places, or of Court preferments, but notwithstanding this, he was far from leading an inactive life, as is evident from his being among the first adventurers for settling the Bermudas Islands, one of which has the

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 143.

(*c*) Willis's Notit. Parliam. Vol. II. p. 164.

(*d*) Pat. 3 Jac. p. 12. Apparat. Annal. Camden R. Reg. Jac. Primi, p. 4. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 59.

honour to bear his name, as a mark of the concern he had in the establishment of that flourishing plantation (*e*) [*A*]. He received, some years after this, a very great accession to his fortune, by the death of his eldest brother (*f*), which was followed on the second of August 1618; with an augmentation of honour, for being at that time in attendance upon the King on a progress, he was pleased to declare him, in the Bishop's palace at Salisbury, Earl of Devonshire, though his patent for that honour did not pass the seals till some days after (*g*). He enjoyed this honour about seven years, dying at his seat at Hardwicke, on the third of March 1625-6, with the character of being one of the worthiest Noblemen, and truest Patriots of his time (*h*). His Lordship was twice married, and had issue of both marriages, as the reader will see in the notes [*B*]. His corps was removed to the burying-place of the family at Endsore near Chatsworth, where it was interred, and a monument erected for him with a suitable inscription (*i*) [*C*].

(*e*) Continuation of Stowe's Annals, p. 944.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*g*) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. Brooke, p. 64.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 144.

[*A*] *Of that flourishing plantation.*] The Bermudas islands are supposed to receive their Name from one John Bermudas (1), a Spaniard, who discovered them. They lie in the Latitude of 32 degrees 33 minutes north, and are equally remarkable for their being one of the most numerous Archipelago's hitherto discovered; and for their lying the farthest from any continent. There cannot well be a stronger proof of the former, than that their number was never ascertained: Some make them three, others five hundred, but the best writers ageee, that there are upwards of four hundred. As to the latter, they lie three hundred leagues from the nearest point of Carolina, which yet is that part of the continent of America nighest them (2). One Henry May, an Englishman, was ashore here in 1593, and the account he gave of them first made them known in England. Sir George Somers being shipwrecked on them in 1609, procured them the name of the Summer Islands; and upon the report made by Captain Somers, Sir George's brother, a company was established for the settling of them, by a Grant from King James in 1612, in which this noble Peer, with the Earls of Northampton and Pembroke, the Lords Paget and Harrington, and many others, were concerned (3). They sent over a vessel with sixty persons the same year, and constituted Mr Richard Moor the first Governor, who performed his commission very successfully; and the same good fortune has attended this colony ever since, so that at present, though it be none of the richest, yet it is one of the fairest and most flourishing; to which we may add, that except Barbadoes, it is the best peopled of any of it's size in America (4). The town of St George is one of the best built in that quarter of the world, the houses being all cedar, and the fortifications stone. The great island is divided into eight tribes, and the third in number, and middlemost in situation, is now called Devonshire-tribe, though, I apprehend, it was formerly called Cavendish. It is one of the two parishes, and has a neat church and a good library. There is besides a very small island between St George's and St David's, which has a little castle well fortified, that bears the name of Cavendish fort, in honour of this noble family (5).

(1) British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 440.

(2) A short Description of Bermuda, by Mr Norwood, p. 31.

(3) Continuat. of Stowe's Annal. p. 944.

(4) British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 443.

(5) Description of the Islands of Bermuda, p. 41.

[*B*] *As the reader will see in the notes.*] His Lordship married first Anne, daughter and heir to Henry Kighly, of Kighly (6) in the county of York, Esq; by whom he had three sons and three daughters; first Gilbert, who died in his youth, and left a very ingenious work, intituled, *Horæ subsecivæ; Observations and Discourses*, &c. it was published in 1620 (7). Second William, his heir and successor; third James, who died in his infancy; fourth Frances, married to Sir William Maynard; fifth and sixth Mary and Elizabeth, who both died young (8). His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Boughton of Causton in the county of Warwick, Esquire, and widow of Sir Richard Wortly, of Wortly in the county of York, Knight, by whom he had issue Sir John Cavendish, Knight of the Bath, at the creation of Charles Prince of Wales, Anno 1616, who departed this life on the 18th of January 1617 (9.)

[*C*] *With a suitable inscription.*] The villages of Chatsworth and Endsore stand opposite to each other, one on the east, the other on the west-side of the little river Darwent. At Chatsworth is that noble palace, which is considered as the chief seat of the Devonshire family. At Endsore many of them lie interred; but, for all this, Hardwick is considered as the origin or birth-place, as it were, of this noble race, as well in consideration of it's being their first Barony, as for it's being the proper estate of Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury, whose fame is still fresh in these parts (10). It is in this light that we find Mr Camden considers things in his Britannia, were he speaks thus (11). 'On 'the very edge of the county, to the east, upon a 'rough ground stands Hardwick, which has given 'name to a famous family in this county, from whom 'is descended Elizabeth the present Countess of Shrewsbury, who has there laid the foundation of two stately houses almost joining to one another, which at a 'great distance appear very fair, by reason of their 'high situation. At present the title of this Barony 'is enjoyed by William Cavendish, her second son, 'who was lately advanced by King James to the honour of Baron Cavendish of Hardwick.' E

(6) Vincent's Dis. of Errors in Brooke's Catal. of the Nobility, p. 165.

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 474.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(9) Vincent's Discovery of Errors, &c. p. 166.

(10) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(11) Camden's Britannia in Derbyshire, p. 494.

CAVENDISH (William) son to the former, and the second Earl of Devonshire of this family. He was born in 1589, and very carefully educated in the house of his father (*a*), who, when he grew up to the age of nineteen, sent for Mr Thomas Hobbes, so well known to the world by the name of the Philosopher of Malmsbury, from Oxford, to be the director of his son's studies, tho' there was but a year's difference in their age (*b*). Mr Hobbes, from the time he came into the family, gained so much on the affections of his pupil, that he lived with him rather as a friend and companion, than as a Tutor, and thereby drew him to have a strong passion for History, Politicks, Antiquities, and other parts of polite learning (*c*). In the spring of the year 1609, Mr Cavendish received the honour of knighthood at Whitehall (*d*), which was with a view to a match intended for him, and after this he visited France and Italy in the company of Mr Hobbes, and on his return from his travels, the marriage beforementioned took effect, and Sir William Cavendish was thereupon established in the possession of a very considerable fortune (*e*) [*A*]. The nobleness and generosity of his temper, induced Sir William Cavendish

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(*b*) Vita Tho. Hobbes, p. 2.

(*c*) Vita Hobbeiana Auctarium, p. 28, 29.

(*d*) Manuscript Cat. of Knights.

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 145.

[*A*] *Of a very considerable fortune.*] There are some who tell us, that the honour of Knighthood was conferred upon Sir William Cavendish after his return from his travels (1), and immediately before his marriage; but besides various other reasons that might be alledged in disproof of this, it is sufficient to observe, that it is contradicted by Mr Hobbes's account of his own life, where he says expresly, that he did not travel with his pupil till 1610 (2). The match then proposed, and which afterwards took effect, was with the only daughter of Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinlosse, for whom King James had a very particular esteem, as indeed it was very reasonable he should, for besides his noble descent from the male-line of the Royal family, of

(1) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 145.

(2) Vita Tho. Hobbes, p. 2.

diſh to make a great figure at Court, and to live with much luſtre in the country, even while he was a younger brother; but when, by the deceaſe of Gilbert Lord Cavendiſh, he came to be conſidered as the heir apparent of his father's titles and fortunes, he carried his magnificence to ſuch a height, that he was conſidered by King James, as a perſon who did honour to his country, more eſpecially as he was one of the beſt bred, and beſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time (*f*). When therefore Count Swartzenburgh came over in the month of April 1622, in quality of Embaſſador from the Emperor Ferdinand, Lord Cavendiſh was made choice of to conduct him to his publick audience (*g*), and was appointed in like manner to accompany Signior Valerſſio, Embaſſador-Extraordinary from the Republick of Venice, and Monſ. d'Arſennes and Joachimi, Joint-Embaſſadors of the States of the United Provinces (*h*). His Lordſhip and his Lady, in the year 1625, waited on King Charles I. to Canterbury, by his royal appointment, to be preſent at his nuptials with Maria Henrietta, ſecond daughter to King Henry IV of France, who arrived at Dover the thirteenth of June, and came the ſame night to Canterbury, where the marriage was conſummated (*i*). When he became Earl of Devonſhire by the deceaſe of his father, his deſire of keeping up the dignity of the family, and living in a manner ſuitable to his quality both in town and country, brought him into ſuch expence, as even his large fortune could not ſupport, and as he was a perſon of the niceſt honour, and one who had the ſtricteſt regard for juſtice, he made uſe of the favour in which he ſtood with his Prince, and his credit in Parliament, to procure an Act for ſale of part of his eſtates for the payment of his debts, which was in thoſe days a rare thing, and not to be obtained without difficulty (*k*). In his publick character he was truly a Patriot, for his loyalty to his Prince was without any tincture of ambition, and his zeal for the publick good had not the ſmalleſt intermixture of factious popularity. In his private life, he had all the qualities requiſite to make him eſteemed and beloved. His learning operated on his conduct, but was ſeldom ſhewn in his diſcourſe. He was a kind huſband, a tender father, a beneficent maſter, a friend to his neighbours, and a father to the poor. In fine, he deſerved in every reſpect the character beſtowed upon him by one who was beſt acquainted with him, that from his behaviour it might be eaſily perceived, that *honour* and *honeſty* are but the ſame thing, in different degrees, of perſons (*l*). But this great man, whoſe virtues added luſtre to his titles, and who was juſtly eſteemed the ornament of the Court, and the delight of his country, lived but a very ſhort time to enjoy thoſe honours which became him ſo well, for on the twentieth of June 1628, he departed this life at Devonſhire-houſe near Biſhopſgate, where the ſquare of the ſame name is now ſeated, in the *thirty-ninth* year of his age (*m*), and was buried on the eleventh of July following (*n*), in the church of All-hallows at Derby, where a moſt ſtately monument, with his own ſtatue in white marble upright in the midſt of it, is erected to his memory, but without any inſcription (*o*). This noble Earl was only once married to Chriſtian, daughter of Edward Lord Bruce of Kinloſſe, ſiſter to Thomas Earl of Elgin in Scotland, and aunt to Robert Earl of Ayleſbury in England, a woman, whoſe great qualities, and greater virtues, have tranſmitted her fame with due praiſes to poſterity (*p*) [*B*]. By her he left four children, as the

(*f*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 74.

(*g*) Sir John Finnet's Obſervations on Ambaſſadors, p. 95, 96.

(*h*) Life of Chriſtian Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 112, 188.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. i. p. 107.

(*k*) Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 27, 28.

(*l*) See Mr Hobbes's Dedication of Thucydides in Engliſh, to the ſon of this worthy Nobleman.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*n*) MS. J. P. in Offic. Arm. f. 18.

(*o*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 42.

(*p*) See Pomfret's Life of this Lady.

of which the Stuarts were deſcended, by females he had been highly inſtrumental by the ſecret correſpondence he held with Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, in procuring the peaceable acceſſion of his Maſter to the throne of England, for which he had been rewarded with a Peerage and a grant of lands in Scotland, and with the office of Maſter of the Rolls for life in England (3). But the King ſhowed his kindneſs chiefly in the pains he took about this marriage, in which he was equally gracious to both parties. He made choice of Sir William Cavendiſh on account of his perſonal accompliſhments as well as of his family; and he beſtowed upon him the Lady as his kinſwoman, with whom he gave a fortune of ten thouſand pounds; and that he might ſtill do greater honour to the marriage, he gave her away with his own hand (4). In return for his Royal condeſcenſion, he ſollicited and prevailed upon the Lord Cavendiſh, of Hardwick, for he was not then Earl of Devonſhire, or poſſeſſed of his elder brother's fortune, to make a great ſettlement on his ſecond ſon; and his Lordſhip was ſo ſenſible of the honour done him, that he came up fully to his Majeſty's expectations, and perhaps exceeded (5), what in that caſe he would otherwiſe have done.

(3) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 133.

(4) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(5) Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 23.

[*B*] *With due praiſes to poſterity.*] We have already given an account of this Lady's family; and therefore, we ſhall only obſerve, that as ſhe lived in the utmoſt harmony with her Lord, for whom ſhe had the ſin`cereſt affection; ſo in reſpect to his family ſhe was another Counteſs of Shrewſbury, and employed the great powers veſted in her by her huſband for the benefit of his illuſtrious race, with the utmoſt prudence and fidelity. In the firſt place, ſhe made a proper diſpoſition of the money ariſing by ſale of his eſtate; and in the next, ſhe managed her large jointure of 5000 *l.* a year with ſuch oeconomy and circumſpection, that in the courſe of her long life, ſhe added to it 4000 *l.* a year more of her own acquiring (6). Beſides all this, ſhe extricated the family from ſeveral tedious and perplexed law-ſuits, which ſhe managed with ſuch diligence, decency, and dexterity, and at the ſame time, with ſuch ſufficiency and ſucceſs, that King Charles I, who, as his father King James had done, and his ſon King Charles II. did, converſed with her very familiarly, would ſome times merrily ſay, *Madam, you have all my Judges at your diſpoſal* (7). There never was a woman more admired for her courtly and polite behaviour, at the ſame time that her virtue and piety made her looked upon as an example for all her ſex. A certain witty writer drew her character in a few lines; *The Counteſs of* Devonſhire (ſays he) *is at once the beſt woman, and the beſt bred woman in the nation; ſhe has all the complaiſance of a Court, without the leaſt affectation; and all the ſtrictneſs of religion in her conduct, without the leaſt pretence to it in her diſcourſe* (8). Another writer, from whom we have her life at large, gives us the following picture of her at full length (9). 'Prayers and pious readings were her 'firſt buſineſs, the remainders of the day were determined to her friends, in the entertainment of whom 'her converſation was ſo tempered with courtſhip and 'heartineſs, her diſcourſes ſo ſweetned with the delicacies of expreſſion; that ſuch as did not well know the 'expence of her time, would have thought ſhe had 'employed it all in addreſs and dialogue: in both 'which ſhe exceeded moſt Ladies, and yet never 'affected the title of a wit; carried no ſnares in her 'tongue, nor counterfeited friendſhips; and as ſhe 'was

(6) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh. Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 26.

(7) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(8) MS. Letter of Lord Digby's.

(9) Pomfret's Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 36—40.

the reader will be informed in the notes [C]; though he had not the happiness to see any of them arrive at the age of discretion, and most of them, at his death, were in their infancy.

'was never known to speak evil of any, so neither 'would she endure to hear of it from any of others, 'reckoning it not only a vice against good manners, 'but the greatest indecency also in the entertainment 'of friends; and therefore, always kept herself with- 'in the measures of civility and religion. Her gestures 'corresponded to her speech being of a free, native, 'genuine, and graceful behaviour, as far from affect- 'ed and extraordinary motions, as they from discretion. 'These admirable qualities drew to her house all the 'best company, towards whom she had so easy and 'such obliging address, without the least allay of levity 'or disdain, that every one departed with the highest 'satisfaction; she ever distributing her respects accord- 'ing to the quality and merit of each, steering the 'same steddy course in the country also, between which 'and the town she commonly divided the year.' We shall have frequent occasion to mention this Lady in the succeeding articles, and shall therefore add nothing farther here of her, except, that as she was steadily loyal to King Charles I. through all his troubles, she was no less faithful to the interest of his son in his exile, and was among the very few people to whom General Monk gave early intelligence of his good intention. Of these her constant and continal services, King Charles II. was so sensible, that after his Restoration, he frequently dined with her, sometimes in the company of the Queens, Dowager and Consort. She lived to the last with all that profuseness of English generosity, which was the characteristick of that age in which she passed her youth, and with all that dignity and magnificence by which the house of Devonshire has been always distinguished, till full of years and of glory, she departed this life on January 16, 1674, and was carried with great funeral pomp down to Derby, where she was interred, as we shall have occasion to mention elsewhere.

[C] *In the notes.*] His issue by Christian, Countess of Devonshire, were three sons and one daughter. 1. William, Lord Cavendish, of whom we shall speak in the next article. 2. Charles, of whom we shall likewise give an article. 3. Henry, who died young. 4. Lady Anne Cavendish, who married Robert, Lord Rich, son and heir of Robert, Earl of Warwick, she died early of an ague, and was a Lady of such distinguished perfections, that her loss was deplored by three of the worthiest men, and greatest wits, of that age in which there were so many, *viz.* the famous Viscount Falkland, the celebrated Mr Waller, and the ingenious Mr Godolphin, as well as by other writers of an inferior rank (10). This Lady had by the Lord Rich, only one son, Robert, who married Frances youngest daughter to Oliver Cromwell, and died in his father's life-time without issue; which is the rather mentioned, because Sir William Dugdale (11) makes her mother also of three daughters; whereas, they were the children of Robert Lord Rich by his second wife, the widow of Mr Rogers, and the daughter of Sir Thomas Cheeke of Pirgo in Essex. E

(10) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 588.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) son to the former, and third Earl of Devonshire of this family. He was at the time of his father's deceafe, as appears from the inquisition taken in the Court of Wards, ten years, eight months, and ten days old *(a)*; so that he must have been born November 10, 1617. At the Coronation of King Charles I. in February 1625-6, he was made a Knight of the Bath *(b)*. As a mark of his Majesty's regard for the family, the wardship of the young Earl of Devonshire, upon the demise of his father, was granted to his mother the Countess Dowager *(c)*, who was equally careful in the management of the family estate, and providing for the education of the young Lord her son. It was with a view to this, that when he had reached the age of thirteen, his mother sent for Mr Hobbes from Paris, that she might put him under his care; and accordingly, after having instructed him in the learned languages and the principles of polite Literature at home for about three years, he, in 1643, attended his Lordship abroad, and having made the tour of Italy and France, and spent some time in Paris, his Lordship returned to England in 1637 *(d)*. At that time, he was esteemed one of the handsomest young Nobleman in his person *(e)*; and with respect to the qualities of his mind, one of the best accomplished in the kingdom; so that several noble families had him in their eye, and would willingly have drawn him into their alliance by marriage. Amongst the rest, the Countess of Leicester, for the Earl was at that time abroad, was inclined to have matched him with her daughter, the Lady Dorothea Sidney *(f)*, whom Mr Waller has rendered immortal, by the name of Sacharissa; but however, that design did not take effect. When he came of age, his mother delivered up to him all the great houses in Derbyshire, compleatly furnished; and soon after, he married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, second daughter to William, Earl of Salisbury *(g)*. His Lordship discovered early, as he retained to the last, the loyal and virtuous principles of his illustrious ancestors. He distinguished himself in the House of Lords, by a noble and generous opposition to the bill for attainting the Earl of Strafford *(h)*, and very steadily adhered to the constitution of his country, when he saw it attacked under the plausible pretence of improving liberty. When the King withdrew into the North, his Lordship followed him, and was one of the noble Peers that in June 1642 *(i)*, subscribed the famous Declaration at York, which was so ill relished at Westminster, that by a resolution of the House of Lords, bearing date the 20th of July following, himself and eight other Peers were deprived of their right to sit or vote, excluded from all privilege of Parliament, and ordered to stand committed to the Tower *(k)*. These and other acts of violence did not hinder him from persisting in his duty, or from supplying the King with all the money in his power, tho' his horror of the Civil War *(l)* was such, that he chose to retire out of the kingdom. This recess, however, gave him little repose, for he was thrust in the number of the delinquents, his great estate sequestred, and when by the mediation of his friends, an ordinance was depending for his composition, an order was made October 23, 1645, for his return from beyong the seas by a day assigned, with which, by the persuasion, or rather at the command of his mother, he complied *(m)*. He lived after his return, for the most part, at his seat called Latimers in Buckinghamshire, where he was with the Countess Dowager, when

(a) Cole's Esc. lib. iii. p. 240, in Bibl. Harley.

(b) Catalogue of Knights, MS.

(c) Pomfret's Life of the Countess of Devonshire, p. 26.

(d) Vit. Thomae Hobbes, p. 41.

(e) See Mr Hobbes's Dedication of Thucydides to this noble Peer, printed in 1628.

(f) Letters and Memorials of State from the Collections of the Sidney Family, Vol. II. p. 472, 495.

(g) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(h) Memoirs of the Cavendish Family.

(i) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 215.

(k) Collections of Acts of State, &c. p. 375.

(l) Memoirs of the Cavendish Family.

(m) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 172. Life of the Countess of Devon, p. 46, 47.

when the army hurried King Charles from place to place, suffered him to rest for a night or two there, when his Majesty had much private consultation with them on the state of his affairs, and at the same time expressed to them both, the grateful sense he had of the many faithful services they had done him (*n*). The suspicions and dangers of the succeeding times, obliged him to maintain a privacy, or rather obscurity, very little suited to the noblenefs and generosity of his nature, which however, contributed very much to the restoring his private affairs, and to the making up those breaches in his fortune, which the severities he had formerly experienced had produced (*o*). But when better days came on, and the House of Lords was again permitted to sit, one of the first things they did, was, by an order of the 4th of May 1660, to reverse the judgment formerly given against him, as has been before mentioned (*p*). It being thought necessary, to preserve the publick peace, that a Declaration should be made by the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the Royal cause, of their not being implacable, but desirous of piece and quietness, ready to submit to the authority of the approaching Parliament, and willing to bury in oblivion all that was passed, as well as all the odious distinctions of names and parties, his Lordship was the third of twenty Noblemen that signed it (*q*). At his Majesty's return, he was received with all the kindness and respect due to his long and constant services, as well as his great sufferings; and August 20, 1660, he was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of Derby, as a mark of Royal confidence and esteem; for as to Court perferments, he never sought, or received them (*r*). He lived mostly in the country, and distinguished himself there by his hospitality and moderation. He was equally esteemed by his Prince, and beloved by his fellow-subjects; for no man's loyalty was clearer; and yet there was no man more firm to the true principles of liberty, than he (*s*). The religion of the Church of England, had not a more sincere friend, but at the same time he was an enemy to all persecution, of which he readily gave testimony, when any occasion fell in his way (*t*). It was his known character, and a character never called in question, that he was a man of as much conscience and honour, religion and virtue, prudence and goodness, as that age afforded; and as he lived, universally honoured and beloved, so he died, lamented and regretted, not only by his friends and neighbours, but by all who had the least knowledge of, or acquaintance with, him, November 23, 1684, at his seat at Roehampton in Surry, from whence his body was removed to Derby, and there interred with his ancestors (*u*). His posterity are taken notice of in the notes (*w*) [*A*]. As for his Countess, she survived him five years; and dying November 16, 1689, was on the 21st of the same month, interred in a vault under the East window of King Henry VIIth's Chapel in Westminster-Abbey (*x*), with great funeral solemnity.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 182. Life of the Countess of Devon, p. 55.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Cavendish Family.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 570, 571, 572.

(*q*) Kennet's Chron. p. 101.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Cavendish Family.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(*t*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 233.

(*u*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(*w*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 148.

[*A*] *In the notes.*] His Lordship had only two sons and one daughter. Of his eldest son William, Lord Cavendish, who, upon his deceafe, became Earl of Devonshire, and afterwards, by creation, Marquis of Hartington, and Duke of Devonshire, we shall speak in a subsequent article. His second son was the honourable Charles Cavendish, Esq; born October 5, 1655, and was a gentleman of most humane and courteous disposition, much addicted to privacy and retirement; and one, whose virtues rendered him as much esteemed and admired, as his high birth gained him respect. He died unmarried, March 3, 1670, and was buried in the family vault at Derby (1). His lordship's only daughter, Lady Anne Cavendish, was twice married, first to Charles Lord Rich, son to Charles Earl of Warwick (2), of whom, by the way, there is not the least notice taken in the account of that noble family which is given in the peerage, but, on the contrary, his father, Charles Earl of Warwick, is said to have died without issue by his Countess, Mary, daughter to the first Earl of Cork (3). Her second husband was John Earl of Exeter, whom she attended in two journies to Rome, and was with him at the village of Issy near Paris, where he died, in his return home, August 29, 1700 (4). It may not be amiss to observe, that she lies buried with her Lord in a vault in St Martin's Church in Stamford, under a tomb made by the Earl's express direction at Rome, by many supposed to be the most elegant in this kingdom; of which the reader may find a very particular description in the book referred to in the margin (5). And the following character is given of her in the inscription placed thereon, for preserving the memory of her Lord, *viz.* 'He had for wife, and the companion 'of his virtues and travels, and, in a manner, of his 'studies, Anne, of the right noble house of Cavendish, 'daughter of William Earl of Devon; for the beauty 'of her body, ingenuity of her mind, and all those ac'complishments which can any ways adorn a lady 'famous; of whom he begat five children: happy in 'his spouse; and happy in his off-spring! But, among 'all the things which make life more blessed, being 'ever mindful of mortality, when he was in Italy, 'whilst he thoroughly examined, and as curiously col'lected, the works of choicest art, there he caused this 'monument to be made, where it could be most ex'quisitely done, for himself, and the most dear consort 'of his bed and travels, and of all his cares (6).' She deceased (7) July 18, 1703. E

(1) Memoirs of the Cavendish Family.

(2) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 143.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 388.

(4) Collins's Peerage, ubi sup.

(5) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, lib. xiv. p. 71.

(6) Ibid. p. 74.

(7) Le Neve's Mon. Angl. p. 1.

CAVENDISH (William) Baron Ogle, Viscount Mansfield, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcastle, one of the most accomplished persons, as well as one of the most able Generals, and most distinguished patriots of the age. He was son of Sir Charles Cavendish, youngest son of Sir William Cavendish, and younger brother of the first Earl of Devonshire, by Catherine, daughter of Cuthbert, Lord Ogle (*a*). He was born in the year 1592 (*b*), and discovering, even in his infancy, the strongest marks of an extraordinary genius, his father was extreamly careful in the cultivation of them; and took all imaginable pains to have him instructed, as well in sciences as in languages; so that at an age when most young gentlemen are but entering on knowledge, he might be truly said to have acquired a large stock of solid learning, which was adorned with an easy and polite behaviour, that, except on proper occasions, entirely concealed the scholar under the more taking appearance of the fine gentleman (*c*). It was in this light that he appeared and

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*b*) As appears from the inscription upon his monument in Westminster-Abbey.

(*c*) Memoirs of the Cavendish Family.

and was taken notice of at the Court of King James I, where he was quickly distinguished by the King's favour; and in 1610, was made Knight of the Bath, at the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales (d). In 1617, his father died, by which he came to the possession of a very large estate; and having a great interest at Court, he was, by letters Patents dated November 3, 1620, raised to the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, by the stile and title of Baron Ogle and (e) Viscount Mansfield; and having no less credit with King Charles I. than with his father King James, was, in the third year of the reign of that Prince, advanced to the higher title of Earl of Newcastle upon Tyne, and at the same time, he was created Baron Cavendish of Bolesover (f). Our Genealogists and Antiquaries give us but a very obscure account of these honours, or at least, of the Barony of Ogle, to which, in the inscription upon his own and his grandmother the Countess of Shrewsbury's tomb, he is said to have succeeded in right of his mother (g), a point, which shall be explained in the notes [A]. His attendance on the Court, tho' it procured him honour, brought him very early into difficulties; and there is some reason to believe, that he did not stand extremely well with the great Duke of Buckingham, who perhaps was apprehensive of the large share he had in his Master's favour (h). However, he did not suffer, even by that powerful favourite's displeasure, but remained in full credit with his Master, which was notwithstanding so far from being beneficial to him, that the services expected from him, and his constant waiting upon the King (i), plunged him very deeply in debt, tho' he had a very large estate, of which we find him complaining heavily in his letters, to his firm and steady friend, the Lord Viscount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford (k). But these difficulties, tho' they sometimes put him upon thoughts of retirement, never in the least discouraged him from doing his duty, or from testifying his zeal and loyalty, when the King's service required it. This conduct, tho' it does not seem to have recommended him much to the great Ministers, yet maintained him so effectually in his Master's good opinion, that when, in 1638, it was thought requisite to take the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles II, out of the hands of the women, the King of his own motive made choice of the Earl of Newcastle, as the person in his kingdom most fit to have the tuition of his heir apparent, and accordingly declared him Governor to the Prince, which was certainly as high an act of confidence as a Sovereign could place in a subject (l). In the spring of the year 1639, the first troubles in Scotland broke out, which induced the King to assemble an army in the North; soon after which he went down thither to put himself at the head of it; and in his way, was most splendidly entertained by the Earl of Newcastle at his noble seat of Welbeck, as he had been some years before when he went into that kingdom to be crowned, which tho' in itself a very trivial matter, yet such was the magnificence of this noble Peer, that, from the circumstances attending them, both these entertainments have found a place in General Histories (m) [B]. But this was not the only manner

(d) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(e) Pat. 18 Jac. I. p. 13.

(f) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 11.

(g) See this inscription in Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(h) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 43.

(i) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 26.

(k) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 101.

(l) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(m) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 26. Rushworth's Historical Collect. Vol. I. p. 178, 283.

[A] *Shall be explained in the notes.*] Sir Charles Cavendish, this Nobleman's father, married Catherine, the younger daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle, her elder sister Jane being married to Edward Earl of Shrewsbury; and during the life-time of that Lady, who was this Nobleman's aunt, as well as during the life-time of his mother, he was raised to the rank of a Peer, by the title of Baron Ogle and Viscount Mansfield, by letters Patents dated the third of November in the 18th year of James I (1). It is true, that his Duchess tell us, he was created Baron of Bolesover and Viscount Mansfield; but in that she appears to be mistaken; nor is it the only point of the kind in which there are mistakes in her book (2). King Charles I, by letters Patents dated the seventh of March in the third year of his reign, created him Baron of Bolesover, and, at the same time, Earl of Newcastle, as is set forth in the text. But the year following, his mother's elder sister Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury, dying without issue, the King was graciously pleased, by letters Patents dated the fourth of December, to declare Dame Catherine Cavendish, Baroness of Ogle; and to confirm that title to her and her heirs general (3). This shews why the Earl of Newcastle chose to have a new Barony created by Patent, and how he comes to be stiled Baron of Ogle, in right of his mother; for it seems, that he waived any right that he might have to that Barony by his first creation; that he might take it by descent, as an old Barony in fee, as he did upon his mother's decease, by which he likewise came to the possession of the family estate of Ogle, which was worth three thousand pounds a year, besides a personal estate of twenty thousand pounds, that his mother left him (4).

(1) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(2) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 137.

(3) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 264.

(4) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 94, 98.

[B] *These entertainments have found a place in General Histories.*] The first of these royal dinners seems to have been a thing of mere accident. His Majesty was going down to Scotland to be crowned, and in his way came to Worksop manor in Nottinghamshire, which being but two miles from his Lordship's house at Welbeck in the same county, he intreated his Majesty's visit to his house, and doing him the honour of dining there; which being accepted, he was entertained with such magnificence, that we are told it cost him between four and five thousand pounds (5). As to the second of these entertainments, there is some doubt about it, for we are told very positively, that it was given at the time the King marched against the rebels in Scotland (6); but in the account his Duchess has given of his life, she is very particular, and fixes it earlier by several years. For having given an account of the first, she says (7), 'That the King liked it so well, that a year after his return out of Scotland, he was pleased to send my Lord word, that her Majesty the Queen was resolved to make a progress into the Northern parts, desiring him to prepare the like entertainment for her, as he had formerly done for him: which my Lord did, and endeavoured for it with all possible care and industry, sparing nothing that might add splendour to that feast, which both their Majesties were pleased to honour with their presence. Ben Johnson, he employed in fitting such scenes and speeches as he could best devise, and sent for all the gentry of the country to come and wait on their Majesties; and, in short, did all that ever he could imagine to render it great, and worthy their Royal acceptance. This entertainment, he made at Bolesover-castle in Derbyshire, some five miles distant from Welbeck, and resigned Welbeck for their Majesty's lodging, it cost him in all between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds. Besides these two, there was another small entertainment, which my Lord had prepared for his late Majesty in his own park at Welbeck, when his Majesty came down with his two nephews, the now Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, into the forest of

(5) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 283.

(6) History of the Civil War, p. 157.

(7) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 139.

manner in which he expressed his warm affection for his Master. Such expeditions require great expences, and the King's treasury was but indifferently provided, for the supply of which, the Earl contributed ten thousand pounds (n), and also raised a troop of horse, consisting of about two hundred Knights and Gentlemen who served at their own charge; and this was honoured with the title of the Prince's troop (o). As much as these services might recommend him to the King, they rather heightened than lessened that envy borne to him by some great persons about the Court, of which the Earl of Holland, having given a stronger instance than his Lordship's patience could bear, he took notice of it in such a manner as contributed equally to sink his rival's reputation and to raise his own (p) [C]. The choice that had been made of his Lordship for the tuition of the Prince, which was at first so universally approved, began now to be called in question by those who meant very soon to call every thing in question, but the Earl was no sooner informed of it, than he very prudently resolved to do all that was in his power to prevent the King's having any trouble upon his account, and therefore desired to resign his office, which he did; and in June 1640 (q), it was given to the Marquis of Hertford. As his Lordship took this step from the knowledge he had of the ill will borne him by the chief persons amongst the disaffected, so he thought he could not take a better method to avoid the effects of their resentment, than to retire into the country; which accordingly he did, and remained there quietly till he received his Majesty's orders to visit Hull; and tho' these came at twelve o'clock at night, his Lordship went immediately thither, tho' forty miles distant, and entered the place with only two or three servants, early the next morning (r). He offered his Majesty to have secured for him that important fortress, and all the magazines that were there; but instead of receiving such a command as he expected, his Majesty sent him instructions to obey whatever directions were sent him by the Parliament; upon the heels of which came their order for him to attend the service of the house; which he accordingly did, when a design was formed to have attacked him, but his general character was so good, that this scheme was let fall (s). The Earl of Newcastle upon this, retired again into the country, having little pleasure in being at Court, when all things were visibly tending to confusion. He did not long however enjoy the repose he so earnestly sought; for upon the King's coming to York, his Lordship was sent for thither; and in June 1642, his Majesty gave him directions to take upon him the care of the town of Newcastle, and the command of the four adjacent counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham; these orders were easily issued, but they were not so easily to be carried into execution; for at this time, the King had not either money, forces, or ammunition, and yet there never was more apparent necessity, for at that juncture his Majesty had not a single port open in his dominions; and if either the order had been delayed a few days, or had been sent to any other person, the design had certainly miscarried (t). But, as soon as he received his Majesty's commands, he repaired immediately to the place, and by his own interest there secured it, he raised also a troop of one hundred and twenty horse, and a good regiment of foot, which secured him from any sudden attempts (u). Soon after, the Queen who was retired out of the kingdom, sent a supply of arms and ammunition, which being designed for the troops under the King's command, the Earl took care they should be speedily and safely conducted to his Majesty under the escort of his only troop, which his Majesty kept, to the great prejudice of his own affairs in the North (w). The Parliament, in the mean time, had not forgot the Earl's behaviour towards them, but as a mark of their resentment excepted him by name, which was so far from discouraging, that it put his Lordship upon taking brisker measures; and having well considered his own influence

(n) Life of William Duke of Newcastle by his Duchess, p. 7.

(o) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 929.

(p) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 42. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 930.

(q) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 46.

(r) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 8, 9.

(s) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 167.

(t) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 12, 13. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 223.

(u) History of the Civil War, p. 97.

(w) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 117.

'of Sherwood, which cost him fifteen hundred pounds. 'And this I mention, not out of a vain glory, but to 'declare the great love and duty my Lord had for his 'gracious King and Queen, and to correct the mis-'takes committed by some Historians, who not being 'rightly informed of those entertainments, make the 'world believe falshood for truth.' The noble Historian also takes up this matter in very strong terms, for he represents the frequent banquets and feastings the King met with on his road to Scotland in 1633, as very detrimental to the manners of the nation; and having taken notice of the entertainment given by the Earl of Newcastle on that occasion, he subjoins immediately this very extraordinary remark (8). 'But 'when he passed through Nottinghamshire, both King 'and Court were received and entertained by the Earl 'of Newcastle, and at his own proper expence, in such 'a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of feasting, 'as had scarce ever before been known in England, 'and would be still thought very prodigious, if the 'same noble person had not within a year or two after-'wards made the King and Queen a more stupendious 'entertainment, which (God be thanked) though possi-'bly it might too much whet the appetite of others 'to excess, no man ever after in those days imitated.'

(8) History of the Rebellion, p. 26.

[C] *To sink his rival's reputation and to raise his own.*] The troop which the Earl of Newcastle raised, was composed of about two hundred gentlemen, some possessed of two thousand pounds a year, some of one, and many of five hundred. This troop was stiled the Prince's, but the Earl commanded it as Captain (9), and when the army drew near Berwick, he sent Sir William Carnaby to the Earl of Holland, then General of the Horse, to know where his troop should march. His answer was next after the troops of the general officers. The Earl of Newcastle sent again to represent, that having the honour to march with the Prince's colours, he thought it not fit to march under any of the officers of the field (10); upon which the General of the Horse repeated his orders, and the Earl of Newcastle ordered the Prince's colours to be taken from the staff, and marched without any. When the service was over, the Earl sent Mr Francis Palmes with a challenge to the Earl of Holland, who consented to a place and hour of meeting; but when the Earl of Newcastle came thither, he found not his adversary but his second; the business having been disclosed to the King, by whose authority, says Clarendon, the matter was composed; but before that time, the Earl of Holland was never suspected to want courage.

(9) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 929.

(10) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 8.

[D] *There*

fluence in those parts, he offered to raise an army in the North, for his Majesty's service (x). In return to this, he received all that was in the King's power to give; which was a commission; constituting him General of all the forces raised North of Trent; and likewise General and Commander in Chief of such as might be raised in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Lancaster, Chester, Leicester, Rutland, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, with power to confer the honour of Knighthood, coin money, and to print and set forth such Declarations as should seem to him expedient; of all which extensive powers, tho' freely conferred, and without reserve, his Lordship made a very sparing use (y). But with respect to the more material point of raising men, his Lordship prosecuted it with such diligence, that in less than three months, he had an army of eight thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, with which he marched directly into Yorkshire, and his forces having defeated the enemy at Peirce-Bridge, his Lordship advanced to York, where Sir Thomas Glenham, the Governor, presented him with the keys, and the Earl of Cumberland and many of the Nobility resorted thither to compliment and to assist his Lordship (z). He did not long remain there, but having placed a good garrison in the city, marched on towards Tadcaster, where the Parliament forces were very advantagiously posted (a). The design which the Earl had formed, not only for reducing that place, but for making the troops that were there prisoners, failed, through the want of diligence in some of his officers; but notwithstanding this, his Lordship attacked the place so vigorously, that the enemy thought fit to retire, and leave him in possession of the best part of Yorkshire (b). This advantage he improved to the utmost, by establishing garrisons in proper places, particularly at Newark upon Trent, by which the greatest part of Nottinghamshire, and some part of Lincolnshire were kept in obedience (c). Thus ended the year 1642, when the King's affairs, under the direction of this noble Peer in the North, were in a fair and flourishing condition (d). In the beginning of 1643, his Lordship gave orders for a great convoy of ammunition to be removed from Newcastle to York, under the escort of a body of horse, commanded by Lieutenant-General King, a Scotch officer, whom his Majesty had lately created Lord Ethyn (e). The Parliament forces attempted to intercept this convoy at Yarum-Bridge, but were beaten on the first of February, with a great loss (f). Soon after this, her Majesty landing at Burlington, the Earl drew his forces that way to cover her journey to York, where she safely arrived on the seventh of March (g), and having pressing occasions for money, his Lordship presented her with three thousand pounds, and furnished an escort of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Lord Piercy, to conduct a supply of arms and ammunition to the King at Oxford, where he kept them for his own service (h). Not long after, Sir Hugh Cholmondley and Captain Brown Bushel were prevailed upon to return to their duty, and give up the important port and castle of Scarborough (i). This was followed by the routing Sir Thomas Fairfax on Seacroft, or as some call it Bramham-Moor, by Lord George Goring, then General of the Horse under the Earl, when about eight hundred of the enemy were taken prisoners (k); and this again made way for another victory gained on Tankersly-Moor (l). In the month of April, the Earl marched to reduce Rotheram, which he took by storm, and soon after Sheffield (m); but in the mean time, Lord Goring and Sir Francis Mackworth were surprized on the 21st of May at Wakefield, where the former and most of his men were made prisoners, which was a great prejudice to the service (n). In the same month, her Majesty went from York to Pomfret under the escort of the Earl's forces; and from thence she continued her journey to Oxford, with a body of seven thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, detached for that service by the Earl; and those forces likewise, the King kept about him (o). In the month of June, the Earl reduced Howly-house by storm; and on the thirtieth, gained a compleat victory over Sir Thomas Fairfax, tho' much superior to him in numbers on Adderton-Heath near Bradford, where the enemy had seven hundred men killed, and three thousand taken prisoners (p); and on the second of July following, Bradford surrended (q). The Earl advanced next into Lincolnshire, where he took Gainsborough and Lincoln, but was then recalled by the pressing sollicitations of the gentlemen of Yorkshire into that country, where Beverley surrendered to him on the twenty-eighth of August (r); and in the next month, his Lordship was prevailed upon to besiege Hull, the only place of consequence then held for the Parliament in those parts. Notwithstanding these important successes obtained by an army raised, and in a great measure kept up by his Lordship's personal influence and expence, there have not been wanting censures upon his conduct (s) [D]; of which however, his Majesty had so just a sense, that by letters Patents

(x) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(y) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 15.

(z) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 283.

(a) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 61.

(b) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 236.

(c) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 22.

(d) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 61.

(e) Heath's Chr. p. 43.

(f) Historian's Guide, p. 20.

(g) Heath's Chron. p. 43.

(h) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 24.

(i) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 63, 64.

(k) Historian's Guide, p. 20.

(l) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 25.

(m) Hist. of the Civil War, p. 355.

(n) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 67.

(o) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 27.

(p) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 68. Historian's Guide, p. 22.

(q) Heath's Chr. p. 27.

(r) Historian's Guide, p. 23.

(s) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 237, 245.

[D] *There have not been wanting censures upon his conduct.*] In such distracted times as these, when through private intrigues at Court, and the more open struggle of civil and religious factions in the nation, all things were thrown into confusion, it was no wonder, that let a man's character be what it would, he should be liable, either to groundless calumnies or to unjust reprehensions. It is said of this noble Peer (11), that he was a person who liked the title, power, splendour, attendance, and pomp, of a General and Commander in Chief; that he affected to render his army numerous by increasing the regiments, companies, and troops, of which it consisted, rather than by keeping a smaller number, and those substantial, which had been more advantagious for the service, as it would have been, if his garrisons had been fewer and stronger; that he was always jealous of his command, and equally afraid of it's being superseded or divided, which made him unwilling to march southward on any condition, and hindered him from joining the King, that his glory might not be eclipsed by that of Prince Rupert; that he not only maintained but affected to show his absolute independance

(11) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 403. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236, 243, 244, 245. Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 102. May's Hist. of the Parliament of Engl. l. iii. c. 4. Life of the Duke of Newcastle by his Duchess, p. 117, 120.

Patents dated the twenty-seventh of October, he advanced him to the dignity of Marquis of Newcastle; and in the preamble of his Patent, all his services are mentioned with suitable encomiums (*t*). That winter, the Earl marched into Derbyshire, and from thence to his own house at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, where he received the news of the Scots intending to enter England, which brought him back into Yorkshire, from whence he sent Sir Thomas Glenham to Newcastle, and himself for some time successfully opposed the Scots in the Bishoprick of Durham (*u*); but the forces he left behind under the command of Lord Bellasis at Selby, being routed (*w*); the Marquis found himself obliged to retire, in order, if possible, to preserve York; and this he did with so much military prudence, that he arrived there safely in the month of April 1644, and retaining his infantry and artillery in that city, sent his horse to quarter in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire for the sake of subsistance (*x*). The city was very soon blocked up by three armies, who quickly commenced a regular siege, and were once very near taking the place by storm; and at last, having lain before it three months, brought the garrison into great distress for want of provision; and if the Marquis had not very early had recourse to a settled and reasonable, but withal a slender and a short, allowance, had infallibly reduced it by famine (*y*). For tho' Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded the Marquis's horse, importuned the King for relief, yet it was the latter end of June before his Majesty could send a sufficient body, under the command of Prince Rupert, to join Sir Charles Lucas, and attempt the forcing the enemy to raise the siege; which however, upon their approach, they did, remaining on the West-side of the Owse, with all their forces, while the King's army advanced on the east side of the same river (*z*). By this quick and vigorous march, Prince Rupert had done his business, but, as is very well observed by a most judicious Historian of these times, he would needs over-do it, and not content with the honour of raising the siege of York by a confederate army much superior to his own, he was bent upon having the honour to beat that army also, and this brought on the fatal battle of Hessom, or, as it is more generally called, Marston-Moor (*a*), which was fought July 2, 1644, against the consent of the Marquis of Newcastle, who seeing the King's affairs totally undone thereby, made the best of his way to Scarborough, and from thence, with a few of the principal officers of his army, took shipping for Hamburgh (*b*). Thus the King's concerns in the North, that had prospered so well under the prudent conduct of the Marquis, were ruined in a day by an unaccountable fatality, which some ascribe to a slip of the Secretary's pen, and others, with greater appearance of truth, to the rashness of Prince Rupert (*c*) [*E*]. After staying about six months at Hamburgh, he went by sea to Amsterdam,

(*t*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*u*) Heath's Chr. p. 53.

(*w*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 43.

(*x*) Heath's Chron. p. 58.

(*y*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 45.

(*z*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 58.

(*a*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 279.

(*b*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 51.

(*c*) See this point explained in the note.

independance upon the Ministers and Privy-Council at Oxford, by following entirely his own conceptions, and treating their commands with an indifference bordering on contempt; in fine, that there was somewhat romantic in his spirit, as appeared from his writings, his conversation, and the company he kept; that his courage was of the razor kind, and bore too thin and sharp an edge; and that, upon the whole, he was a very fortunate General, but either through indolence or want of skill did not make the most of his good fortune. These, so far as I can judge, are the principal strokes of censure that have fallen upon this Nobleman's conduct; and after mentioning them, it seems to be a point of equity, to give the reader also some account of what the very same writers admit to have been fairly offered in his excuse, or rather in his justification. It is then allowed, that the noble person of whom we are speaking, was so far from seeking preferments, places, or power, that he declined all, and had retired into the country when the war broke out; and that he was drawn from this retirement by the respect that he thought due to his Master's positive commands, who sent him an extensive commission without his seeking it; and from these two weighty motives, first, that without a Commander in Chief acting by such a commission, the North could not be preserved; and secondly, that he had no subject in his dominions to whom this commission could be given, but this noble Lord to whom it was sent. That as he quitted his security, ease, and wonted course of life, and exposed his person, ruined his fortune, and engaged his family and friends from the mere principles of loyalty; so his own noble disposition lead him to believe, that such as professed the same sentiments that he did, would exert themselves in the same manner, which induced him to multiply corps, and to give out so many commissions; and tho' the consequence of this conduct might speak it impolitick, yet, his Lordship's condition considered, it was not at all imprudent; for if those whom he trusted had fulfilled their engagements, all had gone well; and considering the quality of the persons trusted, and their capacity of discharging their trusts, and the interest they had in discharging them, the errors they committed were such as he could not foresee, and for which therefore he ought not to be brought to account. That as the army he commanded was entirely of his own raising, kept together chiefly by his influence, and not easy to be maintained in any quarters but those which he assigned them, it was very natural for him, more especially considering how necessary that army was to the defence of the North, to act as he did. We ought likewise to consider, that when he sent his only troop of horse to Oxford, it was kept there; when he sent an escort of fifteen hundred men, they were likewise kept; as the army also was, which was sent to conduct the Queen with a train of artillery; so that he could not be said with truth to act upon a narrow plan, and perhaps it might be said with truth, that if he had kept the last mentioned body, it had been better both for himself and the King. That the Ministers at Oxford were very far from giving the King right advice, is generally allowed; that the orders sent to this Nobleman were inconsistent with the King's service in those parts where his Lordship acted, may be presumed; and therefore, that he did not hurt his Majesty's service by obeying them, ought not to be esteemed a crime. Lastly, as to his courage, it is fairly allowed, that upon several occasions, when all things seemed to be lost, they were retrieved by his signally exposing his person, and engaging others to imitate his example; and tho' this may be called romantic, by persons of a more phlegmatic temper, yet such as consider it attentively will hardly be brought to account it rashness.

[*E*] *To the rashness of Prince Rupert.*] The accounts we have of this battle from several authors are in many respects irreconcileable, and some of their principal circumstances contradictory to each other. We have not either room or leisure to treat the matter at large, and shall therefore content ourselves with representing clearly those circumstances that regard the Marquis. He had thrown himself into York, and thereby hazarded his person for the preservation of that important place, and did preserve it by taking this step, tho' besieged by three great armies, and those commanded by Generals of great reputation, (*viz.* the Scots

Amsterdam, and from thence made a journey to Paris, where he continued for some time; and where, notwithstanding the vast estate he had when the Civil War broke out, his circumstances were now so bad, that himself, and his young wife, were reduced to the pawning their cloaths for a dinner (*d*). He removed afterwards to Antwerp, that he might be nearer his own country; and there, though under very great difficulties, he resided for several years, while the Parliament in the mean time levied prodigious sums upon his estate, insomuch, that the computation of what he lost by the disorders of those times, though none of the particulars can be disproved, amount in the whole to a sum that is almost incredible (*e*) [*F*]. All these hardships and misfortunes never broke his spirit in the least, which was chiefly owing to his great foresight, for as he plainly perceived after the battle of Marston-Moor, that the affairs of Charles I. were irrecoverably undone; so he discerned through the thickest clouds of King Charles IId's adversity, that he would be infallibly restored (*f*); and as he had predicted the Civil War to the father before it began, so he gave the strongest assurance to the son of his being called home, by addressing to him a treatise upon Government and the Interests of Great Britain, with respect to the other powers of Europe, which he wrote at a time, when the hopes of those about his Majesty scarce rose so high as the Marquis's expectations (*g*). During this long exile of eighteen years, in which he suffered so many and so great hardships, this worthy Nobleman wanted not some consolations, that were particularly such to one of his high and generous spirit. He was, notwithstanding his low and distressed circumstances, treated with the highest

(*d*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 56.

(*e*) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 672.

(*f*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 83.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 135.

Scots under Lesley, the Northern army under Fairfax, and the forces of the associated counties under Manchester, seconded by Cromwell (12). When assistance from the King was sollicited by the Marquis of Newcastle, he was so far from having any disgust to the person of Prince Rupert, that the noble Historian tells us, he wrote to the King that he hoped his Majesty would not doubt his obeying the grandson of King James (13). When the city was relieved, Lord Clarendon tells us, that the Prince engaged the enemy without consulting the Marquis, but there is good reason to suspect, that he was misinformed. We are else where told (14), that the Marquis repaired to the Prince and advised him not to fight, for two reasons, each of them so weighty, that, considered singly, they might have justified his Highness's taking that Lord's advice. The first was, that if he did not attempt beating the enemy into good humour with each other, they would infallibly break and retire several ways; the misunderstandings between their Generals being come to such a height, that nothing could save them from ruin but a battle. The second was, that his own troops having been so long shut up, were not in the best order for fighting, that within two days he expected Colonel Clavering with a reinforcement of three thousand men, and two thousand more that were to be collected from other garrisons; and farther still, that the enemy had all advantages of sun, wind, and ground. His Highness answered, that he had the King's positive command to fight the enemy, which therefore he would obey. In consequence of this, there was some discourse had with other officers as to the order and disposition of the army; when these were adjusted, the Marquis asked his Highness where he would be pleased to have him charge; to which the Prince returned, that it was then too late to think of action, and that he would delay fighting till next morning, for which reason he advised the Marquis to go to his rest. He went accordingly to sleep in his coach, being exceedingly fatigued, but he had hardly composed himself a little, before he heard the thunder of cannon and small arms, the battle being begun, so that he had only time to put himself at the head of his own regiment, where it is agreed, that both he and his troops did wonders. Prince Rupert charged at the head of the left wing, where Newcastle's horse were under the command of Lord Goring, and they beat the Scots and Lord Fairfax's horse, and pursued them ten miles (15); but in the mean time, Prince Rupert's horse that were on the right of the King's army were beaten, and the Marquis's foot being thus uncovered, Cromwell with his reserve came down upon them, and tho' they stood like a wall, yet they were mowed down like a meadow, as my author has it (16). At last, the Marquis's foot threw themselves into a ring, and disclaiming all thoughts of safety, refused quarter, and having slain more than had fallen in the whole action beside, were themselves to a man destroyed (17). The noble Historian (18), seems to blame the Marquis for quitting the kingdom so precipitately, but it is to be observed, that he, or rather the Prince, had lost for him not a battle only but his army, for the Prince kept his horse, and all the foot were cut off. The enemies Generals were pretty well reconciled by the victory, which put them in possession of the open country, and soon after of the city of York. The Marquis's money was entirely exhausted, and the only thing he had in his power, was to escape with the Lord Ethyn, Lord Falconbridge, Sir Hugh Cholmondley, and others of his friends, whose circumstances had they been taken, would have been as desperate as his own (19). It seems therefore, that what the Marquis did was purely from necessity, and no man in a shipwreck was ever yet blamed for securing himself upon the first plank.

[*F*] *To a sum that is almost incredible.*] When one considers, that this noble person was the son of Sir William Cavendish's youngest son, and therefore inherited from his grandfather such an establishment only, as out of his fortune he could make for one child out of many, it will appear strange, and yet it is certainly true, that at the breaking out of the Civil War, the Earl of Newcastle had one of the best estates in England (20). His grandmother, the Countess of Shrewsbury, left him her third husband's Sir William St Lowe's estate, which amounted to above fifteen hundred pounds a year. His mother, the Lady Ogle, left him three thousand pounds a year, and twenty thousand pounds in money. His first wife was an heiress, and brought him two thousand four hundred pounds a year, besides a jointure of eight hundred pounds a year for her life. But without entring into farther particulars, it appears that his estates as they were let in the year 1641, in the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby, Stafford, Gloucester, Somerset, York, and Northumberland, produced twenty-two thousand three hundred and ninety-three pounds a year, besides which, by the death of his brother, he inherited an estate of two thousand pounds a year more. All these fell at once into the hands of the Parliament, and brought no profit whatsoever to him for the space of eighteen years, and in that time the Parliament took every method possible to make the most of them. They cut down woods upon seven of his estates to the value of forty-five thousand pounds. They took from his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, by way of composition, five thousand pounds, after receiving all his rents for eight years; and in 1652, they disposed of the whole Newcastle estate at the rate of five years and a half's purchase, by which they raised 111,593*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* at once; besides this, all his houses were plundered and ruined, and the furniture either stolen or sold, his stock of corn, cattle, &c. which was of great value, went the same way, as did also his excellent breed of horses, which were his principal delight, and which were esteemed as good as any in Europe. His parks were treated in like manner, so that at his return there was hardly a deer or tree left in, nay, scarce a pale about them. But to cut this matter short, we shall only add, that from a computation of these particulars it is affirmed, that the loss sustained by his Grace was rather over than under 733,579*l* (21).

(12) Hist. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 121. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 278. Heath's Chron. p. 58, 59. Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 101, 102.

(13) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 404.

(14) Life of the Duke of Newcastle by his Duchess, p. 46, 47, 48.

(15) Hist. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 121. Heath's Chron. p. 58. Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 101, 102.

(16) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 280.

(17) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 49. Heath's Chron. p. 61.

(18) Hist of the Rebellion, p. 402, 403, 404.

(19) Heath's Chron. p. 61. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 120. Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 102.

(20) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 89, 107.

(21) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

highest respect, and with the most extraordinary marks of distinction, by the persons entrusted with the government of the countries where he resided (*h*). He received the high compliment, of having the keys of the cities he passed through in the Spanish dominions offered him, he was visited by Don John of Austria, and by several Princes of Germany (*i*). But what comforted him most, was the company very frequently of his royal Master, who, in the midst of his sufferings, bestowed upon him the most noble Order of the Garter (*k*). At length this dark period came to an end, and as he shared his exile, so he shared in the blessings of his Majesty's Restoration (*l*). On his return to England, he was received with all the respect due to his unshaken fidelity and important services, and, as a mark of the royal favour, was constituted Chief Justice in Eyre of the counties north of Trent (*m*); and, by letters patents dated the sixteenth of March 1664, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Ogle and Duke of Newcastle (*n*). He spent the remainder of his life, for the most part, in a country retirement, and in the pursuit of those studies which he most affected [*G*]. He also employed a great part of his time in repairing the injuries which his fortune had received from the malignity of the times, and, equally full of years and of glory, died in possession of the greatest honours and the fairest reputation, December 25, 1676, in the eighty-fourth year of his age (*o*). His Grace was twice married, but had issue only by his first Lady, of which the reader will find an account in the notes (*p*) [*H*]. His body lies interred, with that of his Duchess, under a most

(*h*) Ibid. p. 79.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 59, 79.

(*k*) Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 71.

(*l*) Kennet's Chron. p. 890.

(*m*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 138.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*o*) See the inscription on his monument in Westminster-abbey.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

[*G*] *And in the pursuit of those studies which he most affected.*] This noble person was celebrated for his love to the Muses from his youth, and tho' he thought so closely when he was disposed on the most serious subjects, that the famous Mr Hobbes, who was known to be not over fond of other men's notions, yet adopted some of his as his own, he was rather inclined to amuse himself with lighter topicks, and was the great patron of the wits in the reign of King Charles I. This humour of his has drawn upon him the censure of some grave men; Lord Clarendon mentions this, yet with decency (22); but Sir Philip Warwick loses all patience, and thinks it sufficient to ruin this great General's character, that he appointed Sir William Davenant, a Poet, his Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance (23), as if it was not possible for a man to have a turn to poetry, and a capacity for any thing else at the same time. It is a wonder he did not point out another slip in this noble Lord's conduct of the same kind, I mean his making the Rev. Mr Hudson, Scout Master-General of the army, who yet was an excellent master of his trade and a very able Divine; besides (24), all the world knows, Mr Chillingworth, in argument, battered the Papal Church with very great success, which however did not hinder his serving as an Engineer in the Royal army with great reputation (25). The truth is, that this worthy Nobleman living always magnificently, and having a great kindness for men of merit, never wanted them about him, and never failed to employ them the best he could. The famous Ben Johnson was one of his first favourites, and he addressed to him a very fine copy of verses, which may be seen in his works (26). Mr Shadwell was one of the last, and he made his acknowledgments to his Grace in more than one Dedication (27). In the busy scenes of life, it doth not appear that this noble Lord suffered his thoughts to stray so far from his employments as to write any thing; but in his exile, resuming his old taste of breaking and managing horses, than which there could not be a more manly or martial exercise, he thought fit to give the world his sentiments upon a subject which nobody knew better, and if we may credit what the best writers (28) on this head have since delivered, there is no great danger of any body's ever understanding it better. His first treatise he published in French; his second near ten years after; their titles run thus:

La Methode nouvelle des Dresser les Chevaux avec Figures. i. e. The new Method for managing Horses with cuts. Antwerp 1658, in fol. This book was first written in English; and afterwards by his Lordship's directions translated into French by a Walloon; and was till within these few years very scarce and dear.

A new Method and extraordinary Invention to dress Horses, and work them according to Nature; as also to perfect Nature by the Subtlety of Art. fol. London 1667. The latter, as the Duke informs his reader, 'Is neither a translation of the first, nor an 'absolute necessary addition to it; and may be of 'use without the other, as the other hath been hither-'to, and still is, without this; but both together will 'questionless do best.' A noble edition of this work has been of late years printed in this kingdom.

(22) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 403.

(23) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236.

(24) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. B. ix. p. 6—45.

(25) See his Life written by Mr Des Maizeaux.

(26) Underwood, p. 223.

(27) See his Dedications prefixed to his Epsom Wells, and to the Libertine.

(28) See M. de Soliel's Preface to his Le parfait Marefchal.

In his exile, he wrote also two Comedies, *viz.*

The Country Captain, a Comedy. Printed at Antwerp 1649; afterwards presented by his Majesty's servants at Black-Fryars, and very much commended by Mr Leigh.

Variety, a Comedy, presented by his Majesty's servants at Black-Fryars; and first printed in 1649, and generally bound with the Country Captain. It was also highly commended in a copy of verses by Mr Alexander Brome.

He has likewise written

The Humorous Lovers, a Comedy, acted by his Royal Highness's servants. London 1677, 4*to*. This was received with great applause, and esteemed one of the best plays of that time.

The triumphant Widow: or the medley of Humours, a Comedy, acted by his Royal Highness's servants. London 1677, 4*to*. which pleased Mr Shadwell so well, that he transcribed a part of it into his *Bury Fair*, one of the most taking plays wrote by that Poet Laureat. His Grace wrote in Johnson's manner, and is allowed by the best judges not to have been inferior to his master. We have many other pieces written by this ingenious Nobleman scattered up and down in the poems of his Duchess; all which seem to confirm the character given by Mr Shadwell; 'That he was the 'greatest master of wit, the most exact observer of 'mankind, and the most accurate judge of humour 'that ever he knew (29).'

[*H*] *Will find an account in the notes.*] This noble Peer, as has been observed in the text, married two wives. The first was Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of William Bassett of Blore in the county of Stafford, Esq; widow of the Honourable Mr Henry Howard, younger son to Thomas, Earl of Suffolk (30), by whom his Lordship had three sons, and as many daughters, *viz.* William, who died young; Charles, Viscount Mansfield, who served under his father in the Civil War in quality of Master of the Ordnance, he married the daughter of Richard Rogers of Brianston in the county of Dorset, Esq; but died in his father's life-time without issue; Henry, Earl of Ogle, who survived his father and inherited his honours, and of whose posterity we shall speak in the next note. His Grace's daughters were these, Lady Jane, married to Charles Cheney of Chesham Boys in the county of Bucks, Esq; Lady Elizabeth, to John, Earl of Bridgwater; Lady Frances, to Oliver, Earl of Bolingbroke. His second wife was Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lucas of Colchester, Esq; and sister to John Lord Lucas, and to the famous Sir Charles Lucas, who was shot at Colchester for his fidelity to his Royal Master, by whom he had no issue (31). She lies buried with him at Westminster-Abbey; was the constant companion of his exile abroad, and of his retirement at home. She was a woman of great wit, and some learning, for besides the life of the Duke and her own, she wrote a great number of folio's, and published six and twenty plays; in several of which, there are scenes and songs written by the Duke. It must be owned, that in many of these pieces there is much extravagance, and more of fancy than of judgment in them all; but at the same

(29) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p. 387.

(30) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 422.

(31) See the inscription on their monument in Westminster-abbey.

a most noble monument at the entrance into Westminster-abbey, with an inscription suitable to his merits (q). His titles descended to his son Henry, Earl of Ogle, who was the last heir male of this family, and died July 26, 1691, in whom the title of Newcastle, in the line of Cavendish, extinguished. But his daughters married into some of the noblest families of this kingdom, as the reader will see at the bottom of this article [I].

(q) Antiquities of St Peter's Westminster, Vol. II. p. 14.

same time it should be considered, that this was in a good measure owing to the humour of the age, and to her having lived so long abroad.

[I] *Will see at the bottom of this article.*] Henry Cavendish, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Newcastle, &c. espoused Frances, eldest daughter to William Pierpoint of Thoresby in the county of Nottingham, second son to the Earl of Kingston, by whom he had one son, Henry, Earl of Ogle (32), who died in his father's life-time, and five daughters, *viz.* Lady Elizabeth, married to Christopher Monk, Duke of Albemarle; and secondly, to Ralph, Duke of Montagu; Lady Frances, married to John Campbell, then Lord Glenorchy, now Earl of Broadalbin; Lady Margaret, married to John Holles, Earl of Clare, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, by whom she left issue one sole daughter and heir, the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, married to Edward, late Earl of Oxford; Lady Catherine, married to Thomas Tufton Earl of Thanet; Lady Arabella, youngest daughter, married to Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (33). E

(32) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 422.

(33) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

CAVENDISH (CHARLES) brother to William the third, and son to William the second, Earl of Devonshire. He was born at London May 20, 1620, and his Majesty being his godfather gave him the name of Charles (a). His genius being quick and lively, and at the same time very penetrating and solid, he was, according to the method established in this noble family, put into a strict and regular method of education; and when he was thoroughly seasoned with the principles of useful knowledge, he was sent abroad with a Governor about 1638, to polish the learning he had acquired at home, by seeing the world abroad (b). He went first to Paris, and that great city ringing at that time with the fame of the siege of Luxemburgh, which it was thought the French army nigh that place would make, the martial genius of our young traveller prompted him to steal thither, from whence his Governor, with some difficulty, brought him back to his studies in Paris (c). The next year he made the tour of Italy, when he visited and made some stay at Naples, Rome, and Venice, from which last city, in the spring of the next year, he embarked for Constantinople, leaving his Governor and English servants behind him. When he had satisfied his curiosity in viewing that famous capital of the Turkish empire, he made a journey by land through Natolia, and having seen whatever was worth seeing there, embarked for Alexandria, and travelled from thence to Grand Cairo. All the wonders of Egypt surveyed, he returned once more to Alexandria, took his passage in a ship bound for Malta, proceeded from thence by sea to Spain, then traversing part of that kingdom and of France, returned safely to Paris, and after some short stay there, came back to England in May 1641 (d). He appeared at Court with the greatest advantages possible; he had a fine person, a sprightly wit, a deep judgment, a generous spirit, a disinterested loyalty, and a nice sense of honour. These shining qualities made him equally the favourite of the King and Queen, and the darling of the people. He had a strong passion for arms, and his mother, the Countess Dowager of Devonshire, willing to gratify him, had thoughts of purchasing Lord Goring's regiment of foot, then in the Dutch service, and to qualify him for this command, he made the campaign that summer in the Prince of Orange's army, from whence he returned in the month of November (e). Upon his coming back, he found there was no necessity of seeking employment for his martial talents in strange climates, the hard necessity of the times having unhappily naturalized them to his own. He repaired to York and offered his service to the King, in whose own troop he rode, under the command of Lord Bernard Stuart, brother to the Duke of Richmond and a kinsman of his own, in which situation we find him, Octob. 23, 1642, at the battle of Edge-Hill. It was of this troop, and upon that occasion, that his Majesty said, *That the fortunes of those who composed it, would buy the estates of the Lord Essex, and of all the officers in his army* (f). So little it seems of property there was amongst those who made so much noise about it. In this battle Mr Cavendish so much distinguished himself, that the Lord Aubigny who commanded the Duke of York's troop being killed in the action, he was preferred to that post as the reward of his service (g). He did not continue long in that station, but laid hold of the first opportunity to convert his troop into a regiment for the King's service, and this brought him into the North, and under the command of his cousin the Marquis of Newcastle [A]. In this part of the

(a) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family, p. 85.

(b) Memoirs of the Life of Col. Cavendish, MS.

(c) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family, p. 90.

(d) Life of Christian Countess of Devonshire, p. 47.

(e) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family, ubi supra.

(f) Life of the Countess of Devonshire, p. 49.

(g) Life of Col. Cavendish, MS.

[A] *Of his cousin the Marquis of Newcastle.*] The best account we have of this matter occurs in the work of one of the Historians of this noble family, and therefore it will be proper to give it in the author's own words (1). 'This troop was soon after put into the Prince of Wales's regiment, wherein the superior officer put some thing on Captain Cavendish which he thought an indignity, and therefore he desired his Majesty to assign him one thousand pounds (which his own brother the Earl of Devonshire had presented to the King) promising, that if his Majesty would be pleased to let him have the Duke of York's troop out of the Prince of Wales's regiment, he would go into the North and raise the Duke a compleat regiment of horse before the army could take the field; to which the King consented, assuring him the honour of being Colonel of his new regiment. In order to compleat it, he accepted of Thomas Markham, Esq; to be his Lieutenant-Colonel, and Mr Tuke for the Captain of his first troop, and took his head quarters at Newark, keeping under many of the rebel garrisons at Nottingham, and other neighbouring parts, and by degrees became master of the whole country; so that the King's Commissioners for Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire desired his leave to petition the King that he might have the com- mand

(1) Life of the Countess of Devon, by Mr Pomfret, p. 49, 50.

the world he prospered greatly, and being informed that the Parliament garrison at Grantham very much incommoded the adjacent country, he marched thither, attacked, reduced it, made prisoners three hundred and fifty men with their officers, and then demolished it (*h*). Other actions he performed of less importance, and being declared Lieutenant-General of the horse, was employed by the Marquis of Newcastle, to escort the Queen in her journey to Newark, which with great credit he performed. Her Majesty recollected him at first sight, told him very graciously that she saw him last in Holland, and was glad to meet him again in England, and the first night, when Major Tuke came for the word, her Majesty was pleased to give CAVENDISH (*i*). At Dunnington he had some advantage over the Parliament's forces, and was very active on that side; but that he marched with her Majesty to Oxford, as most writers say, is hard to believe, her Majesty, in her own letter, affirming directly the contrary, and that, at the request of the gentry of the country, much against his own will, she left him behind, with two thousand foot, and twenty troops of horse (*k*). Upon his having this command, and being informed that a great body of the enemy's troops were at Gainsborough, which they had surprized, and had made themselves masters of the Earl of Kingston's person, Lieutenant-General Cavendish immediately marched that way, and in their passage had rescued the Earl of Kingston, if an unfortunate shot, hastily fired, had not most unluckily killed him, in the cabin of the vessel, in which they were carrying him down the Trent to Hull (*l*). This seemed to be an omen of the misfortunes that quickly followed, for on July 30, 1643, General Cavendish attacked a great body of the Parliament forces under Cromwell, and being over-powered was forced to a retreat, which the Lieutenant-General covered with a small body of reserve, and made a noble defence, till, by the superiority of numbers, and weight of the enemy's cavalry, they were forced into a bog, and there, after quitting his horse, and dangerously wounded, this gallant man lost his life, throwing his blood in the faces of his enemies, as despising and disdaining quarter at their hands (*m*), though, by some writers, this is differently reported [*B*]. His body was carried to Newark, where the

(*h*) Historians Guide, p. 20.

(*i*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle by his Duchess, p. 34.

(*k*) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 274.

(*l*) Heath's Chr. p. 53.

(*m*) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

'mand of all the forces of their two counties in 'quality of Colonel-General; which he complied 'with; and the King granted.'

[*B*] *Tho' by some writers this is differently reported.*] We have several accounts of this gentleman's death so little corresponding with each other, that it requires an extraordinary degree of attention to find out the truth. In Heath's Chronicle, the story is told at large, in these words (2): 'Some of Lord Willoughby's 'forces at Gainsborough, had surprized the Earl of 'Kingston, father to the Marquis of Dorchester, and 'brought him thither, whence for better security of 'his person, which was of great concernment to the 'King's affairs thereabout, they resolved to send him 'to Hull. In the way thither, Colonel Cavendish, 'brother to the Earl of Devonshire, with a party pur-'sued the pinnace to a shallow which it could not 'pass, and demanded her and the Earl's surrender; 'which being refused, a drake was discharged, which 'unhappily killed the said Earl and one of his servants, 'being placed on purpose on the deck to deter the 'Royalists from shooting, whereupon they presently 'struck sail and yielded, but with a just revenge were 'all sacrificed to the ghost of that most loyal and noble 'Peer. Notice of this party and their design being 'given to the garrison, a sufficient number under Colonel 'White, a Lincolnshire gentleman, were hastened to 'relieve the boat or recover it if taken; who accord-'ingly encountred with the Royalists, and being too 'many for them, this valiant personage was forced to 'take the Trent with his horse, which swam him safe 'to the other side, but there stuck in the owze and 'mud; and as soon as the Colonel had got ashore off 'his horse's back, the enemy was come round by the 'ford, and seeing him desperately wounded, offered him 'quarter; which he magnanimously refusing, and 'throwing his blood he wiped off his face among 'them, was killed out right upon the place.' Much to the same purpose is the story told us by Lloyd (3), only heightened a little by his declamatory way of delivering himself upon all occasions. The Duchess of Newcastle has a very exact and very succinct relation of this unfortunate accident (4), which I mention the rather because it shews the credit due to the facts set down in those Memoirs, which are more accurately related than is commonly imagined. 'The forces, '*says she*, which my Lord had in the county of Lincoln 'commanded by the then Lieutenant-General of the 'horse Mr Charles Cavendish, second brother to the 'then Earl of Devonshire, though they had timely 'notice and orders from my Lord to make their re-'treat to the Lieutenant-General of the army, and not 'to fight the enemy, yet the said Lieutenant-General 'of horse being transported by his courage (he being 'a person of great valour and conduct) and having 'charged the enemy, unfortunately lost the field, and 'himself was slain in the charge, his horse lighting in 'a bog. Which news being brought to my Lord 'when he was on his march, he made all the haste he 'could, and was no sooner joined with his Lieutenant-'General, but he fell upon the enemy and put them to 'flight.' After all, Cromwell's own letter to the Com-'mittee of the associated counties at Cambridge, dated from Huntington, July 31, 1643, to which place he had been driven by Newcastle, gives the fullest account of this matter, and which deserves most credit as being written by an eye-witness. After having related the manner in which he collected a body of troops for the relief of Gainsborough, his arrival there, and beating the van-guard of this body of horse, he proceeds in these words (5): 'I perceiving this body, which was the 'reserve, standing still unbroken, kept back my Major 'Whaley from the chase, and with my own troop 'and the other of my regiment, in all being three 'troops, we got into a body: *in this reserve* stood 'General Cavendish, who one while *faced* me, another 'while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which was 'all of ours that stood upon the place, the rest being 'engaged in the chase. At last, General Cavendish 'charged the Lincolneers, and routed them; immediate-'ly I fell on his rear with my three troops, which 'did so astonish him, that he gave over the chase 'and would fain have delivered himself from me, but I 'pressing on forced them down a hill, having good ex-'ecution of them, and below the hill drove the General 'with some of his soldiers into a quagmire, where my 'Captain-Lieutenant *slew him with a thrust under his* '*short ribs*, the rest of the body was wholly routed, 'not one man staying upon the place.' Another writer (6) assures us, that it was Colonel Bury who murdered this brave young gentleman in cold blood after quarter given, and that he made himself dear to Cromwell by this and some other acts of cruelty. We are told by some writers, that among the valuable papers collected by Dr Moor, Bishop of Ely, there were several of this gentleman's, which showed him to have very deep skill in some parts of the Mathematicks (7). But I doubt, there is a mistake in this, and that these papers did not belong to him but to Sir Charles Cavendish, the Duke of Newcastle's younger brother, of whom the noble Historian (8) gives this character; *That he was a man of the noblest and largest mind, tho' the least and most inconvenient body that lived*, and of whose great skill in the Mathematicks, we are able to produce

(2) Heath's Chr. p. 53, 54.

(3) Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

(4) Life of the Duke of Newcastle by his Duchess, p. 33, 34.

(5) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 278.

(6) Pomfret's Li[fe] of the Counte[ss] of Devon, p. 5[?]

(7) Collins's Pee[r]age of Englan[d] Vol. I. p. 152.

(8) Clarendon History of t[he] Rebellion, p. 40

the people expressed their tenderness and concern for him, by keeping it above ground for several days, till they could give some vent to their grief, after which it was interred, and, thirty years after, upon his mother's death, removed to Derby, and buried under the same tomb with her (n). It was very remarkable, that, though at so great a distance of time, the lamentations of the people at Newark broke out a-fresh, and the whole town was in tears upon the removing of his corps, as if he had been but just dead (o). But, after all, the noblest tribute paid to the memory of this great and gallant young man, is the epitaph, or rather elegiac verses, of the celebrated Mr Waller (p); which the reader, without doubt, will be well pleased to find in the notes [C], more especially, as it plainly shews, how much Cromwell valued himself upon delivering his party from the arms of this hero; who, after a life short in duration, but full of glory, slept thus in the bed of honour.

(n) Life of the Countess of Devon, p. 92.

(o) Idem, ibid.

(p) Waller's Poems, p. 209.

produce more testimonies than one (9), which makes it probable that these papers were his.

(9) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 74. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I, p. 673.

[C] *To find in the notes.*] The chief reason for giving place to this poem here is, because the reader, from the perusal of the foregoing article, will enter more clearly and fully into the sense of it, and discern perfectly the force of Mr Waller's historical application; which is at once, as judicious, as it is elegant and poetical (10).

(10) Waller's Poems, p. 209.

On the death of Colonel Charles Cavendish.

Here lies CHARLES CA'NDISH: let the marble stone,
That hides his ashes, make his virtues known.
Beauty, and valour, did his short life grace;
The grief, and glory, of his noble race!
Early abroad he did the world survey,
As if he knew he had not long to stay:
Saw what great ALEXANDER in the East,
And mighty JULIUS conquer'd in the West.
Then, with a mind as great as theirs, he came
To find at home occasion for his fame:
Where dark confusion did the nation hide;
And where the juster, was the weaker side.
Two loyal brothers took their Sov'reign's part,
Employ'd their wealth, their courage, and their art:
The elder did whole regiments afford;
The younger brought his conduct and his sword.
Born to command, a leader he begun,
And on the rebels lasting honour won:
The horse instructed by their General's worth,
Still made the King victorious in the North:
Where CA'NDISH fought, the Royalists prevail'd;
Neither his courage, nor his judgment, fail'd;
The current of his vict'ries found no stop,
'Till CROMWELL came, his party's chiefest prop.
Equal success had set these champions high,
And both resolve to conquer or to die:
Virtue with rage, fury with valour strove;
But, that must fall which is decreed above!
CROMWELL, with odds of number, and of fate,
Remov'd this bulwark of the Church and State:
Which the sad issue of the war declar'd,
And made his task, to ruin both, less hard.
So, when the bank neglected is o'erthrown,
The boundless torrent does the country drown.
Thus fell the young, the lovely, and the brave;
Strew bays, and flowers, upon his honour'd grave!

E

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) the first Duke of Devonshire, one of the ablest Statesmen, and most distinguished Patriots of his time. He was born January 25, 1640, and educated with all the care due to his high birth, and the great hopes excited by the pregnancy of his parts (a). When he was of a fit age to make the tour of Europe, he was sent abroad under the care of Dr Killegrew, who was afterwards Master of the Savoy, a gentleman perfectly skilled in polite literature, who gave his noble pupil a true relish of the classick writers, and contributed in other respects to form that fine taste, for which this nobleman became afterwards distinguished (b). His Lordship was one of the four Peers eldest sons, that bore up King Charles IId's train at his coronation in 1661 (c), and the same year he was elected one of the Knights for the county of Derby, and continued a member of that which was called the Long Parliament till it was dissolved (d). Sept. 21, 1663, he was created Master of Arts in the university of Oxford, by the special command of the Chancellor (e). In 1665 he went a voluntier, and exposed his person extreamly in his attendance upon the Duke, who commanded the British navy that year (f). In the spring of the year 1669, he accompanied his intimate friend Mr Mountague in his embassy to France, and being accidentally at the Opera at Paris, met with an adventure, which, though it endangered his life, gained him a very high reputation (g) [A]. In 1677 he distinguished himself in the House of Commons, by a vigorous opposition of the Court measures; and, the year following, was very instrumental in forwarding an enquiry into the Popish plot, and was also of the Committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment (h) against the Lord High-Treasurer Danby. He was chosen Knight of the shire for the county of Derby, in the Parliament which met in the spring of the year 1679 (i), and, together with his inseparable friend Lord Russel, he was named of that Privy

(a) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(c) Baker's Chr. p. 738.

(d) Parliamentary Register, p. 74.

(e) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 154.

(f) Compleat Hist. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 255.

(g) Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 70.

(h) Journal of the House of Commons, p. 189, 195, 196.

(i) Parliamentary Register, p. 74.

[A] *Gained him a very high reputation.*] This accident, we are told, happened thus (1): Three officers of the French King's guard came full of wine upon the stage, and one of them coming up to him with a very insulting question, his Lordship gave him a smart stroke on the face; upon which they all drew, and pushed at him very hard. Lord Cavendish setting his back against one of the scenes, defended himself very stoutly, notwithstanding he had received several wounds, till at length a sturdy Swiss, belonging to the Lord Embassador Mountague, caught him up in his arms and threw him over into the pit. In his fall, his arm catched upon an iron spike, and was grievously torn. The officers were by the King's orders sent to prison, where they remained, till by his Lordship's intercession they were discharged. Sir William Temple wrote him a very handsome letter upon this occasion, dated July 18, 1669 (2), from the Hague, in which he compliments him highly upon his courage, and tells him, that the Dutch thought a thing *of this kind could happen* no where but in France, *or at least would have been* suffered no where else *without the rest of the company's* interposing, which is a severe but just remark upon that nation.

(1) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, p. 117, 118.

(2) Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 70.

Privy Council of whom the King gave this character, *That they were men whose known abilities, interests, and esteem, in the nation, rendered them above all suspicion of mistaking or betraying the true interest of the kingdom* (k). He acted in this high station with the same firmness as in Parliament, till finding his attendance ineffectual, in conjunction with the Lord Russel, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr Powle, he desired leave to withdraw (l). He was again elected Knight of the shire for Derby, in that Parliament, which, after many prorogations, met upon the 21st of October, 1680 (m), and distinguished himself therein, by a firm adherence to those measures which he thought most conducive to the welfare of the nation, and the safety of the Protestant religion (n). In that sessions, he carried up to the Lords an impeachment against the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, for his arbitrary and illegal proceedings in the Court of King's-Bench, and made two famous speeches on the subject of the Exclusion Bill, to which he was a hearty friend (o). He represented the same county for which he had been chosen in three former Parliaments, in that held at Oxford (p), and behaved there with the same steadiness and zeal; but as his Lordship well understood the nature of our excellent constitution, so he was as careful in avoiding whatever might injure it, by overstraining the privileges of Parliament, as watchful over the encroachments of prerogative, and therefore, though no man spoke more freely in the House of Commons than he did, yet never any Member was more careful in avoiding any harshness or indecency (q). He was not afraid of meeting and conversing with his noble friends, even after Parliaments were laid aside; but though he was a hearty promoter of legal opposition, he sincerely abhorred whatever tended to sedition or confusion; and therefore, when at one of these meetings a very bold overture was made, he roundly declared *He would never go among them more*, and kept his word (r). His friendship to Lord Russel induced him to appear as a witness for him at his trial, and the testimony he gave will do lasting honour to both their memories (s) [B]. When his noble friend was under sentence of death, he sent him a message by Sir James Forbes, that he would come and change clothes with him in prison, if he thought it practicable to make his escape (t), but that unfortunate Lord being too generous to accept the proposal, he waited upon and assisted him to the last, did all in his power to alleviate the grief of his disconsolate Lady, and, to give the highest proof of his respect for his family, married his eldest son to the daughter of his friend (u). The same generous disposition led him to send a challenge to Count Koningsmark, who, though strongly suspected of being concerned in the assassination of Mr Thynne, had been acquitted by a jury, but it seems that was a method of trial the Count thought fit to decline (w). In 1684, he became, by the decease of his father, Earl of Devonshire, and persevering in the same generous principles, an attempt was made, in the reign of King James, to fright him, by giving out that one positive witness was to be found, who would charge him with rebellious practices, but he put a stop to this scheme by desiring to confront him (x). The Court however gained one advantage over him by a prosecution in the Court of King's-Bench, for striking a gentleman in the verge of the Court, for which he was fined thirty thousand pounds (y) [C]. *It is no wonder*, that after such treatment as this, he chose *to retire into the country*, and that he might find some employment there worthy of his active and excellent genius, he pulled down the south side of his house at Chatsworth, and rebuilt it with a front to his gardens, in so just, so regular, and noble a taste, that it looked like a model of what might be done in after ages (z). But

(k) See the King's Speech to his Privy Council, April 20, 1679, and in the House of Lords the next day.

(l) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 368.

(m) Parliamentary Register, p. 74.

(n) Collection of Debates in the House of Commons, in the year 1680, p. 1.

(o) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 379. Debates before cited, p. 154.

(p) Parliamentary Register, p. 74.

(q) See the Debates before cited, p. 316.

(r) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(s) Tryal of William Lord Russel, fol. p. 53.

(t) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 560.

(u) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, p. 134.

(w) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 164.

(x) Funeral Sermon for the Duke of Devonshire, p. 48, 49.

(y) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 165.

(z) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

[B] *Will do lasting honour to both their memories.*] It appears from the tryal, that Lord Russel thought proper in his defence to call some persons of Quality, with whom he had been well acquainted and conversed much, that they might speak from their knowledge of his former behaviour, whether they could think him guilty of a thing of the nature he was charged with. The answer given by the Lord Cavendish, was conceived in these words (3); 'I had the honour to be acquainted with my Lord Russel a long time. I always thought him a man of great honour, and too prudent and wary a man to be concerned in so vile and desperate a design as this, and from which he would receive so little advantage. I can say nothing more, but that two or three days since the discovery of this plot, upon discourse about Colonel Rumsey, my Lord Russel did express something as if he had a very ill opinion of the man, and therefore, it is not likely he would entrust him with such a secret.'

(3) State Trials, Vol. III. p. 724.

[C] *For which he was fined thirty thousand pounds.*] It seems, that the Earl of Devonshire having received an affront from Colonel Culpepper, within the verge of the Court, so far restrained his resentment, as not to take any satisfaction upon the spot; and afterwards thought fit, tho' the insult was very rude, to compromise it upon the Colonel's promise never to appear again at White-hall (4). But after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, the Colonel was encouraged to slight the obligation he was under, and to come publickly to Court as usual, where he was rising into some degree of favour. This occasioned a second quarrel, for the Earl of Devonshire meeting him in the King's presence-chamber, and receiving from him as he thought an insulting look, he took him by the nose, led him out of the room, and gave him some disdainful blows with the head of his cane. For this bold act, the Earl was prosecuted in the King's Bench upon an information, and had an exorbitant fine of 30,000*l.* imposed upon him, and was committed, tho' a Peer, to the King's Bench prison, till he should make payment of it. He was never able to bear any confinement that he could break from, and therefore, he escaped only to go home to his seat at Chatsworth. Upon the news of his being there, the Sheriff of Derbyshire had a precept to apprehend him and bring him with his posse to town. But he invited the Sheriff, and kept him a prisoner of honour, till he had compounded for his own liberty, by giving bond to pay the full sum of thirty thousand pounds; which bond had this providential discharge, that it was found among the papers of King James, and given up by King William; we are told, that the Countess Dowager, his mother, being uneasy to see him under so great a hardship, waited on the King to beg her son's pardon; and for discharge of the fine, did humbly desire, that his Majesty would accept of her delivering up bonds, and other acknowledgments for above 60,000*l.* lent by her husband and his mother to his Royal father and brother, in their greatest extremities. But it seems, the Popish party then thought, the Earl had forfeited all title to gratitude and equity (5).

(4) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, p. 136—139.

(5) This judgment was afterwards declared illegal by the House of Lords, as the reader is told in the text.

[D] A

But neither the hazards he had run, the disappointments he had met with, or the pleasures of his retirement, could hinder him from contriving in his mind such methods as seemed to him practicable, for the relief of his country; and therefore, with infinite danger to himself, he ventured to concert, with some noble friends, a plan for their common deliverance (a) [D]. When the Prince of Orange landed, he was one of the first who declared for him, secured the county town of Derby, and from thence marched to Nottingham, where he had the honour of receiving the Princess Anne, whom he lodged in the Castle, from which it's noble owner, Henry Duke of Newcastle, thought fit at that time to retire, and afterwards conducted her to Oxford, to her consort Prince George of Denmark (b). He then came up to London, and was one of that assembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who joined in an address to the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration, till the Convention then summoned should meet (c). In the Convention also, he was very active, argued strenuously in support of the resolution of the House of Commons, that King James had abdicated, and that the throne was vacant; which being once carried, he found himself at the head of a great majority, on the final resolution, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England (d). As the just reward of these his arduous and important services, he was on the 14th of February following, sworn of the Privy Council; and not long after, named Lord Steward of their Majesties Houshold (e); and on April 3, 1689, he was chosen one of the Knight's companions of the most noble Order of the Garter; and was installed on the 14th of May following, with great solemnity (f). At their Majesties coronation, he acted as Lord High-Steward of England (g); and in the first session of Parliament afterwards, procured a resolution of the House of Lords, as to the illegality of the judgment given against him in the former reign, and a vote, that no Peer ought to be committed for non-payment of a fine to the Crown (h). Neither was he less sollicitous to procure redress, as far as was possible, for others, who had been injured in the course of that and the former reign, and even in favour of the representatives of such as were deceased (i). In January 1691, he attended King William to the Congress at the Hague, where he lived in the utmost state and magnificence, and had the honour to entertain several sovereign Princes at his table, the King himself being present incognito; after which he waited upon the King to the camp, and having been present at the siege of Mons, returned to England with his Majesty in April following (k). On the 12th of May 1694, he was created Marquis of Hartington and Duke of Devonshire; and in the preamble of his Patent, the highest justice was done to his patriotism in the late reigns, and to his services in this (l). Indeed, higher honours could hardly be done, or greater rewards conferred upon a subject, for besides his Garter and White Staff, he was intrusted with the county of Derby as Lord Lieutenant, and *Custos Rotulorum*, and was constituted also Lord Justice in Eyre (m). He showed his gratitude to, and affection for that excellent Princess Queen Mary, by writing a pindaric poem on her death, which, in the judgment of Mr Dryden, was the best that appeared upon that melancholy subject (n). The decease of the Queen making it necessary for his Majesty to appoint Lords Justices at such times as the affairs of Europe required his presence on the Continent, his Grace had the signal honour of being the only temporal Peer that was in every one of these commissions (o). But notwithstanding all these honours and preferments, his Grace's conduct in Parliament was never governed by other dictates than those of his conscience, as appeared eminently in the case of Sir John Fenwick (p), and of the bill for the resumption of the forfeited estates in Ireland; and in the latter, he not only voted but spoke against it, with his usual freedom and eloquence (q). At the funeral of King William, his Grace and the present Duke of Somerset, supported Prince George of Denmark, as chief mourner (r). He was confirmed in all his offices by Queen Anne (s), whom he dutifully served; and was, on the other hand, treated by her Majesty with all imaginable marks of esteem and confidence. In April 1705, he attended her Majesty to Cambridge,

(a) See this explained at large in the note.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 167.

(c) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 505.

(d) Journal of the House of Lords, Feb. 7, 1688.

(e) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 515.

(f) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 169.

(g) Compl. Hist. England, Vol. III. p. 524.

(h) Journal of the House of Lords, May 6, 1689.

(i) See the article ARMSTRONG (Sir THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(k) See an exact Relation of the Entertainment of King William at the Hague.

(l) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 172.

(m) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(n) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 24.

(o) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 174.

(p) Compl. Hist. England, Vol. III. p. 731.

(q) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family.

(r) Compl. Hist. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 111.

(s) Collins's Peerage, Vol I. p. 175. Hist. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 118.

[D] *A plan for their common deliverance.*] We are told by the Historians of this family, that this noble Earl concerted measures with the Earl of Danby, Sir Scroop How, and others, previous to the Revolution (6). A very late author, whose account, I presume is taken from the tradition in that part of the country, gives us the following account (7): 'At Whittington, '*says he*, a village on the edge of Scarsdale in Derby-'shire, the Earls of Devonshire and Danby, with the 'Lord Delameer, privately concerted the plan of the 'Revolution. The house in which they met, is at 'present a farm-house, and the country people distin-'guished the room where they sate, by the name of 'the plotting-parlour.' We have a larger and more authentick account of this whole transaction from a most noble pen: I mean, that of the late Duke of Leeds, who at the time of this transaction was Earl of Danby, and who in a book, which he published to justify his own character, and to shew, that the best men who were concerned in the prosecution against him under the reign of King Charles II, afterwards changed their sentiments, has this passage, in relation to the noble person, who is the subject of this article (8), *viz.* The Duke of Devonshire also, when we were partners in the secret trust about the Revolution, and who did meet me and Mr John D'Arcy for that purpose, at a town called Whittington in Derbyshire, did, in the presence of the said Mr D'Arcy, make a voluntary acknowledgment of the great mistakes he had been led into about me, and said, that both he and most others were entirely convinced of their error. And he came to Sir Henry Goodrick's house in Yorkshire, purposely to meet me there again, in order to concert the times and methods by which he should act at Nottingham (which was to be his post) and I at York (which was to be mine); and we agreed, that I should first attempt to surprize York, because there was a small garrison with a Governor there, whereas Nottingham was but an open town, and might give alarm to York, if he he should appear in arms before I had made my attempt upon York: which was done accordingly, but is mistaken in divers relations of it.

(6) Memoirs of the Cavendish Family by Kennet, p. 146—155. Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 166, 167.

(7) Dr Akinside's Ode addressed to the Earl of Huntingdon, p. 26.

(8) Copies and Extracts of some Letters written to and from the Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds, in the years 1676, 1677, and 1678. With particular Remarks upon some of them, published by his Grace's direction; Lond. 1710, 8vo, in the introduct.

Cambridge, and was there created Doctor in Law (t). In 1706, himself and his son, the Marquis of Hartington were in the number of the English Peers, appointed Commissioners for treating and concluding a union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland (u). This was the last of his publick employments, for being seized with a severe illness, which yielded not to the art of the best Physicians, he departed this life, August 18, 1707, about nine in the morning at Devonshire-house in Piccadilly in the sixty-seventh year of his age (w). His Grace's character is too well known, and has been drawn by pens too eminent for us to hope to give any addition, either to the lustre or the extent of his fame. He was a Nobleman no less distinguished by his virtues than by his titles, and which also derives honour to his memory, by the solidity of his abilities, and the brilliancy of his parts. He was not only a Statesman and a Patriot, but a Poet too, and, which is more, an excellent Poet, as his writings shew [E]. He was a critick also, and so good a one, that Lord Roscommon, whose verses will live as long as our language, submitted them to the revision of this severe, but candid judge (x). He was only once married, which was to the Lady Mary, daughter of James, Duke of Ormond (y), and their issue, will be seen in the notes [F]. His corps was interred with his ancestors in the Church of Allhallows in Derby, and his Duchess surviving him till the 31st of July 1710, deceased then in the sixty-eighth year of her age; and on the 6th of August following, was interred in Westminster-Abbey (z). Thus we have collected, digested, and transmitted to posterity, the memoirs of some of the most eminent and celebrated persons of this truly noble and illustrious family, and this, with such regard to their descents, as might preserve, as near as possible, the natural and chronological order of reading, and at the same time, leave as little of deficiency or obscurity as the necessity of keeping within reasonable bounds would permit, that there were many more of this line which deserved to be remembred, we very well knew; but, as on the one hand, the nature of our design restrained us from mentioning any but the most distinguished; we were conscious, on the other, that the titles with which the merits of the house of Cavendish have been justly honoured by our Princes, have secured some memorials of their actions and fortunes, so that there is no danger, oblivion should ever overspread their memories, or hide from succeeding ages the glories of a house peculiarly remarkable for producing great men in almost every sense of the word, and those too, as good as they were great.

(t) Pointer's Chronological History, Vol. II. p. 513.

(u) Taken from the Commission, dated April 10, in the fifth year of her Majesty's reign.

(w) Compl. Hist. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 489.

(x) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 174.

(y) Carte's Life of the Ormond, Vol. II. p. 551.

(z) Le Neve's Monum. Anglic. p. 204.

[E] *As his writings shew.*] It is a very difficult matter to describe, and that within the narrow compass of a note, the great abilities of this Nobleman, who was the friend and companion, and at the same time the equal, of Ormond, Dorset, Roscommon, and all the noble ornaments of that reign of wit, in which he passed his youth. It is however to his honour extremely, that he preserved his publick principles from being either tinged with slavish submission or an enthusiastick fondness, for that sort of anarchy, which some call liberty. His frequent discourse was to commend the constitution and laws of this kingdom, and to affirm, That as he always had, so he ever would endeavour to defend and preserve them. He seemed to be made for a Patriot: his mien and aspect were engaging and commanding: his address and conversation were civil and courteous in the highest manner. He judged right in the Supreme Court, and on any important affair, his speeches were smooth and weighty. As a Statesman, his whole deportment came up to his noble birth and his eminent stations: nor did he want any of what the world calls accomplishments. He had great skill in languages, was a true judge in History, a critick in Poetry, and had a fine hand in Musick. He had an elegant taste in Painting, and all politer arts, with a spirit that was continually improving his judgment in them; and in Architecture had a genius, skill, and experience, beyond any one person of his age, his house at Chatsworth being a monument of beauty and magnificence, that perhaps is not exceeded by any palace in Europe. It was of this fine house, that Marshal Tallard, who was a more successful courtier than he was a General, is reported to have said a very fine thing after being invited thither by the noble owner. His complement at his departure, was conceived in these terms; *My Lord, when I come hereafter to compute the time of my captivity in* England, *I shall leave out the days of my enjoyment at* Chatsworth (9). His Grace's genius for Poetry shewed itself, particularly in two pieces that are published, and are allowed by the criticks to be written with equal spirit, dignity, and delicacy.

I. *An Ode on the Death of Queen* Mary, with this motto: *Poema est Pictura Loquens.*

II. *An Allusion to the Bishop of* Cambray's *Supplement to Homer.*

We may add to these, as an additional proof of his genius and character, the following inscription, which he ordered to be placed on his monument, as it is an equal testimony of both,

Willielmus Dux Devon.
Bonorum Principum Fidelis Subditus,
Inimicus et Invisus Tyrannis.

William Duke of Devonshire.
Of good Princes the faithful subject,
An enemy to, and hated by, tyrants.

(9) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family.

[F] *Will be seen in the notes.*] The issue of his Grace by the Lady Mary Butler his only wife, and with whom he passed so many years with the most uninterrupted harmony, were three sons and one daughter. 1. William late Duke of Devonshire. 2. Lord Henry Cavendish, representive in Parliament for the town of Derby twice (10), who died May 10, 1700, leaving issue by his wife Rhoda, daughter to William Cartwright of Aynoe in the county of Northampton, Esq; one daughter Mary, married to John, Earl of Westmoreland. 3. Lord James Cavendish of Staley-Park in Devonshire, he married Anne, daughter of Elihu Yale, Esq; formerly Governor of Fort St George, by whom he had a son William, and a daughter Elizabeth. 4. Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, his Grace's only daughter, married Sir John Wentworth of Broadsworth in the county of York, Bart. by whom she had three sons.

William, late Duke of Devonshire, was a Nobleman of unblemished character and unspotted integrity, enjoyed under the reigns in which he lived the highest employments, with the fairest reputation, and died June 4, 1729 (11). He married the Lady Rachael Russel, daughter of William Lord Russel, and sister to the Duke of Bedford, by whom he had issue. 1. William, now Duke of Devonshire. 2. Lord James Cavendish. 3. Lord Charles Cavendish, who married the Lady Anne Grey, third daughter to his Grace the Duke of Kent; and by her had two sons. 4. Lord John Cavendish, who died May 10, 1720. His daughters were Lady Mary, who died unmarried; Lady Rachael, who espoused Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, Knt. of the Bath; Lady Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir Thomas Lowther, Baronet; Lady Catherine, who died unmarried; Lady Anne, and Lady Diana, who also died unmarried. E

(10) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 236.

(11) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 181.

CAWTON

CAWTON (THOMAS) a very learned Minister among the Nonconformists in the XVIIth Century. He was the son of the Reverend Mr Thomas Cawton, a worthy and truly religious Puritan, who was banished for his loyalty (a) [A]. As for our author, he was born at Wivenhoe near Colchester in Essex about the year 1637, his father being then Minister of the place. The first rudiments of learning he received from his father whom he attended in his banishment, and lived with him several years in Holland, where he studied the Oriental languages under Mr Robert Sheringham at Rotterdam with equal diligence and success (b). About the year 1656, he was sent to the University of Utrecht, where he distinguished himself by his extraordinary skill in the Oriental languages, in such a manner as did honour to his country (c). On the 14th of December 1657, he maintained a Thesis in relation to the Syriac Version of the New Testament, and printed his discourse, as he did some time after another dissertation on the usefulness of the Hebrew language in the study of Theoretick Philosophy, which treatises sufficiently shew both the extent of his learning and the solidity of his judgment (d) [B]. When he left Utrecht, the

(a) Life and Death of Mr Thomas Cawton, Lond. 1662, 8vo, p. 5.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 583.

(c) See the Account given of him by Mr Leusden in note [C].

(d) These treatises were both printed in Latin at Utrecht, in 4to, 1657.

[A] *Banished for his loyalty.*] Mr Thomas Cawton, senior, was Minister of St Bartholomew's behind the Royal Exchange, and had an exceeding fair character in the city. This occasioned his being called to preach before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London at Mercer's Chapel, Febr. 25, 1648, when he delivered himself in such plain terms against the canting hypocrisy of their governors, that he was first sent for to Westminster, and then committed to the Gatehouse (1). This served only to raise his character among the loyal Presbyterians, who, when King Charles II. had thoughts of entering England and asserting his right, intrusted him, with Mr Christopher Love, and some other worthy persons, with the money raised by them for his Majesty's service, for which, when Mr Love was imprisoned, and afterwards executed, Mr Cawton betook himself to a voluntary exile, and retiring to Rotterdam, became Minister of the English Church there, spending the remainder of his days in peace and honour (2). His son took care to preserve a just account of his merits and sufferings by writing his life as is mentioned in the text, the title of it ran thus, *The Life and Death of that Holy and Reverend Man of God, Mr* Thomas Cawton, *some time Minister of St Bartholomew*, &c. to which is added, his Father's Sermon, intituled, *God's Rule for a godly Life, from Philippians* xi. 27. which is the sermon for the preaching of which he was imprisoned, London 1662, 8vo.

(1) See a brief Vindication of the Presbyterians from the murder of King Charles I.

(2) Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 133.

[B] *Solidity of his judgment.*] The title of the first of these pieces, runs thus, *Disputatio de Versione Syriaca Vet. & Novi Testamenti*, 4to. 1657. i. e. *A Discourse on the* Syriac Version *of the* Old *and* New Testament. It is in some measure a reproach on our nation, that while many of our countrymen are admired for their parts abroad, their names are scarce known at home; and for this reason it seems necessary to give some account of this learned Tract, which it does not appear any of our Biographers have ever seen. Our author speaks, first of the Syriac Version of the *Old Testament* (3); and in respect to this he observes, there may be four questions moved, 1. *Whence this* Syriac Version *was made?* in answer to which he tells us, that there were antiently two, one from the Septuagint, and the other from the original Hebrew; but that the latter only was in use among the Maronites, Nestorians, and Jacobites, of which the famous Primate Usher obtained a copy from the Patriarch of Antioch, which is printed in the English Polyglot. II. *Who composed this Version?* Mr Cawton shews, that this is absolutely uncertain. III. *When were either of these* Syriac Versions *made?* He says, the Maronites pretend, that it was made from the Hebrew under the reigns of Solomon and Hiram; but, this he observes is carrying the thing too high, though, from various authorities, he is convinced it is a very ancient Version, and inclines to fix it about the time of the Apostles. IV. *Whether the Syriac Version of the Old Testament be of any moment?* He answers in the affirmative, and gives his reasons, shewing also abundance of places wherein it varies from the Hebrew original. He comes next to the Syriac Version of the *New Testament*, as to which he says, there may be five questions moved. I. *By whom and when was this Version made?* in answer to which he cites the Preface of Jacobus Martinus, in which it is asserted, that this is the oldest of all Versions, and that it was either made by one of the Apostles themselves, or by some of their Disciples with their assistance. Our author does not however seem to give entire credit to this, and much less to what has been reported on the credit of William Postell, that it was made by St Mark the Evangelist, which notion he refutes by very solid reasons. He mentions last of all, the sentiments of Dr Rainolds, who thought it might be made about the IIId or IVth Century, and seems inclined to place it higher, chiefly for this reason, that in most of the copies of the Syriac Version, there are wanting the second Epistle of St Peter, the second and third Epistles of St John, the Epistle of St Jude and the Revelation, which argue it to have been made before those Scriptures were generally received by the Church. II. *By whom this Version has been published?* He acquaints us, that it has gone through many editions; in some of which, for want of Syriac, they have been forced to make use of Hebrew types. It was thus printed by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp in 1575, but without vowels. In like manner by Elias Hutter at Noremberg, in his Bible of twelve Languages 1599, but there, though printed in Hebrew characters it is pointed. Since these editions it has been published in the Syriac character, particularly in the English Polyglot. In most of these editions, the story of the adultress in the eighth Chapter of St John, is wanting, as well as the several pieces before mentioned, but in the edition of Hutter and the English Polyglot they are found. In many, there are no points at all; in some, they are marked only here and there; but in Hutter and the English Polyglot, they are marked throughout. But of all the editions, that published by Gutbirius, Professor of Divinity at Hamburgh, which was printed in a pocket volume 1663, is the best. III. *Whether the* Syriac Version *is of any moment, or has any utility?* He answers in the affirmative, and for this very good reason, that Syriac being the language in which our blessed Saviour and the Apostles spoke, their thoughts appear more clearly therein, than in any other; so that texts, which are very obscure in the Greek, become plain and easy when we consult the Syriac Version. Of this he gives several instances, particularly, 1 *Cor.* x. 2. *And were all baptized unto* Moses *in the cloud and in the sea*, where the sense is far from being clear, in the Syriac it is, *By the hand of Moses*, which is perfectly plain. He farther adds, that many words in the New Testament are absolutely Syriac, tho' written in Greek characters, such as Raka, Aceldama, Abba, so that without the knowledge of this tongue it is impossible to apprehend perfectly the force and energy of the Divine Writings. IV. *By what name is this language called in the New Testament, and where is it now the vulgar tongue?* This language, says he, is called the Aramite, from Aram the ancient name of the country in which it was spoken, as it is Syrian from Syria the more modern. In the New Testament it is frequently called the Hebrew, because Syriac was a dialect of the Hebrew; at present, the Syriac is scarce any where the mother tongue, except in a few villages about Mount Libanus, but throughout all Asia and Africk it passes for the learned language among the Christians. V. *Which was the first translation of this Syriac Version into Latin?* He tells us in answer to this, that Henry Stephens printed in 1569, the Latin Version of Tremellius; that about two years afterwards, there appeared another Latin Version by Boderianus. But some dispute has arisen, whether one of these translations was not stolen from the other. The second piece published by our author is intituled, *Dissertatio de Usu Linguæ Hebraicæ in Philosophia Theoretica*, printed at Utrecht in 1657.

(3) This Analysis was very carefully made from the work itself.

the famous Professor Leusden subscribed an ample testimonial in his favour, wherein he expresses a great regard for his person, as well as a just sense of his parts (e) [C]. On his return to England, he went to Oxford; and was entered there of Merton-College for the sake of Mr Samuel Clark, famous for his thorough knowledge of the Oriental languages (f). Our author shewed his loyalty by writing a copy of Hebrew verses on his Majesty's Restauration, having been pretty early in the year 1660 (g), admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, at which time Professor Leusden's Certificate was read publickly (h). In 1661, he was ordained by the Bishop of Oxford (i); and in 1662, he published the Life of his Father (k). In all probability, he might have obtained very considerable preferment, if his principles had not led him to Nonconformity. When he retired from the University, he was taken into the family of Sir Anthony Irby of Lincolnshire, where he officiated for some years as Chaplain; but the air of that country disagreeing with him, and the family going down thither on account of the plague in 1665 (l), he was obliged to quit it, and lived afterwards with the Lady Armin till about the year 1670, when he gathered a congregation of Dissenters in the city of Westminster, to whom he preached with some interruption from the severities of the government for about seven years, till falling into a bad state of health, he died of a gradual decay, April 10, 1677 (m), being then about forty years of age. He was buried in the New Church in Tothil-street, Westminster, at which time his friend and Fellow-collegian, Mr Henry Hurst, preached his funeral sermon, as did also Mr Nath. Vincent in another place (n). He was a man, who, as his learning rendered him admired, so his virtues made him beloved by all parties. Anthony Wood speaking of the praises bestowed upon him by Mr Hurst in his discourse, gives them also his sanction, *they were*, says he, *deservedly spoken* (o). His congregation followed the advice he gave them on his death-bed, for he told them that he knew none so proper to be his successor, as a certain Northamptonshire Minister, who wrote against Dr Sherlock. This was Mr Vincent Alsop, whom they accordingly chose (p).

(e) Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(f) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 73.

(g) Britannia Rediviva, Oxon. 1660, 4to.

(h) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(i) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(k) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 584.

(l) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(m) See Mr Hurst's Funeral Sermon on our author.

(n) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(o) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 584.

(p) See the article of ALSOP (VINCENT) in this Dictionary.

This dissertation on the use of the Hebrew language in the study of Philosophy, is likewise a very curious piece, but as it is written upon a more abstruse subject, and as this note is already of an extraordinary length, we forbear entering more particularly into it's contents.

[C] *As well as a just sense of his parts.*] In this certificate he observes, that Mr Cawton had with infinite labour studied and acquired a perfect knowledge of the principal languages of the East, that he had established a deserved reputation by publishing the treatises beforementioned, and that he was in all respects a person of quick wit, piercing judgment, and deep erudition; but it may not be amiss to cite part of the certificate (4). 'Totum vetus Testamentum Hebraicum partim punctatum, partim non punctatum perlegit & explicuit —— Regulas Grammaticæ & Syntaxeos Hebraicæ optime perdidiscit. Deinde in Lingua Chaldaica Danielis & Paraphrasibus Chaldaicis, in lingua Syriacâ Novi Test. & in Lingua Arabica, & Commentariis Rabbinorum strenuè sese exercuit. Denique quæstiones Philologico-Hebraicas circa Vetus Test. Hebræum moveri solitas, ita perdidiscit, ut summo cum honore duas disputationes philologicas publicè defenderit, priorem de Versione Syriaca veteris & novi Test. posteriorem vero, de Usu Linguæ Hebraicæ in philosophia Theoretica, illius fuit Respondens, hujus vero Author & Respondens. Certe in Disputatione hac componenda, & in ejusdem strenua Defensione, ingenium & eruditionem suam omnibus palam fecit, &c. 18 Maii 1659, Joh. Leusden.'—— In all probability our author would have afforded his country more conspicuous marks of his skill in these matters, if the taste for that kind of learning had not begun to decay, and his own troubles for Nonconformity come on. All that he afterwards published, was a sermon bearing the title of BALAAM'S WISH, *or the Vanity of desiring, without endeavouring, to obtain the Death of the Upright.* London 1670, 8*vo*. and again, in 1675 (5). This is a very grave, solid, and judicious discourse, and is at once a proof of the deep learning and sincere piety of it's author. I have seen a letter written by one Mr Bruce, who studied at Utrecht, to a relation of his in Scotland, which is dated in June 1682, in which speaking of his countrymen and other British subjects that had studied in that university, he gives a very high character to our author in the following words; 'Besides the late Dr Nicholas Shepherd, who was Minister of the English Church at Middleburgh, Mr Thomas Cawton, who died but a few years ago, and was a man very eminent among the Nonconformists, laid the foundation of his great knowledge in the Oriental languages here, and it is wonderful how fresh the memory of his proficiency in those studies remains in this place. The Professor has a particular regard for those of our nation, and takes a great pleasure in speaking of such of them as have been under his care, but I never heard him mention any with greater respect than this gentleman, who was not only eminent for his knowledge in the Hebrew, but in the Syriac also, and other Eastern tongues, and wrote a treatise to show the usefulness of this kind of learning, not in Divinity only, but in the study also of Philosophy, in which he was a very great Master. That Tract of his is become very scarce, so that it was with some difficulty that I procured it; and I am afraid I shall meet with many such obstacles in my design of making a collection of all the pieces of that kind that have been printed in this country by the natives of Great Britain; and which according to the computation I have been able to make, will not fall very far short of threescore. I doubt, whether any encouragement could be had for reprinting them, which might be done in three volumes in quarto; but if I am able to compleat such a collection, I think it would be an acceptable present to one of our Universities, and with this view I shall take some pains, both here and at Leyden, and shall endeavour to procure the characters of the principal persons at least, from the several Professors who were acquainted with them, and are still living, &c.'

(4) Reg. Convoc. Un. Ox. quod incipit, 1659, p. 9.

(5) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

E

CAXTON (William) the firſt who introduced, practiſed, and communicated, the moſt uſeful and inſtructive art or myſtery of Printing, in England. He was born about the latter end of King Henry the IVth's reign, who died in the year 1412, and, as himſelf acquaints us, in the *Weald*, or woody part of Kent (*a*); therefore not in the town that bears his name in Cambridgeſhire, as Dr Fuller was miſled to believe (*b*). His father, Mr William Caxton, who reſided with him at Weſtminſter when he was in the height of his buſineſs there, muſt have lived to a good old age, according to the memorial we have of his death (*c*). Whether Matilda Caxton, who founded a chantry in Walbrook ward in the city of London, and had a monument in St Swithin's church there after the repair of it in 1420, was any relation of his, my author does not intimate (*d*). The cuſtom which had long prevailed of impoſing that badge of Norman ſlavery, the French language, upon our children at the grammar-ſchools, as is very particularly obſerved by Ranulphus Higden, and John de Treviſa [*A*], being, in the younger years of Caxton, much worn off, and the neglect of it accounted no deficiency in education; he was, by the care of his prudent mother, ſo well inſtructed and qualified at home in reading and writing (*e*), as ſerved his occaſions very commendably, when he was put out to a genteel trade. But afterwards, by his diligent application, he arrived to a conſiderable proficiency, not only in writing, after a very clear, free, and dexterous manner, that ſtrong hand which was then in moſt requeſt, as may be ſeen in ſome copies of his books to this day, but in attaining both a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, and to a good perfection in the French, when he was preferred to a conſiderable charge abroad by his Prince, and to very honourable patronage, in the latter part of that long courſe of time he continued there. He might be about the age of fifteen or ſixteen, when he was put apprentice to Mr Robert Large, a Mercer of ſuch eminence in London, that he was elected one of the Sheriffs in the year 1430, and, nine years after, Lord Mayor of this city (*f*). The ſaid Magiſtrate held his mayoralty in that which had been the manſion-houſe of Robert Fitzwalter, anciently called the Jew's Synagogue, at the north corner of the Old Jewry, which was in the place where now, ſays my author, ſtands the Grocer's Hall; and here Caxton appears to have reſided with his ſaid maſter till his death, which happened on the twenty-fourth of April 1441, as by the Latin inſcription that was cut on the brazen-plated ſtone in the ſouth iſle of the pariſh-church of St Olave Jewry appears; to the reparation of which church he gave two hundred pounds (*g*), and in his laſt will he bequeathed alſo to this his ſaid ſervant, thirty-four marks; a conſiderable legacy in thoſe times, and a creditable, as well as early teſtimony, of Maſter Caxton's good behaviour and great integrity (*h*). He mentions himſelf afterwards, how much he was obliged to the city, and that company, of which he was a ſworn freeman; and a man of ſuch reputable character he now was; of ſuch probity, abilities, and expertneſs in his buſineſs, that when he went to ſettle abroad, in the ſame year his maſter died, as he alſo informs us himſelf (*i*), 'tis agreed on, by thoſe writers who have beſt acquainted themſelves with his ſtory, that he was deputed and entruſted by the Mercer's company, to be their Agent or Factor in Holland, Zealand, Flanders, &c. to eſtabliſh and enlarge their correſpondence, negociate the conſumption of our own, and importation of foreign manufactures, and otherwiſe promote the advantage of the ſaid corporation, in their reſpective merchandize, &c (*k*). It ſeems that he ſpent about twenty-three years in thoſe countries, upon this, and ſuch like employments, before we can hear of him again; but he had then acquired ſuch an eminent character for his knowledge and experience, his diligence and fidelity therein, that we ſee him joined with Richard Whetehill, Eſq; in a very honourable commiſſion, granted to them by King Edward IV, in the year 1464, to continue and confirm the Treaty of Trade and Commerce, between his Majeſty and Philip Duke of Burgundy; or, if they found it neceſſary, to make a new one; and it alſo gives both, or either of them, full power to tranſact and conclude the ſame. They are ſtiled *Ambaſſadors* and *Special Deputies*, &c. in the ſaid commiſſion; as, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, may appear in the tranſcript annexed [*B*]. There were afterwards, ſeveral other treaties between theſe two powers, for the communication

(*a*) His Prologue to The *Recueyl of the Hiſtorie of Troy*.

(*b*) Worthies of England in Cambridgeſhire.

(*c*) In Thaccompte of the Wardens of the Pariſhe Churche of Saynte Margarete of Weſtminſter, from the 7 of Maye, in the Yere 1478, &t. to the 18 of Maye 1480. thus; *Item*, The day of bureying W. Caxton, for 2 Torches, and 4 Tapers, 20*d*.

(*d*) J. Stow's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 241.

(*e*) See his Prologue to Thyſtory and Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce. Alſo John Bagford's Life of W. Caxton, annexed to his Propoſals for printing an Hiſtorical Account of the Art of Typography, in one ſheet folio. And Mr Joſ. Ames his Specimen, joined to his Propoſals for an Hiſt. of Printing in England, &c. in half a ſheet, 4*to*, p. 3.

(*f*) Fabian's Chron. R. Grafton; and Stow's Survey of Lond p. 563, 565.

(*g*) Stow, as before, p. 288, 290.

(*h*) The Lyfe of Mayſter Wylyam Caxton of the Weald of Kent, the firſt Printer in England, &c. by John Lewis, Miniſter of Mergate in Kent, 8*vo*, Lond. 1737, p. 2.

(*i*) The Recueyl, &c.

(*k*) Mr Lewis's Life of Caxton, as before.

[*A*] *As is very particularly obſerved by Ranulphus Higden, and John de Treviſa*] The former, in his Polychronicon, tranſlated by the latter, and printed by Maſter Caxton (1), ſpeaking of the cauſes of the impairing of our language, ſays, 'One is, by cauſe that 'children that gon to ſcole learne to ſpeke firſt Englyſhe, and then ben compelled to conſtrewe her (‖) 'leſſions in Frenſh; and that have ben uſed ſyn 'the Normans come into Englond. Alſo gentilmens 'children ben lerned and taught from theyr yougthe 'to ſpeke Frenſh. And uplondyſh men will counterfete and liken hemſelf to gentilmen, and arn beſy 'to ſpeke Frenſh, for to be more ſette by. Wherefore, it is ſayd by the comyn proverbe, *Jack wold 'be a gentilman, if he coude ſpeke Frenſhe.*' To which, John de Treviſa, his Tranſlator, adds as follows. 'This maner was moche uſed tofore the grete 'deth (2): but ſyth, it is ſomedele chaunged. For, 'Sir John Cornuayl, a Mayſter of Gramer chaunged 'the techyng in Gramer ſcole, and conſtruction of 'Frenſhe; and other Scoolmayſters uſe the ſame way 'now in the yere of our Lord 1365 (3), the 9th yere 'of Kyng Rychard the ſecund, and leve all Frenſh 'in ſcoles, and uſe al conſtruction in Englyſhe. 'Wherin they have avantage one way, that is, that 'they lerne the ſonner theyre Gramer; and in another, diſavantage; for nowe they lerne no Frenſh, 'ne conne none; whiche is hurte for them that ſhal 'paſſe the ſee: and alſo gentilmen have moche lefte 'to teche theyr children to ſpeke Frenſh.'

(1) Fol. 1482, lib. i. in Capit. *de IncolarumLinguis*.

(‖) their

(2) There were two mortalities in the reign of King Edward III. the firſt in 1349, the ſecond in 1361.

[*B*] *For the ſatisfaction of the curious, may appear in the tranſcript annexed*] This commiſſion is preſerved in the following title and form:

Super Trugis Burgundiæ.

A. D. 1464. An. 4 Ed. IV. REX omnibus, ad quos &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quòd cum certa Appunctuamenta, Intercurſum Marchandiſarum inter Subditos

(3) So Caxton's edition of Polychronicon, and ſo Wynkin de Worde's edition after him, which is erroneous; for 1365, is the 39th of Edward III. and the 9th of Richard II. is 1385, as it ſhould be here. So it is corrected in Julyan Notary's edit. of Higden's *Deſcript. of England*, at the end of his impreſſion of *The Fruit of Time*. And ſo Dr Hickes, in the Pref. of his *Theſaurus*, &c. which correſponds with the MS. of Treviſa, in St John's college.

communication of their merchandize, fishery, &c. in which, other Ambassadors or Agents were after the like manner employed (*l*); and these, with other views of mutual advantage, produced a near alliance between them in the marriage of King Edward's sister, the Lady Margaret of York, with the Duke's son Charles, in July 1468, he being then Duke of Burgundy, &c (*m*). When this Lady Margaret arrived at the Duke's Court at Bruges, she was very magnificently attended, and Master Caxton appears then to have been of her retinue. He was either now one of her houshold, or held some constant post or office under her; because, as he says, he received of her *yearly fee* or salary, besides many other good and great benefits (*n*); which also demonstrates that he was very serviceable to her, or much in her favour. Being a man expert in penmanship and languages, as well as matters of commerce; and by his long conversation abroad with ingenious men, also in matters of literature; which were now grown the fashionable discourse of those parts more than ever, through the surprizing communication thereof by the new *invention of Printing*, of which Caxton must have heard the progress, from it's very birth, it is highly probable that he was employed by the Duchess in some literary way; which indeed soon appeared, by her encouraging him in the practise of the said new invention. It is evident he had partly attained this mystery of Printing, and, as he says himself, with great expence (*o*), before he was thus apparently established in her service, because he no sooner appears in it, but we see him employed by her, in translating out of French, a large volume, and then in printing it himself, as we shall presently more particularly specify. Yet 'tis not likely that his first essay in this art should be upon a book of that bulk, which now appears to be the first he printed; nor even another, which he is well attested to have also printed in Latin abroad, though, as it seems, before the other, because this is rather more voluminous than that. However, as this, which is named *Bartholomeus, de Proprietatibus Rerum*, may possibly have been his earliest performance of the two, we shall here first speak more largely of it. The said Latin edition of this book, which Caxton is affirmed to have been concerned in at the press, seems to have been, either that fair one, in which there is no mention made by whom, where, or when, it was printed; or another that was printed at Cologne in the year 1470 [*C*]. And his engagement upon this larger work, might be the reason, that though

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XI. edit. 1710, p. 591.

(*m*) Idem, p. 590, 601, &c. See also Francis Sandford's Genealogical Hist. of England, fol. edit. 1707, p. 402.

(*n*) The Recueyl, &c. as before.

(*o*) Idem.

Subditos nostros ac Subditos carissimi consanguinei nostri *Ducis Burgundiæ* concernentia, sub certis modo & formâ ante hæc tempora concordata fuerant & conclusa, sæpiúsque interim prorogata; nos appunctuamenta illa pro Parte Nostra teneri & observari volentes, ac de fidelitatibus & providis circumspectionibus dilectorum & fidelium nostrorum *Richardi Whetehill* Armigeri, & *Willielmi Caxton*, plenius confidentes, ipsos *Ricardum* & *Willielmum* nostros veros & indubitatos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios & Deputatos speciales facimus, ordinamus, & constituimus per præsentes: dantes & concedentes eisdem Ambassiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputates Nostris, & eorum utrique plenam Potestatem & Auctoritatem ac Mandatum generale & speciale ad conveniendum, tractandum & communicandum cum *præfato Consanguineo Nostro*, seu ejus Ambassiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputatis, sufficientem potestatem ab eodem Consanguineo Nostro ad hoc habentibus, de & super continuatione Intercursûs prædicti, & prorogatione ejusdem, &, si necesse fuerit, de novo capiendâ, appunctuandâ & concludendâ, cæteraque omnia & singula quæ in præmissis necessaria fuerint & opportuna faciendum & exercendum; promittentes, bona fide, & in verbo Regio, Nos ratum, gratum & firmum, pro perpetuo habituros totum & quicquid per dictos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios & Deputatos Nostros, seu eorum alterum, in formâ prædictâ, actum, gestum, seu procuratum fuerit in præmissis, seu aliquo præmissorum. In cujus, &c.

Teste Rege, apud Wycomb, Vicessimo die Octobris.
Per ipsum Regem, & de Datâ prædictâ, &c (4).

(4) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XI. edit. 1710, p. 536.

[*C*] *Either that fair one — or another that was printed at Cologne in the year* 1470.] Of these two books, the late Mr John Lewis gives us the following account: — 'In the library of Bennet College in 'Cambridge, is an edition of this book in Latin, in a 'large folio. It is an exceeding fair book; the types 'are very ancient, but well cut; and it is printed with'out any signatures, date, or name of the place or Printer '(5).' 'Of the other Latin edition, he says: 'We 'have an account, that it was printed at Cologne, in 'the year 1470, by John Koelhoff: and, as this might 'be while Mr Caxton was at Cologne, learning and 'practising the Art of Printing, he might possibly be 'assisting in printing this book, or in the expence of 'it; and so be remembered by De Worde as the 'Printer (6).' This authority for Caxton's being the Printer of a Latin edition of that book, being so good, it deserves to be a little more amply considered; for this was Wynkin de Worde, whom Caxton probably knew at this time there, and whom he either brought with him into England, or sent for him when he was settled here; the same who wrought under him till he died, and succeeded him with great reputation in his business, for above forty years, before he died himself. This Printer, who, by his long practice, greatly advanced and improved the Art among us, perceiving that author, whose name was Bartholomew Glanvill, a Franciscan Friar (descended of the Earl of Suffolk's family) who flourished about the year 1360 (7), was well accepted of abroad, (insomuch that there was another Latin edition of him published under the same Koelhoff's name, who stiles himself *de Lubeck, Coloniæ Civem*, folio 1481) thought that a translation of him would be no less acceptable to us; seeing the work was a Natural History, of such variety; gathered mostly from the Ancients, and some Moderns, who lived nearer the author's own time; explaining more especially the nature and properties of Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Stones, &c. that are mentioned in Scripture; and there being such an English translation made, by John de Trevisa beforementioned, in the year 1398, at the command of his Patron, Thomas Lord Berkeley, which might be recommended to Caxton in his life-time; it was printed, tho' the edition is not dated, soon after his death, by Wynkin de Worde, at the prayer and desire of Roger Thorney, Mercer; as De Worde informs us, in his poetical Proem to the said work; wherein, having said, there is no pleasure comparable to the reading and understanding of wise books, with respect more especially to those persons who, for the propagation of knowledge and virtue, delight in the making, reviving, or otherwise exhibiting them to the world, he proceeds in these words,

And also, of your Charyte, call to remembraunce
The soule of William Caxton, first Prynter of this boke,
In Laten tonge at Coleyn, hymself to avaunce;
That every well disposyd man may thereon loke (8).

From

(5) Lewis's Life of William Caxton, p. 7.

(6) Idem, p. 8.

(7) Vid. Leland, Bale, and Pits.

(8) Prohemium Bartholomei.

though he begun the other at the command of Lady Margaret, not very long after ſhe arrived at Bruges, he did not finiſh it in three years, but laid it by, being a little diſcouraged at ſome difficulties or fatigues in it (*p*), and till he had inured himſelf, probably upon ſome other work, the better to accompliſh this; but then being, by his ſaid patroneſs, prompted to bring it to a concluſion, he ſtuck painfully to it, till he brought it forth under the title of *The Recuyell of the Hiſtorys of Troye*, &c. which is the firſt book, at leaſt in being, or which we now know of, that was ever printed in the Engliſh tongue [*D*]. In the year laſt mentioned,

(*p*) Ibidem.

From which it is reaſonably enough inferred, that he had a hand in compoſing, at the preſs, one of thoſe two former editions abovementioned; for the latter was printed when he was in England. There are three more lines that follow thoſe, to make up the ſtanza, which are alſo ſo remarkable, that they muſt not be here omitted;

And John Tate the yonger, joye mote hem broke,
Which late hathe in Englonde doo make this paper thynne,
That now, in our Engliſh, this boke is prynted inne (9).

(9) Idem.

By which we are at once informed, that this Engliſh edition of Bartholomeus, printed by Wynkin de Worde, is the firſt book for any thing we yet know to the contrary, that was printed in England, upon paper that was made in England; and that John Tate, the younger, firſt cauſed that paper to be made here, or was at the expence of introducing the art of that manufacture, ſo highly ſerviceable for the preſervation of all kinds of literature, among us. The paper of this book is ſofter, ſmoother, and thinner, than that of Caxton's books: it might be alſo a fairer or whiter paper, could we behold it without the diſadvantage of age; nor is there to be ſeen in any of his, the ſame paper mark; which is, as I remember, in the midſt of every other leaf, or half ſheet, ſomewhat reſembling a Catherine-Wheel, or Star of eight Rays, encloſed in a double circle; which is different from the marks in any paper which Caxton printed on; therefore his might more probably be imported from Holland, and that in this book, may be the earlieſt ſpecimen of Engliſh-made writing-paper now in being; tho' we had the uſe of ſuch paper in England long before. The regiſters made of paper which Dean Prideaux mentions (10), as inſtances of it's great antiquity, being but as old as King Edward IIId's reign, do not approach near to it's primitive invention. For we certainly have Grants, Conveyances, and other Deeds and Evidences in England, or at leaſt have had, and eſpecially among the very ancient collections of Richard Gaſcoyne, Eſq; that able Antiquary, who died about the time of the Reſtoration, written upon paper that was as old as the Conqueſt: and it is not improbable, but thoſe *Quaternions* of leaves ſtitched together, whereof King Alfred ſo long before, made his little *hand books* (11), were alſo of paper, rather than parchment, or vellom; a book or tract no broader than a quarter of a ſheet of paper, anſwering that deſcription better, as being more contracted, pliable, and *handy* for uſe, than one as wide as a quarter of a ſkin of parchment, &c. We are told by one of the Antiquaries in Queen Elizabeth's reign, that the firſt Paper-Mill we had in England was erected at Ware in Hertfordſhire, as I remember (12), but have forget whether he mentions that John Tate the younger, was concerned therein; and in the ſame reign, we had a Poet who writ a pamphlet upon the ſame ſubject (13), with the ſetting forth of a Paper-Mill, built near Darthford, by a High German, called Mr Spilman, Jeweller to the Queen. It is written in verſe, and tho' it might be forth-coming at Oxford in Anthony Wood's time; upon a late ſearch, it was not to be found there. Who that John Tate the younger was, we cannot be poſitive; but in the liſt of our Lord Mayors of London, we find Sir John Tate, Mercer, ſon of John Tate, to have been elected, *anno* 1473. And *John Tate*, called *the younger*, ſon of Thomas Tate of Coventry, alſo elected in 1496, being eight years after his brother Sir Robert Tate, Mercer, was dignified with the ſame office (14); which John Tate the younger, we take to be the very man to whom we owe the art of making this moſt uſeful commodity; and *Joye mote hem broke* ſay I again, for the ſame, as honeſt Wynkin heartily ſaid before; by which, and this rare device of Printing, the moſt remote tranſactions, intelligence, and inventions of paſt times, are both made preſent, and tranſmitted to poſterity; by which, as from a fountain with innumerable conduits, knowledge and inſtruction are raiſed out of the deepeſt ſources of Antiquity, and diffuſed through many parts at once; by which, the preſs will diſpatch as much in a day, as the pen in a twelve month; as it is expreſſed in the epigram made upon Ulric Han, who firſt carried it to Rome.

(13) Prideaux's Connexion, &c. Part i. lib. vii.

(11) A Diſſertation upon Pamphlets, in a Letter to a Nobleman, by W. O. 4to, 1731, p. 2.

(12) See William Valans his Tale of two Swans; 4to, Lond. 1590.

(13) Thomas Churchard's Deſcription and Diſcourſe of Paper, and the Benefits that it brings, &c. 4to, 1588. Alſo in Dr Harris's Hiſtory of Kent; upon the ſame ſubject.

(14) See Stow's Survey of London, in the Catalogue of the Lord Mayors, under thoſe years.

Imprimit ille die quantum non ſcribitur anno:
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.

Or, to paſs over many other advantageous lights, in which the art might be celebrated, to conſider it only in it's renovating property, we need go no farther than Maſter Wynkin again; if by way of novelty, we can bear once more with his ancient phraſe,

For yf one thyng myght laſte a thouſand yere,
Full ſone comyth aege, that frettyth all away;
But lyke as *Phebus*, wyth his bemes clere,
The *Mone* repyreth, as bryght as ony day;
When ſhe is waſtyd; ryght ſo may we ſay,
Theſe bokes old and blynd, when we renewe,
By goodly *Prynting*, they ben bryght of hewe.

[*D*] *The firſt book we now know of, that was ever printed in the Engliſh tongue.*] In the title page of this book, we read as follows: — 'Here begynneth the 'volume, intituled, and named, The Recuyell of the 'Hiſtorys of Troye: compoſed and drawen out of 'dyverce bookes of Latyn into Frenſhe, by the Right 'Venerable perſone and Worſhipfull man, Raoul le 'Feure, Preeſt, and Chapelayn unto the Right Noble 'Gloryous and Myghty Prynce in his tyme, Philip, 'Duc of Bourgoyne, of Braband, &c. in the yeare of 'the Incarnacion of our Lord God, a thouſand four 'hundred ſixty and foure, and tranſlated and drawen 'out of Frenſhe into Engliſh by Willyam Caxton, 'Mercer of the cyte of London, at the commaundement of the Right Hye Myghty and Vertuouſe 'Princeſſe, his redoubtyd Lady Margarete, by the Grace 'of God, Ducheſſe of Burgoyne, &c (15). Whiche 'ſayd tranſlacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in 'the countee of Flaunders, the fyrſt day of Marche, 'the yeare of the Incarnacion of our ſaid Lord God, 'a thouſand foure hondred ſixty and eight, and ended 'and fynyſhed in the holy cyte of Colen the xix day 'of Septembre, the yeare of our ſayd Lord God, a 'thouſand four hondred ſixty and enleven.' The ſaid title page (to diſtinguiſh this from ſubſequent editions) is printed, as well as ſome other principal parts in the book, with red ink; and it is ſaid to be printed with the ſame letter as the original edition was in 1464; but the French edition has two wooden cuts in it, and no name mentioned of the perſon who printed it: but this Printer is conjectured to have been an inſtructor of Maſter Caxton in his art (16). The reaſon why this book was recommended to him before any other, might be in compliment to the Duke of Burgundy's Chaplain the author; and poſſibly to gratify the diſpoſition there was at this time in the Engliſh or Britiſh nation, to derive their original from Brutus and his Trojans. Caxton's great modeſty, diffidence, and humble opinion of his abilities, appears in this, as well as all others of his books, very much to his commendation; it having been obſerved out of the Prologue before it. 'That he thought himſelf ſo unqualified on account 'of his unperfectneſs in both languages, having never 'been in *France*, and lived out of England near *thirty* '*years*, that he was *fully in wyll to have lefte it*, and 'accordingly laid it aſide for two years after he had 'begun it, or till 1470; when it fortuned, his *ryght* '*redoubted*

(15) This Lady Margaret's titles were, Ducheſſe of Burgoyne, of Lothrein, of Brabant, of Lymburgh and Luxemburgh; Counteſs of Flanders, of Artoys and of Burgoyne; Palatinee of Heynawd, of Holland, of Zeland and Namur; Marqueſſe of the Holy Empire; Lady of Fryſe, of Salins, and of Malines. The *Recuyell*, &c. and Rymer's Fœd. as before quoted.

(16) Mr Ames's Specimen, joined to his Propoſals for The Hiſtory of Printing, &c.

mentioned, King Edward was driven over to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy's court, to seek succour against his rebellious subjects, where Caxton no doubt paid his obedience to him (*q*), and received his Majesty's approbation for his engagement in this new art, but the King returned to England without any great enforcement, before Caxton compleated his said work. He wrought some time upon it at Ghent, but he finished it at Cologne in the year 1471. Then he returned to Bruges, and presented his performance to the Lady Margaret, who very graciously accepted, and liberally rewarded him for it; he also then dispatched his copies to his other friends and encouragers, who had been impatient for the same; and no doubt some of them he sent into England, if he did not then bring them over himself. And hence it is, from this transmission, or introduction, of the said specimens or products of the art, that John Stow, and others of our Chronologists, have dated Master Caxton's first introducing the art itself among us, in or about that year (*r*). Though indeed, we cannot now find that the art was practised in England by him till at least three years after, much less by any body else; however, a certain writer, very superficially acquainted with our literary antiquities, yet moved by private interest, near two hundred years after, did, by a blind unauthorised story, insinuate, that a foreigner practised the art of Printing in England, six years before Master Caxton [*E*]. After he published

(*q*) Philip, de Comines. J. Speed's Chron. &c.

(*r*) Stow's Annals, folio edit. 1615, p. 404.

'*redoubted Lady* sent for him, to enquire it seems, what 'progress he had made in this translation. And when 'she had seen, or read, five or six quires (or parcells) 'of it, she found a *defaute* in the English, but commanded him to *amande*, and *make an end of the residue*: accordingly he proceeded in his translation; 'which he tells us, he begun in Brugis, the first of March, 'in the year 1468, continued in Gaunt, and finished 'in Colen, the 19th of September 1471.' Having thus finished the translation of this book, he next says, 'He 'deliberated in himself to take the laboure in hand of 'printing it, together with the third book of the *Destruction of Troy* (17) translated of late by John Lydgate, 'a Monk of Burye, in English rithme.' Of this, Mr Caxton gives us the following account, full of complaints of the painfulness of it to him. — 'Thus, *says he*, end I this booke — and for as moche as in 'wrytynge the same, my penne is worne, myne hand 'wery, and myn eyen demmed, with overmoch lokyng 'on the white paper, — and that age creepeth on me 'daily, and feebleth all the body — and also, because 'I have promysid to dyverce gentilmen, and to my 'frendes to addresse to hem as hastely as I might this said 'book; therefore, I have practysed and lerned at my 'grete charge and dispence, to ordyne this sayde book 'in prynte, after the manner and forme as ye may 'here see; and is not wreton with penne and ynke as 'other bokes ben, to thende that all men may have 'them attones; for all the bookes of this storye, 'named, THE RECULE OF THE HISTORYS OF TROYES 'thus emprynted as ye here see, were begonne in oon 'day, and also fynyshed in oon day (18).' Thus it is observed of Faust and Schæffer, the very first practisers of this art of Printing, That they used to advertise the publick, at the end of their first printed works from Mentz, that they were *non atramento, plumali canna neque ære*, not written with a pen and ink, as all other books had been before, but made by a new art or invention of Printing, or stamping them with characters, or types of metal, set in forms, whereby the several sheets were done all at once, and not line by line, as when they were written (19). The same notice was given by other Printers in the first books that were printed by them in other towns and cities, as Dr Middleton has truely observed (20).

[*E*] *That a foreigner practised the art of Printing in England, six years before Master Caxton.*] This is asserted by one Richard Atkyns; who, in the time of our Civil Wars, having reduced his fortune in the service of the Crown, sought to repair it after the Restoration, by endeavouring to entitle the Crown to one of the most valuable privileges of the people. And, after having been at the expence of above a thousand pounds in Chancery, and other Law Courts, for near twenty-four years, to prove the right of the King's Grant in Printing of Law-books (21), he published a pamphet in which he tells an unknown improbable tale, to prove the Art of Printing was a Royal purchase, and thereby to insinuate that it was a Royal prerogative, in order to get himself made a Patentee for the Printing of books in that Science, which it is said he afterwards did; not heeding therein how slavishly for a little private and pecuniary advantage he undermined the liberties of his countrymen; how rancorously he vilified the Stationers, as a swarm of drones, who lived upon the labours of the painful Printers; or how unwarrantably he robbed Master Caxton of the honour wherewith he had long been by the suffrage of all learned men, undeniably invested, of first introducing and practising this most scientifical invention among us. Indeed, as a Poet may have licence to make use of any incidents, or arguments, that are plausible, or conducive to his purpose, there need be little exception made to a speech in Shakespeare, where Jack Cade charges the Lord Say, who was put to death by his rebellious authority in 1450, with the following unpardonable crimes: 'Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the 'Realm, in erecting a Grammar-School! and whereas 'before, our forefathers had no other books but the 'score and the tally, thou hast caused PRINTING to be 'used! and contrary to the King, his Crown and Dig'nity, thou hast built a PAPER-MILL (22)!' If this Lord Say did really put these things in practice but a few years before he died, he might be set up for the first inventor of Printing himself; the earliest *Epocha* of any thing considerable in that art even abroad hardly appearing older. This is nothing in a poetical writer; and a critical one, will not severely censure an *Anachronism* in him, which he will allow in the greatest Poets among the Ancients; and seeing, this our Poet has been less extravagant in Chronology, or the Æra of Printing, than one of our most professed Historians. For Dr Fuller, under the year 1400, says (23) that, 'Over into England, about this time, first 'came the Mystery of Printing.' But the author we are here more particularly to produce, Mr Atkyns, where he undertakes to play also the Historian, as well as Shakespeare upon this subject, tho' he may not digress so much in point of time, yet in other circumstances, will prove I am afraid, more a Poet of the two. His first business is, to set our Historians aside; tho' he never read what one, of the greatest intelligence among them, who was Librarian to King Henry VIII, has said, where he calls Caxton, *Angliæ Prototypographus*, 'The first Printer of England (24),' and only cites John Stow; whose words are these under the year 1459, 'The noble Science of Printing was about this 'time found in Germany at Magunce by one John 'Cuthemburgus a Knight; and William Caxton of Lon'don, Mercer, brought it into England about the 'year 1471, and first practised the same in the Abbey 'of St Peter at Westminster (25).' Whereunto he adds the concurrence of Sir Richard Baker (26) and Mr James Howel (27). In the next place, those words are to be wilfully misunderstood, or quibbled out of their meaning, then a strange story is to be put in their room; as follows. 'Historians must of necessity take many things 'upon trust; they cannot with their own, but with the 'eyes of others, see what things were done before 'they themselves were; *Bernardus non vidit omnia*: 'it is not then impossible, they should mistake. I 'shall now make it appear they have done so, from 'their own, as well as from other arguments. Mr 'Stow's expressions are very dubious, and the matter 'expressed very improbable. He saith, Printing, was 'first *found* in Magunce, which presupposes it was 'practised somewhere else before, and *lost*: and fur'ther, That it was found in the reign of King 'Henry VI, *Anno Dom.* 1459, and not brought into 'England

(17) The History, Siege and Destruction of Troy, at the Commandement of King Henry V. 1412, in English Metre or Verse. Tho. Speght's Catal. of John Lydgate's Works.

(18) Lewis's Life of Caxton; and The colophon to *The Recuyel*, &c.

(19) Lewis, as before, p. 6.

(20) Dr Conyers Middleton's Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England; shewing, that it was first introduced and practised by our countryman William Caxton at Westminster, and not as is commonly believed by a foreign Printer at Oxford. edit. Cambr. 4*to*, 1735, p. 16.

(21) See An Epistle to the Parliament, prefixed to The Original and Growth of Printing; collected out of History, and the Records of this kingdom: wherein it is demonstrated, That Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of England, by Ric. Atkyns, Esq; Printed by the order of Secretary Morrice, 4*to*, 1664.

(22) Shakespear's second Part of King Henry VI. Act iv. Scene vi.

(23) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 58.

(24) J. Lelandi Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, edit. Oxon, 8*vo*, 1709, Tom. II. c. 586, p. 480.

(25) Stow's Annals, fol. 1615, p. 404.

(26) Baker's Chron. fol. 284.

(27) Howel's Londinopolis, or Historical Descript. of Lond. and Westm. fol. 353.

lished *The Book of Troy*, he proceeded it seems in printing others; and if he had before no

hand

'England till eleven years in the succeeding reign of 'Edward IV, being twelve years after; as if it had 'been *lost again*. If this be true, there was as little 'reality as expedition in obtaining it, the age of 'twelve years time having intervened; and so indeed, 'it might be the act of a Mercer, rather than a more 'eminent person. But, when I consider what great 'advantage the kingdom in general receives by it, I 'could not but think a publique person, and publique 'purse, must needs be concerned in so publique a 'good. The more I considered of this, the more in-'quisitive I was, to find out the truth of it. At last, a 'book came to my hands, printed at *Oxon*, *Anno* '*Dom.* 1468 (28), which was three years before any 'of the recited authors would allow it to be in Eng-'land; which gave me some reward for my curiosity, 'and encouragement to proceed further: and in prose-'cution of this discovery, the same most worthy per-'son, who trusted me with the aforesaid book, did 'also present me with the *copy of a Record* and *manu-*'*script* in *Lambeth-house*, heretofore in his custody, be-'longing to the See, and not to any particular Arch-'bishop of Canterbury; the *substance* whereof was 'this, tho' I hope, for publique satisfaction, the Re-'cord itself, in it's due time, will appear. — Thomas 'Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury moved the 'then King, Henry VI, to use all possible means for 'procuring a Printing-mold, for so it was there called, 'to be brought into this kingdom; the King, a good 'man, and much given to works of this nature, 'readily harkened to the motion; and taking private 'advice how to effect his design, concluded it could 'not be brought about without great secrecy, and a 'considerable sum of money given to such person or 'persons, as would draw off some of the workmen 'from Harlem, in Holland, where John Cuthenberg 'had newly invented it, and was himself personally 'at work. It was resolved, that less than one thousand 'marks would not produce the desired effect; towards 'which sum, the said Archbishop presented the King 'with three hundred marks. The money being now 'prepared, the management of the design was com-'mitted to Mr Robert Turnour, who then was of the 'robes to the King, and a person most in favour with 'him, of any of his condition. Mr Turnour took to 'his assistance Mr Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, 'who trading much into Holland, might be a credit-'able pretence, as well for his going, as staying in the 'Low-Countries. Mr Turnour was in disguise, his 'beard and hair shaven quite off, but Mr Caxton ap-'peared known and publique. They having received 'the sum of one thousand marks, went first to Amster-'dam, then to Leydon, not daring to enter Harlem 'itself; for the town was very jealous; having im-'prisoned and apprehended divers persons, who came 'from other parts for the same purpose. They staid 'till they had spent the whole one thousand marks in 'gifts and expences. So as the King was fain to send 'five hundred marks more; Mr Turnour having written 'to the King, that he had almost done his work; a 'a bargain, as he said, being struck between him and 'two Hollanders for bringing off one of the work-'men, who should sufficiently discover and teach this 'new art. At last, with much ado, they got off one 'of the under-workmen, whose name was Frederick 'Corsells, or rather Corsellis; who late one night 'stole from his fellows in disguise, into a vessel pre-'pared before for that purpose; and so the wind, fa-'vouring the design, brought him safe to London. 'It was not thought so prudent to set him on work at 'London, but by the Archbishop's means, who had 'been Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards Chancellor of 'the University of Oxon, Corsellis was carried with a 'guard to Oxon; which constantly watched to pre-'vent Corsellis from any possible escape, till he had 'made good his promise, in teaching how to print. 'So that at Oxford, Printing was first set up in Eng-'land; which was, before there was any Printing-'Press, or Printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Ger-'many; except the city of Mentz, which claims 'seniority, as to Printing, even of Harlem itself; 'calling her city *Urbem Maguntinam Artis Typogra-*'*phicæ Inventricem primam*, tho' it is known to be 'otherwise; that city gaining that art by the brother 'of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learnt 'it at home of his brother, and after set up for him-'self at Mentz. This press at Oxon, was at least ten 'years before there was any printing in Europe, ex-'cept at Harlein and Mentz, where also it was but 'new born. This press at Oxford, was afterwards 'found inconvenient, to be the sole Printing-place of 'England, as being too far from London, and the 'sea; whereupon the King set up a press at St Albans, 'and another in the Abbey of Westminster; where 'they printed several books of Divinity and Physick, 'for the King, for reasons best known to himself and 'Council, permitted then no *Law-books* to be printed; 'nor did any Printer exercise that *Art*, but *only* such 'as were the *King's sworn servants*; the King him-'self having the price and emolument for printed 'books (29).' Many objections have been made to this Narrative of that Record and Manuscript, as it is called, for in nothing so bulky or conspicuous as a Chonicle is it pretended to be preserved; and many incoherencies with matters of fact detected therein. It is observed, I. That neither Mr Atkyns, nor his anonymous friend, do any ways pretend to have seen the oirginal of such a Record, &c. much less to have compared the copy therewith. II. They give no account when, where, or by whom the same was written; nor by what means it came into, or by whose it was communicated out of, the Lambeth library. III. No author before, none besides Mr Atkyns, and those who have taken it upon trust from him, have ever mentioned this Record, or ever saw any substance or abstract of it, tho' he pretends to wish the Record itself in due time may appear. IV. No such Record was to be found at Lambeth by the person who was particularly employed to search after it by the late Earl of Pembroke. V. That manifest inconsistences in this Narrative, with the most confirmed authorities we have now attained concerning the discovery of the Art abroad, have also raised many exceptions (30), and might so many more, with respect to the practice of it in England, as would sufficiently distinguish, if thoroughly sifted, the whole to have been a chain of inventions, hung upon two or three noted names, and the slight support of a book printed at Oxford, without any Printer's name to it, and with a date at the end of it, which is attested to be false by the workmanship on every foregoing leaf in it, and many other corroborating circumstances. Dr Middleton having examined this relation of that pretended Record, makes several remarks upon it, from whence he concludes it to be a meer forgery (31); and thinks 'Mr Atkyns, a bold vain man, might be the inventor 'of it; having an interest in imposing upon the world, 'to confirm his argument, that Printing was of the Pre-'rogative Royal, in opposition to the Stationers; against 'whom he was engaged in expensive law suits, in de-'fence of the King's Patents, under which he claimed 'some exclusive powers of Printing.' As for the book aforesaid, which, for it's date of M.CCCC.LXVIII, would take place, as senior by six years, of all other books, that have been the issue of any English press, it is a suspected date; and is very reasonably taken by the said Doctor, and others, to have been falsified originally by the Printer, either through design or mistake; and an X to have been dropped or omitted in the age of it's impression (32): an error so common in Printing, especially of numerals, that there are few readers, who have been much conversant in books, but have met with instances of it. Master Caxton himself, will afford some examples; and, I have seen others in books so far antedated, that, if the dates alone were to carry it, or might satisfy us of the years in which they were really printed, they would entitle London to the invention of Printing, perhaps before any other place in Europe: but, if you were to inspect, or examine them, the novelty of their subject matter, or more modern manner of Printing, would contradict their pretended antiquity: just as the case is here; where the neatness of the letter, and the regularity of the page; but above all, the use of signatures, or letters and figures at the bottom, for the greater convenience of gathering the sheets in order, and folding them in binding, being an improvement in the art, not used so early as the pretended date of that book, brings it to a certainty, that it is erroneous (33). And

what

(28) That book, though not mentioned by this author, is intituled, *Exposicio Sancti Ieronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum, ad Papam Laurentium*; and at the end, *Explicit Expositio, &c. Impressa Oxonie, & finita Anno Dom.* MCCCCLXVIII, xvii *die Decembris*. See Mich. Maittaire's *Annal. Typogr.* edit. *Hage Comit.* 4to, 1719, Vol. I. p. 63.

(29) Rich. Atkyns's Original and Growth of Printing, &c. p. 3—5.

(30) See Samuel Palmer's General Hist. of Printing, and particularly in England, 4to, 1732, B. iii. ch. 1, &c.

(31) Dissertat. on the Origin of Printing in England, p. 6.

(32) Idem, p. 7.

(33) Ibid. p. 9.

hand in that edition of *Bartholomæus*, printed as abovementioned at Cologne, he might now in the other undated one; and of the next book which he is better known to have printed, I mean *The Game of Chess*; it appears by an undated edition, that he made some small impression while he resided in the Court at Bruges. In these employments, upon those, with other like works perhaps; and the time required to provide himself with presses, types, and all other printing materials, in order to practise and establish the art in his own country; being now arrived at the evening of life, and naturally inclining homeward, he might pass those three years; till he appears, by the edition of that book of *Chess* dated in 1474, to be settled in England; which book is reputed to be the first (*s*) that

(*s*) John Bagford, Sam. Palmer, Dr Middleton, *&c.*

what further confirms it is, that there was not any other book printed for ten or eleven years after at Oxford. If Frederick Corsellis was brought thither at such expence, according to the Record, to practise the art, how comes it that he never printed any thing in all that while, or that his name appeared not to that one book, if he did print it? If he came to teach the Art there, how comes it that no body learnt it? If he was discouraged, or met with any inconvenience there, he would have been acceptable at Cambridge; that University being boasted to have a power to print within the same, *Omnes & Omnimodos Libros*, which the University of Oxford hath not (34); and yet we hear of no printing there, till long after there was at Oxford; and then, some of the earliest printing for their use, appears to have been executed by Wynkin de Worde, in the year 1510 (35). But it was some seven years after that, before Sibert, their University Printer, brought the Mystery to any tolerable perfection; and then indeed, he fairly set forth Erasmus his book, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*; the author at the same time living in Cambridge, who may be presumed curious in supervising the impression (36): and if there was such a man as Corsellis at Oxford, who printed nothing but one book in eleven years, why might not he have been as well employed by the University of Cambridge, as were afterwards, the said Wynkin and Sibert? If it was inconvenient to have the only press so remote from London, and the sea, as at Oxford or Cambridge; and therefore presses were set up at Westminster and St Albans, according to Mr Atkyns; Corsellis, if he was the only first performer of the art, must have been heard of there, to have wrought at one, or other of them; and then, being a Foreigner, it would probably have been upon Latin books: but where, among us, do we hear of any so early printed, that suspected one beforementioned excepted, as some of the English ones, that were set forth by Caxton? If the King, for reasons best known to himself and Council, permitted no Law-books to be printed; and, if no Printers exercised that art, but only such as were the King's sworn servants, as Mr Atkyns also above asserts; how came John Lettou and Will. de Machlinia, two foreign Printers in London, who were no sworn servants of the King, to print Judge Littleton's book of Tenures about the time of, or not long after, his death? Lastly, if Master Caxton was thirty years absent from England, as Bale, Pits, and many other authors have allowed from his own words, then, how could he be within that time sent from hence, with Mr Turnour, to lie at Amsterdam and Leyden in Holland, in order to spirit over a Printer from Harlem; when he was at that very time waiting upon the Duchess of Burgundy, translating and actually printing a book himself by her command, at Bruges in Flanders? In short, the more I consider Mr Atkyns his Record or account of it, the more it appears a fiction or romance; whereas, if we admit of Dr Middleton's conjecture, as what is most obvious and probable about the date of that book, all the repugnance will be reconciled, all the obscurity cleared up; a numerical letter in the date being only restored therein, makes it M.CCCC.LXXVIII. Then, the book appearing printed in the same manner, and with the same letter, as two more, the next two oldest books at Oxford were printed the next year; we may presume, by another also printed not long after them at the same place, with the name of it's Printers, that the same hands printed them all; and then there will be no room to allow of any such man as Corsellis to have been before there; nor need, to submit to such contradictions, as we have observed must occur, by his introducement at the time and in the manner aforesaid. If then it be granted, that the book of St *Jerom* in dispute above cited, was printed at Oxford in the year last mentioned, the press will appear to be kept going some time there; for the next year it also produced *Leonard Aretin's translation of Aristotle's Ethics* (37). And though the name of it's Printer is not mentioned therein, there will appear good reason to believe, that no person named Corsellis had any hand in it; that both were printed with the same Types, and that these were set by the same Compositor. The same press also brought forth another performance the same Year, printed after the same manner. This, like the first, is a religious treatise, upon *Original Sin*, composed by Egidio Romano (38). Of all these three books, the Oxford Antiquarian says, *Perspicuis magis et pulchrioribus, quam recentiores nonnulli*; that they are more distinctly printed, and more beautiful, than some of later date. Which similitude or congruity of workmanship in them, very much implies, that they were not done by different hands. And, indeed, so few there were then in England, that but four years after these books were printed, an Act of Parliament was passed, whereby leave was given to 'any artificer, or merchaunt straunger, of what nation or country he was, or should be of, to bring into the Realme, and sell by retaile, or otherwise, anie book, writen or printed (39).' And the reason hereof, is said, by another act, to have been, that there were then, 'But *few printers* within the Realme, which could well exercise and occupie the science and crafte of Printing (40).' Which would not be expected, if so great a Master of it was purchased over, and guarded here, to teach it us so long before, as fifteen years. But the whole mystery of this first printing at Oxford, seems to be cleared up in the annals of the Art the following year, and that Frederick Corsellis, of whom we have hitherto seen nothing but the name, seems to be turned at last into Thomas Hunte, who is commemorated in some Latin verses, printed by (41) his partner Theodoric Rood, at the end of Aretin's Latin translation of Phalaris his Epistles, for having printed the first Latin books at Oxford, as Nic. Jenson had done among the Venetians; these must be those books beforementioned, with, perhaps, others now lost, or then transported, if my said author computes right, that Hunte printed at Oxford, so soon as four years after Caxton began to print at Westminster (42). That Rood was a native of Cologne in Germany, where possibly Caxton might know him, and from whence he might probably draw him, after he was himself settled at Westminster, to assist Hunte at Oxford, as he did from 1480 to 1485, and how long after is not observed. It is further added, 'That the English had then a good relish of, and were well pleased with, the Latin tongue; and, that Hunte and Rood printed so many books, as to export, or send them abroad; or at least, so sufficiently to supply all demands for books in that language at home, that there was no occasion for the Venetians to send any of their printed books hither, as they were before wont to do (43).' And lastly, it is to be further remarked, That as the care and diligence of the most curious and inquisitive *Literati*, have hitherto been able to find no more than four books printed by those two Printers; so it makes it the more probable, that Hunte was the Printer of the three books beforementioned, which are dated in 1468 and 1479. So that, in the whole, of the first printing at Oxford, and the story of Corsellis, it may in effect be made out, partly by this Hunte, who first printed there, and partly by that Rood, who was introduced from Cologne (by Turnour and Caxton, if you please, but let it be after the Art was in action at Westminster) and might have, for ought we know, some assistant with him; whom I would rather suppose to be that Corsellis himself, than give the least displeasure to any person who may be living, by totally discrediting any late inscription upon a monument of the dead.

[F] *Which*

(34) Coke's Instit. 4. Of the Jurisdiction of Courts, p. 228.

(35) Robert Alynton's *Sophistica Principia*, was then printed by him at London, *Ad usum Cantabrigiensem*, says Dr Fuller, in his Hist. of the University of Cambr. fol. 1655, p. 59.

(36) Vid. Caii Hist. Cant. Acad. lib. ii. p. 127.

(37) Intituled, Textus Ethicorum Aristotelis, per Leonardum Arretinum lucidissime translatus correctissimeque impressus, Oxon. Anno Domini MCCCCLXXIX.

(38) Tractatus brevis et utilis de Originali Peccato, editus a fratre Egidio Romano, Ordinis fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Augustini. Impressus et finitus Oxonie, a Nativitate Dom. MCCCCLXXIX. xiiii die Mensis Marcii.

(39) Anno Primo Ric. III. cap. ix.

(40) Ann. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xv.

(41) See them in Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 24, 25.

(42) Ibidem.

(43) Ibidem.

that was ever printed in this kingdom [F]. Though we do not meet with any books of Caxton's printing that bear date till three years after this, it is very probable that a few of his undated books, especially some written by Chaucer, Lydgate, &c. as they bear the aspect of his earliest performances, were printed in this interval, of which, such as cannot be adjusted under their proper years, shall be mentioned at the end, after those which are dated have been spoken of. John Stow, and others following him, have not only said that Printing was introduced by Caxton, about three years sooner than that year last mentioned, but he expressly says, 'That in the Eleemosinary, or Almonry (at Westminster-'Abbey) now corruptly called the Ambry (t), for that the alms of the abbey were there 'distributed to the poor, John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, erected the first press of 'book-printing that ever was in England; and Caxton was the first that practised it in 'the said abbey (u).' Whoever authorised him, it is certain he did, there, at the entrance of the abbey, exercise the art; from whence a printing-room is to this day called a *Chapel.* But Stow and his followers are all mistaken in the Abbot's name; for if Islip was Abbot of Westminster as early as he makes him, he must have been so above threescore years, according to the account of his death and funeral which is still in being (w). 'Tis certain, that Dr Thomas Milling was Abbot in the year above spoken of; a learned man, celebrated by John Leland for his knowledge in the Greek tongue, a rarity in those days among the Monks. He was, in the said year when that book was printed, made Bishop of Hereford; when he seems to have held this Abbey *in commendam.* He out-lived Mr Caxton, was buried in the abbey, and then was succeeded by the bountiful John Estney; by whose monumental inscription also in the said abbey it appears, as transcribed by Mr Camden, that he survived Caxton seven years (x) before John Islip succeeded him; so that, if Islip was at any charge in settling Mr Caxton in his business, it must have been about twenty-four years before he had this preferment in the said abbey. As for what Mr Hearne mentions of Abbot Islip's knowing Mr Caxton before, and employing him to transcribe and translate several old pieces for his use, though it may not be altogether improbable, yet there is no other authority for it, than John Bagford's short and inacurate account

(t) To this day the house is the sign of the *King's Head*, says Bagford, but doth not seem so ancient, being a brick building, &c.

(u) Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 525.

(w) Lately in the Possession of John Anstis, Esq; Garter King of Arms, and probably to be found also in the Herald's Office: wherein it appears, that this John Islip died Abbot of Westminster in the year 1532.

(x) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, et alii in Ecclesiæ Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii Sepulti, &c. Lond. 4*to*, 1600. Sig. H. 2. b.

[F] *Which book is reputed to be the first that was ever printed in this kingdom.*] Mr Lewis, out of the Preface of the *second Edition* of this book, printed without any date, or name of the place at which it was printed, makes a citation of Caxton's; where, expressing how commendable it is in those who will take pains, to instruct the unlearned and ignorant in wisdom and virtue, he adds, 'Emonge whom, there was an 'excellent Doctour of Dyvynyte in the Royame of 'Fraunce, of the Order of thospital of Saynt John's 'of Jherusalem, which entended the same, and hath 'made a booke of the *Chesse moralysed*; whiche at 'suche tyme as I was resident in Brugys, in the Counte 'of Flaunders, cam into my Handes; whiche whan I 'had redde and overseen, me semed ful necessarye for 'to be had in Englishe; and in eschewyng of ydlenes, 'and to thende, that somme which have not sene it, 'ne understonde Frensh ne Latyn, I delybered in 'my self to translate it unto our maternal Tongue. 'And when I so had achyeved the said Translacion, I 'dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of 'theym, which anone were depesshed and solde. 'Wherfore bycause thys sayd Book is ful of holsom 'wysedom, and requysyte unto every astate and de-'gree, I have purposed to enprynte it, shewyn therin, 'the figures of such persones as longen to the play '(44).' By this it should appear, that the former edition was without figures; and those in this are very rudely cut; of which Mr Lewis further observes, 'That those of the *Alphines*, which are directed to be 'formed in manner of judges setting in a chair, with a 'book open before their eyes; and of the *Rookes*, 'which ben Vycarys and Legates of the Kynge, have 'such caps, or hoods, on their heads, as Mr Caxton's 'picture has (45).' And, indeed, it has been presumed, that the Prints which have been made of Caxton were invented from some of these Figures. The edition of this book, which we have seen, is a small folio, and that which is dated, as above; and the Title is as follows, *The Game and Play of the Chesse; in which Thauctorities, Dictes, and Stories of auncient Doctours, Philosophers, Poetes, and of other wyse men been recounted, and applied unto the Moralitie of the publique Wele, as well of the nobles, as of the comyn people. Translated out of French and imprinted by* William Caxton, *fynysshid of, the last day of Marche, the yere of our Lord God, a thousand foure hundred and* LXXIIII. Our typographical Antiquaries all allow this book to have been printed in England, though no place is mentioned in it; also, to have been the first specimen of the Art among us; and as such it has been so valued, that it is said, the late Earl of Pembroke, for a fair copy thereof, which was given him by Mr Granger, presented him with a purse of forty guineas. It is dedicated by Caxton to the King's brother, George Duke of Clarence; who being about four years afterwards sentenced to death for treason, made his end, according his choice, in the Tower of London, in a butt of Malmsey. And 'tis justly observed, to those who doubt of it's being printed in England, that by Caxton's telling the Duke, he made this Booke *in the name and under the shadewe of his* noble Protection, it is very strongly imply'd that he was *in England*; since how could he be under *his* protection *out of it* (46). Further, as a memorial that printing was first practised in England this year 1474, it is presumed that Caxton afterwards used at the end of his books, that Cypher or Device, complicating the two latter figures of that date in a knot, between the initial letters of his name, which we shall more particularly express in it's due place. The book was originally writ in Latin; and the author of it has been called Jacobus de Thessalonica, of the order of preaching Friers (47). But Antonius Senensis, in his chronicle of the said order, calls him Jacobus de Cezolis; and says, he flourish'd about the year 1295. Lambecius observ'd, That his true name was Casulis, from the city of Casali in Italy, where he was born; which corrupted to Thessalis, and ridiculously to Thessalonica. He agrees with the former author, as to the age of the writer; but L'Abbe removes him backward near a century. Du Fresne supposes Jac. de Cessulis, and Jac. de Thessalonica, to be two different men of the same order; the first living about the time aforesaid, and the last about 1410. And the same learned writer thinks this game of Chess to have been an Arabian, or Persian game, since he derives the Title *de ludo Schaccorum*, from the word Schach, which in Arabick signifies a King, who is the principal person in the Game. This book having been rendered out of Latin into French, was now translated by Master Caxton from thence, into English. Others have written upon the subject; namely, one Simon Ailward, an English Poet, who lived in the year 1456, and wrote a book of Latin Monkish Rymes upon this game; some of which may be seen in my author (48). We have a little book or two in English prose, one in 4*to*, the other in 8*vo*, upon the same subject; but whether written upon the same plan with those before-mentioned, and with respect to any moral, or political application, I do not now remember.

(44) Mr Lewis's Life of W. Caxton, p. 142.

(45) Idem, ibid.

(46) Ibid. p. 11

(47) Vide Oudnir, De Script. Vol. III.

(48) J. Pits, in Append. Illustr. Angl. Script. Cent. iv. p. 935.

account of Caxton's Life, annexed to the Proposals he published for printing an *Historical Account of the Art of Typography* (y). Caxton, in one of his books, having enumerated some of those he had before printed (z), mentions, after the former two, *The History of Jason*, which, though undated, we shall therefore next give some account of [G]. It is thought this book was printed by him in the year 1475, as we have observed in the note, or at furthest the year after. But of the time when he printed his next book, and the place where, we can speak with greater certainty, because he mentions them both in it: it is properly a book of Apophthegms collected out of the works of the Ancients, and first compiled in Latin, which was afterwards translated into the French tongue, and from thence into English by a Nobleman of great merit and renown, who was the Queen's brother; a man no less famous for arms than literature. This book, which is intituled, *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, was printed by Caxton at Westminster in 1477. Of which, together with a short Collection of Proverbs in verse, which he printed the same year, we shall here refer to some farther particulars [H]. Between the month of May in the

(y) See a larger Account of Mr Bagford's Scheme, and Collections for this Work, in The Philosophical Transactions for June 1707. Which was drawn up by Mr Humphrey Wanley. Bagford lived nine years after that, and never published his History; but his papers are in the Harleian Library of MSS.

(z) The Golden Legende.

[G] *Which we shall next give some account of.*] It is entitled, *The Historie of Jason; towchyng the Conqueste of the Golden Flese: Translated from the Frensh, and printed by William Caxton*, in a thin folio, without date. By the order in which Mr Caxton mentions it in his *Golden Legend*, as we observed, it should be the next book he printed. 'Tis with a type different from the former two, and wherewith he printed several others. It was written in French by the old Duke of Burgundy's chaplain, author of *The Recuyel* before-mentioned, and by him dedicated to the said Duke *Philip*, surnamed the *Good*, who, in memory of Jason's expedition, founded the order of the Golden Fleece. It was newly compiled from all the histories of Jason, especially what Dares Frigius had written (49), and Guido de Columpnys upon that subject (50). This translation was enterprised by Caxton, as he says, in his prologue, 'For the honour and worship of King 'Edward IV,' who had been elected Knight of the said order in the first Chapter held by his brother-in-law Charles Duke of Burgundy, May 8, 1468. Caxton also mentions a stately chamber in the old Duke's castle at Hesdin in Artois, finely adorned with the paintings of this story, and some other curious embellishments of art, in these words. 'Well wote I, 'that the noble Duc Philippe, first founder of this said 'order, did doo make a chambre in the castell of 'Hesdyn, wherein was craftyly and curyously depeynt-'ed the conqueste of the Golden Flese by the said Ja-'son. In which chambre I have ben, and seen the 'sayd historie so depeynted; and in remembraunce of 'Medea, and her cunning and science, he had doo 'make in the sayd chambre by subtyll engyne, that, 'when he wold, it shulde seem, that it lightned, and 'after thondre, snowe and rayne, and all within the 'sayd chambre, as aft tymes, and when it shulde 'please him, which was all made for his singuler plea-'sir (51).' 'Tis probable that all these fine ornaments were destroyed when that town and castle were demolished by Philibert Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and General to the Emperor Charles V. in 1553. But afterwards, by the advice of John German Bishop of Nevers, the first Chancellor of this order, Jason's Fleece was changed for Gideon's, and his story was wrought into rich hangings of gold and silver, which were remaining in the court at Brussels in the year 1652, when Chiflet published his book of this order (52). Hence some people misconceived the foundation of the order, as Caxton well observes, where he says, in the said prologue, 'Howe well some persones affirme and 'saye, that the sayde ordre hath taken his original of 'the Flese of Gideon, I will not dispute.' He also says, that he presumed not to present it to the King, because he did not doubt but he had it in French: But intended through his licence, and the supportation of the Queen, to present it to his most redoubted young Lord the Prince of Wales, to the intent he might begin to learn to read English. It has been reckoned, that the said Prince was then about five years old (53), which, if a right computation, will prove this book to have been printed in 1475. There was a book printed upon the same subject a few years after abroad, but whether a new edition of this, or a different work, we know not (54).

(49) De Bello Trojano.

(50) Distructionis Trojæ Historia.

(51) Caxton's Prologue to The Historie of Jason.

(52) Breviarium Ordinis Velleris Aurei.

(53) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 145.

(54) The Historie of the Knyght Jason, By Gerard de Leew, fol. Andewarp 1480. The same Printer emprinted The Chronycles of the Reame of Englonde, with their Apperteignaunces. *Annales Typograph.*

[H] *We shall here refer to some further particulars.*] The former of these two pieces, named *The Dictes and Sayengis of the Philosophres, translated out of Frensh by Antone Erle Ryvyers*, &c. and *Emprynted by William Caxton at Westmestre, Folio* 1477, consists of seventy-five leaves. This translator was Anthony Wydeville, Earl of Rivers, Lord Scales, and of Newsells, a man renowned in his time for his literary, as well as warlike accomplishments. He was the son of Sir Richard Wydeville, the first Earl of Rivers, by Jaquetta his wife, relict of John Duke of Bedford, and daughter to Peter of Luxemburg, Earl of St Paul. The said Anthony Wydeville was, when about seventeen years of age, with the Earl his father, stolen or forced away at Sandwich, and carried to France; as may be read in a memorandum of William de Wyrcestre's, which is quoted in these words, '*Cito post dictum festum nativi-'tatis Domini* 1459, *Johannes Denham, cum aliis de 'Calesia, secrete intravit Sandwycum, ac ibidem cepit 'Dominum de Reverys, et Antonium Widwele filium ejus, 'cum multis magnis navibus, & adduxit Calisiæ, Comi-'tatibus Marchiæ & Warrenici & Sarum, Calisiæ 'existentibus* (55).' Elizabeth, the sister of this Anthony, a beautiful lady, the relict of Sir John Gray of Grooby, was married to King Edward IV, in 1464. She lived to see her sons, two hopeful princes, murdered, besides her father, and this her worthy brother aforesaid; and died herself dispoiled of all, in restraint, at the monastery of Bermondsey in Southwark (56). A few years after, the said Anthony Lord Scales, became much renowned far and near, for the most magnificent feats of chivalry in Smithfield, that were, perhaps, ever performed there; whereof, having some years since been possessed of a very ancient and curious history, in manuscript, containing the whole ceremony, which is, probably, the most copious and exact account of any such martial solemnity now in being, a transient view of it's contents, by the heads thereof, in some parts enlarged a little out of the chapters themselves, may not be here unacceptable. This great and solemn encounter at the tilt or tournament, &c. was performed between the said Anthony Lord Scales, and Anthony the natural son of old Duke Philip before-mentioned; therefore called *The Bastard of Burgundy*, more often, and as a more honourable title (*), than by that of his Earldom, Count de la Roche, or other lordships, that he had. He was a man no less famous for his wit and courage than the Lord Scales, was the challenger himself to fight him on horseback and foot, and there were granted letters by his Majesty of safe conduct to the bastard and his train, it seems upon this occasion, which are preserved among our records (57). The capital title in that old manuscript history of those feats of chivalry between these two champions, is as follows, *The Actes of the full honorable and knightly Armes doon betwene the right noble Lords Sir* Antony Wodevile, Lord Scales and of Newselles, *brother to the moost high and excellent Princess, the Queen of* Englonde, *and of* Fraunce, *and Lady of* Irlonde, *Chalenger; and Sir* Anton, the *Bastarde of* Bourgoine, *Earl of* Roche, *and Lord of* Bener *and* Beneresse, *afore the moost Christien and victorious Prince,* Edward IV. *the King of* Englond, *and of* Fraunce, *and Lord of* Irlond; *the eleventh and twelfth daies of* Juyne, *in the seventh yeere of his Reigne, Defender: The Erle of* Worcestre, *the grete Conestable of* Englond (58); *in* Smythfeilde. Then follow the distinct narratives of the whole proceedings therein, in *twenty four chapters*; but as there are also three or four more of them, which precede that title, and relate to others following it, being, perhaps, inadvertently omitted, or not timely enough received to be entred in their proper order, we think it more regular and comprehensible to mention them with those whereunto they relate, than to speak of

(55) Lewis's Life of Caxton.

(56) Sandford's Genealog. Hist. fol. 407.

(*) Vide *Pontus Heuterus, de Rerum Burgundicarum*.

(57) Pro Bastardo Burgundiæ, super Punctis Armorum Perficiendis; in Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XI. fol. 1710, p. 573.

(58) Not the Duke of Clarence, as in John Stow, 1468.

the next year, and some time in the same month two years after, died that William Caxton

of the same things divided, and in different places; but shall refer in the margin to the pages whereon those are written, of which we shall here make the said connexion; and then, a short view of the whole will more orderly stand in this manner. Chapter I. The Fortune of the Emprise of the said full noble and valeriouse Knyght Sir Antony Wodevile; shewing, how on the Wednesday after the Feast of the Resurection, he had, in presence of the Queen, a Collar of Gold, with the rich *Flower of Souvenance* enamell'd, fastned above his knee, by some of her Ladys; with a Parchment Roll, or Bill, drop'd in his Bonnet, containing the Charge and Adventure he was to undertake. II. The Prologue of the said Lord Scales, after redyng of the said Bill, and the Chapters contained therein, for certain Arms on Horseback, and on Foote. Shewing the 'foresaid Prize was received of the Ladies on the 17th of April 1465. (†) III. The Contents of the Lord Scales his Letter to the Lord Bastard, dated the 18th of April following. This relates to, or is expressed more at large in one of the Chapters preceding the Title above, thus describ'd. 'This is the Writing and Articles sent by the Lord 'Scales unto the Bastard of Burgoyne;' dated from Shene, the day last mentioned (59). IV. The Supplication of the said Lord to the King, that an Herald may carry over the said Prize and Chapters to the Lord Bastard, with the King's command to Chester-Herald to carry the same, and to the Constable of England to record this memorable Act. To this may properly follow, the Certificate of John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, High Constable of England, attesting, the Queen's giving the *Flower of Souvenance* to the said Sir Anthony Wodvile, Lord Scales, as a Charge to undertake the Enterprise, and his Delivery of it to Chester-Herald, that he might carry it over to be touched by the Bastard, in token of his accepting the Challenge, on the 22d of April (60). V. The Presentation of the said Letter and Prize to the Lord Bastard at Bruxels the last day of April; and his touching the same, by Licence of the Duke of Burgundy (with his Speech and Presents thereupon). VI. The Names of those present at the Touching of the Prize. These were Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and Heralds; as in a Chapter before the Title (61). The Answer of the said Lord Bastard to the Lord Scale's Letters aforesaid. Dat. Bruxells, 4 May (62). VII. The coming of the Lord Bastard to Gravesend 19 of May, accompanied with Lords, Knights, Esquires, *&c.* above four hundred; met by Garter King of Arms. VIII. The Return of Chester-Herald to Greenwich, with the Prize touched, 23d of May. IX. The Meeting of the Bastard at Blackwall by the Lord High Constable, with seven Barges, and a Galley full of Attendance, richly covered with Cloth of Gold and Arras, 30th of May. Is appointed the Bishop of Salisbury's Palaces in Fleetstreet, and at Chelsea, for lodging. X. The King's Procession to London, and solemn Meeting of the Bastard in Fleetstreet, where his Lordship and the Lord Scales had the first Interview, who bore the Sword before the King, Tuesday 2d of June. XI. The Presentation to the King at Westminster, of the Bastard the same Day: His desire for the day of Battle to be fixed; and also, the like desire of the Lord Rivers, in behalf of his son the Lord Scales. The Barriers order'd in Smithfield (63), and the day appointed is the eleventh of June. XII. The Procession or coming of the Lord Scales from Greenwich richly accompanied and array'd: Lodged in the Bishop of Ely's Palace in Holborne, Friday 5th of June. XIII. The Chapter holden at Paul's by the Constable, for declaration of doubts moved upon the Chapters or Articles of Combat. XIV. The Names of the Lord Scales his Counsel, and the Bastard's. XV. The Field more particularly appointed and describ'd. XVI. The Procession or coming of the Lord Scales to St Bartholomew's, 10th of June. XVII. The Ordenance of keeping of the Field by the Heralds, 11th of June. XVIII. The Entrance into the Field on the said day of Battle by the Lord Scales, attended by nine Noblemen, who bore his weapons. XIX. The Ornaments of the Trappers, and the nine Pages on Horseback, who attended him. XX. The Description of his Pavillion. XXI. The coming of the Bastard with seven Followers; his Pages on Horseback, and Noblemen bearing his Arms; all richly adorn'd. XXII.

(†) So this extract of that MS. but *Quere* if it should not be 1467 or 1468; being the 7th of King Edward, as was before said.

(59) Fol. 17.

(60) Fol. 20.

(61) Idem.

(62) Fol. 21.

(63) The Lists were 120 yards and 10 feet long; and 80 yards 10 feet broad; double barr'd, 5 feet between the bars: The timber and workmanship cost 200 marks; besides fair and costly galleries for the Nobility, *&c.* of both sexes. See Hall, Stow, *&c.*

The Proclamation at the four corners of the Field. XXIII. After the Cry of *Lesser Aller*, the Encounter is begun: The Bastard and his Horse thrown to the Ground (64). He refuses to fight any more on Horseback. XXIV. The Arms done on Foot the next day. Their Attendants and Accoutrements particularly describ'd. The King forbids the perilous Spears that were brought for them, it being but an act of Sport. The whole Issue of the Combat; in which the Lord Scales appearing again too hard for the Bastard, and the King perceiving they were growing in earnest, and into a cruel assault, gave the signal to part them (65); commanding them to shake hands and respect one another, as brothers in arms; which they did, in the middle of the field, and so departed. These are the heads of that ancient manuscript. As to the particulars of the combat, further than are mentioned in the margin, we refer to the chronicles; only, if the date of the year that these Justes were performed in, is rightly here mentioned, then it should seem rather to be upon celebrating the Coronation of the Lord Scales his sister Queen Elizabeth. And if the King's letters of safe conduct for the Bastard beforementioned are rightly dated in Rymer, that is in October the next year, they may import a new permission for another trial of skill in the 6th of K. Edward, which he calls 1466. But if this should be 1467, then we may with Stow fix the combat upon the conclusion of the marriage between King Edward's sister and the duke of Burgundy's son, in the year 1468 (66). As for what further concerns the story of this noble author, the Lord Scales, we shall only mention, that in these times of the Civil Wars, between the Houses of York and Lancaster, his father Richard, the first Earl Rivers, with John his son, were in the year 1469 taken in the forest of Dean, and, by the faction at Northampton, with others beheaded, at the command of George, Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick. And as for this his surviving son, Anthony, now Earl Rivers, who was afterwards counsellor and governor of the young Prince Edward; and of whom Sir Thomas More says, *Vir haud facile discernas manuve, aut consilio promptior* (67): He was a man of such abilities, that it was difficult to distinguish, whether he was more able to advise, or to execute in affairs of state: As soon as King Edward died in 1483, he was sent for from Ludlow, with his royal Pupil, by the Protector Richard, seized at Stoney-Stratford, conveyed to Pontefract, and there, with others, beheaded the same day, in the Month of June, that the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, was at London (68), being aged about forty one years, as it may be computed from the account of his age at the death of his mother, Jacquett Duchess of Bedford, in 1472, as it stands upon record in the *Escheats*. With what superior splendor he shines among the illustrious, and, as it were, peerless, among peers, may be read in the general chronicles, the particular accounts of his family (69), and the memorials or testimonies of his merit that have been preserved in the works of several heraldical Antiquaries (70). Of the books he published, this containing *The Sayengies of the Philosophres* was the first, printed by Caxton at Westminster in 1477, containing seventy-five leaves, The Earl, in his preface, observes, That every human creature is subject to the storms of fortune, and perplexed with worldly adversity, of which he had largely had his part; but having been relieved by the goodness of God, he was exhorted to dispose his recovered life to his service. And understanding that there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St James's in Spain, Anno 1473, he determin'd upon a voyage thither. So in July, the same year, he set sail from Southampton; when a worshipful gentleman in his company, named Lowys de Bretaylles, lent him, to pass over the time, this book of the *Sayings of the Philosophers*, in French, which had been translated from the Latin by Messieur Johan de Teonville, Provost of Paris (71). The Earl was very much taken with the wholesome and sweet sayings of the *Paynems*; and finding how, 'It speaketh universally of the example, weel, and doctrine of alle Kynges, Prynces, 'and to people of every estate; lawdes vertue and 'science, blames vices and ignorance;' though he could not then, nor in all that pilgrimage, oversee it well at his pleasure, through the dispositions that belong to the taker of a jubilee and pardon, and the great

(64) Some say this was the second day of the Tourney; the spike in the chafron of Lord Scales's horse at the encounter, running into the nostrell of the Bastard's horse, he reared so an end, that both he and his rider fell to the ground. Stow's Annals, p. 420.

(65) When the point of Lord Scales's polax entering the sight of the Bastard's helm, he might have plucked him on his knees. Idem.

(66) Stow's Annals, as before, anno 1468. There is a disagreement in authors about a year throughout this reign, See Speed, edit. 1623, fol. 868; and Lewis, in Caxton's Life, p. 31.

(67) In Vit. Ricardi III.

(68) See Hall, Grafton, Speed, *&c.*

(69) In Dugdale's Barenage, *&c.*

(70) Among the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Seynt George, Norroy King at Arms; and his descendants.

(71) Some call him William de Tignonville or Thignonville, and say he was Provost of the university there in 1408, and that his translation is intituled, *Les Dicts Moraux des Philosophes, les Dicts des Sages, et les Secrets d'Aristote*: Annales Typogr.

Caxton at Westminster, who has been taken for the father of our Printer (*a*), as we before observed. And the same year, 1478, he printed another book, which was translated by the said Anthony Earl Rivers beforementioned. This is intituled *The Cordyal*, and it's double title seems to have occasioned some mistakes [*I*]. We have already spoken of

(*a*) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 19.

great acquaintance he found there of worshipful folks, he intended at a more convenient time to be better acquainted with it. Remaining in this opinion, after the King commanded him to attend upon the Prince, and having then leisure, he translated it into English, which had not been before done. But as there were divers copies of this book, differing from each other, he concludes with intimating his hopes, that he shall not be censur'd for that which he has follow'd, or his translation be judg'd of by those which vary from it. The work itself opens with the Sayings of Sedechias; so goes on with those of many eminent ancients; as Homer, Solon, Hyppocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Alexander, Ptolomy, Seneca, St Gregory, Galen, and some others, who are each of them allow'd a chapter for his sayings, but the last is more miscellaneous. A taste of these Apophthegms may be read in the account of this book that has been before given, and is here, in some parts, made use of (72). At the end of the translation of this work there is a remarkable chapter added, of three leaves (which concludes the whole volume) written by William Caxton, or the Earl in his name. For, as it contains a a translation from the French, of those Sarcasms of Socrates against the fair sex, which our noble translator of the rest had purposely passed over, in the proper place, under the chapter of that philosopher; the reader is left to judge, if the said Earl seriously intended to favour the fair, by such an omission in the middle of his book, whether his Printer would probably make so free as to publish it of his own accord, though in his own name, more conspicuously at the end of it. If it is a piece of *finesse*, it is artfully enough conducted, whether by translator or printer, to expose them more notoriously, under the notion of forbearing to do it at all. We know not that it has been so interpreted, nor can declare in what vein Master Caxton's apology for the said addition was written, or is to be read; but shall leave it to the reader, to decide whether there is not something of a droll humour, or delicate air of raillery, in the following expressions, 'I fynde that 'my sayd Lord hath left out certayn and dyverse con'clusions towchyng women! wherein I mervaylle that 'my sayd Lord hath not wreton them, ne what hath 'mevyd him so to do, ne what cause he hadde at that 'time: But I suppose that some *fair* Lady hath de'sired hym to leve it out of his booke; or elleys he 'was amorous on somme *noble* Lady, for whos love 'he wold not sette it in his booke; or ellys, for the 'very affectyon, love, and good wylle that he hath 'unto *alle Ladyes* and Gentylwomen, he thought that 'Socrates spared the sothe, and wrote of women more 'than trouthe.' For if he had made fawte in writing 'of women, he ought not, ne shold not be belevyd 'in his other Dyctes and Sayinges. But I apperceyve 'that my said Lord knoweth veryly, that suche 'defautes ben not had ne founden in the women 'born and dwellyng in *these parties*, ne regions of the 'world. Socrates was a *Greke*, boren in a ferre contre 'from *hens*, whyche contre is alle of othre condycions 'than *this* is; and men and women of other nature 'than they ben here in *this contre*; for I wote wel, 'of what somever condicion women ben in Grece, the 'women of *this contre* ben *right good*, *wise*, *playsant*, '*humble*, *discrete*, *sobre*, *chast*, *obedient* to their hus'bondis, *trewe*, *secrete*, stedfast, ever *busy*, and never '*idle*; *attemperat* in speking, and *vertuous* in *alle* '*their workis*; or at least sholde be soo. For which 'causes so evydent, my sayd Lord, as I suppose, 'thoughte it was not of necessite to sette in his 'booke the saiengis of his auctor, Socrates, touchyng 'women. But for as much as I had commandement of 'my sayd Lord to correct and amende, whereas I 'sholde fynde fawte; and other fynde I none, sauf that 'he hath left out these *Dictes and Sayinges of the wo*'*men of Grece*; therefore in accomplishing his com'mandement, for as moche as I am not in certayn whe'der it was in my Lord's copye or not (73); or ellis 'paradventure that the winde had blowe over the leef at 'the tyme of translation of his booke, I purpose to wryte 'the same Saynges of that Greke, Socrates, whiche 'wrote of the women of Grece, and nothyng of them of '*this Royame*, whom, I suppose, he never knewe; for 'if he had, I dar plainly saye, that he wold have *re*'*served them in especiall*, in his said dictes. Alway 'not presumyng to put and sette them in my sayd 'Lordes book, but in the *ende*, aparte, in the *re*'hersayll of the workis; humbly requiryng all of 'them that shal rede this lytyl reherfayll, that, yf they 'fynde ony faulte, tarrette it to Socrates, and not to 'me, &c.' Thus much may suffice both of this apology, and for an example of the pleasant and ironical style, or manner of expression in those times. As for the Typographical remarks that have been made of this earliest product of the press, at Westminster, that is expresly mentioned to have been printed there, they may be read in the book before quoted (74). And, we shall only observe further here, that there is a beautiful manuscript of it in being, written in as fair, regular, and even a Roman hand, as if it was printed; and having before it an illumination or painting in miniature, representing King Edward and his Queen, the Duke of Clarence and his children, and Earl Rivers in his Surcoat of Arms, making a presentation of his book (75).

(72) The British Librarian, 8vo, 1738. p. 65.

(73) My Lord's words are, under the Chapter of Socrates — *And the said Socrates had many seyinges agenst women, whiche is not translated.*

(74) The Brit. Libr. p. 63.

(75) This fine MS. of the Earl's translation of the said Dicts and Sayings, &c. is preserved in the Lambeth Library.

The other piece, which the said Earl translated, and Caxton also printed the same year, as is above in the text observed, was *The Morale Proverbes of Chrystyne of Pyse*. They consist of two sheets in folio are composed in distichs or couplets of English verse, and are usually bound with the former book. One of the said proverbs, is as follows:

> Litle vailleth good example to see,
> For him, that wole not the contrarie flee.

That Lady was an Italian born at Pisa: but her father removing to Bologne in France, she wrote her book in the language of that country (76), and flourished about the year 1400. At the end of this version, Caxton has some rhymes informing us by whom it was written, and translated, and declaring his own exactness in printing the same. This he mentions in two stanzas, whereof part of the last, contains these words:

> Go thou litil quayer, and recommaund me
> Unto the good grace of my special Lorde
> Therle Ryveris, for I have empryntyd the
> At his commandement following evry worde
> His copye, as his Secretary can record.

(76) Intituled, Les Proverbes Moraux, et le Livre de Prudence, par Christine de Pisan, fille de M. Thomas de Pisan, Autrement dit de Bologne. *Vid Oudin de Script.* Tom. III. col. 2220.

Therein following our old Patriarch of the English Muses,

> Go litil Quaire unto my livis Quene,
> And to my very hertis soverayne,
> And be right glad, for that she shal the sene;
> Soche is thy Grace (77).

(77) Chaucer's Complaint of the Black Knight.

[*I*] *This is intituled the Cordyal, and it's double title seems to have occasioned some mistakes.*] That is, in speaking of it as two books, when it is but one (78). There is a pious Preface before it, written by the said Earl Rivers, as it seems, and at the end of the author's Prologue ensuing it appears, that it is called, *The Cordyal*, from the reasons urging, that the four important articles treated of therein, death, judgment, hell, and heaven, should be *cordially* imprinted in our hearts. But the first words of the book are, *Memorare Novissima*, &c *in Eternum non peccabis*, from Ecclesiasticus; whence it is often titled from those two first words. This book, like *The Dicts and Sayings*, has no numbers of the pages at top, nor signatures or catch words at bottom. The three or four lines of every chapter are shortned, to leave room toward the margin for the *initial letter*, which is always a small one, only to direct the Painter of the capitals, which are here in red colour; having yet not capitals large enough of metal to print such initials. The beginnings of the chapters are also adorned with red, and many of the smaller capitals

(78) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 19, 20.

of the Printing that began to make it's appearance at Oxford in 1479, and about this time, Caxton seems to have had an increase of hands to carry on his business more expeditiously at Westminster; for henceforward we shall find his press more fruitful, and that he printed more books for the generality in a year, than he did in the beginning. Thus he is observed to have set forth three books more in 1480, which therefore may be spoken of in one note together [*K*]. It seems that about this time there was another printing

capitals that begin the periods, with yellow. In the *Type*, there are several combined letters, and some marks of abbreviation: In the *Orthography*, words not always spelled alike; and as to *Pointing*, the only stops, are a little square one, like a cross, and little oblique dashes. The Epilogue or Conclusion is written by Caxton, wherein he says, 'This book is thus 'translated out of Frenshe into our maternal tongue, by 'the Noble and Virtuouse Lord Anthoine, Erle Ryviers, 'Lord Scales, and of the Isle of Wight; Defenseur 'and Directeur of the causes Apostolique for our holy 'Fader the Pope in this Royame of Englond (79); 'Uncle and Governour to my Lorde Prince of Wales. 'Which book was delivered to me William Caxton 'by my saide noble Lorde Ryviers, on the day of 'Purificacion of our blissid Lady, fallyng the Tewsday 'the secunde day of the moneth of Feverer in the 'yeer of our Lord M.CCCC.LXXVIII, for to be emprinted, and so multiplied to goo abrood emong the 'peple, that therby more surely myght be remembred, '*The Four last Thingis* undoubtably comyng. And 'it is to be noted, that sythen the tyme of the grete 'tribulacion and adversite of my saide Lord, he hath 'been ful vertuously occupied; as in goyng to Pilgremagis to Seint James in Galice, to Rome, to Seint 'Bartylmew, to Seint Andrew, to Seint Mathew, in 'the Royalme of Naples; and to Seint Nicholas de 'Bar in Puyle, and other divers holy places. Also 'hath procured and goten of our holy Fader the Pope, 'a greet and large indulgence, and grace unto the chapel of *our Lady of the Piewe*, by Seint Stephens at 'Westmestre, for the relief and helpe of Cristen sowles 'passed out of this transitorie world; which grace is 'of the like vertue to thindulgence of *Scala Celi*. 'And notwithstaunding the greet labours and charges 'that he hath had in the service of the Kyng and of 'my said Lord Prince, as well in Wales as in Englond, 'which hath be to him no litle thought and besines, 'bothe in spirite and body, as the fruit threof, experimently sheweth; yet over that, tenriche his vertuous 'disposicion, he hath put him in devoyr at all tymes 'when he might have a leyser, whiche was but startemele, to translate diverse bookes out of Frensh into 'Englissh. Emong other, passed thurgh myn hande, 'the booke of the *Wise Sayinges, or Dictes of Philosophers*, and the wise and holsom *Proverbis of 'Cristine of Pyse*, set in metre. Over that, hath made 'diverse *Balades* agenst the *seven dedely Synnes* (80). 'Furthermore it seemeth, that he conceiveth wel the 'mutabilitie and the unstablenes of this present lyf, 'and that he desireth with a greet zeal and spirituell 'love our goostley help and perpetuel salvation, and 'that we shal abhorre and utterly forsake thabhominable and dampnable synnes, which comunly be used 'now dayes; as pride, perjurye, terrible swering, 'thefte, murdre, and many other. Wherfore, he 'took upon him the translating of this present werke, 'named *Cordyale*; trusting, that bothe the reders and 'the herars therof sholde knowe them self herafter the 'better, and amende thair lyvyng, or they departe, and lose 'this tyme of grace to the recouvre of their salvacion. 'Which translating, in my jugement is a noble and 'a meritorious dede. Wherfor, he is worthy to be 'greetly commended, and also singulerly remembred 'with our goode prayers. For certaynely, as well 'the reders as the herers, well conceyvyng in their 'hertes, the forsayd *Foure last Things*, may thereby 'greetly be provoqued and called from sinne to the 'great and plentiuouse mercy of our blissid Saveour; 'which mercy is above all his werkis. And no man 'beyng contrite and confessed, nedeth to fear thobteyning therof; as in the Preface of my saide Lordes 'booke, made by hym, more playnly it appeareth. 'Then in obeyng, and followyng my said Lordes commandement, in which I am bounden so to do, for the 'manifolde benefetes and large rewardes of hym had 'and receyved of me undeservid, I have put me in 'devoyr taccomlisshe his saide desir and comaundement; whom, I beseche Almighty God to kepe and 'mayntene in his vertuous and laudable actes and 'werkis, and sende hym thaccomplisshement of his 'noble and joyous desirs and playsirs in this worlde; 'and after this short daungerous and transitory lyf, 'everlasting permanence in heven: *Amen*. Which 'werke present, I began the morn after the saide Purificacion of our blessid Lady; whiche was the daye 'of Seint Blase, Bisshop and Martir, and finisshed on 'the even of thAnnunciacion of our said beissid Lady, 'fallying on the Wednesday, the xxiiii daye of Marche, 'in the xix yeer of Kyng Edwarde the Fourthe.'

(79) Of these titles, See Sir Hen. Spelman, in Glossar. *Voc. Defensor*. And Du Fresne's Gloss. n *V. Advocatus*. And Richelet's Dictionaire, in *V. Directeur*.

(80) He also wrote another ballad or ditty when he was afterwards prisoner in Pontefract castle, beginning *Sum what Mursyng and Mournyng*, &c. which is inserted by John Rosse in his Hist. p. 214.

[*K*] *Which therefore may be spoken of in one note together.*] These three books are named, *The Image of the World*, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, and *The Chronicles*, with a *Descryption of England*. *The Ymage, or Myrrour of the World*, was, as it appears in the Prologue, translated out of Latin into French, by the direction of John Duke of Berry and Auvergne, *anno* 1245; and now translated out of French into English by W. Caxton; at the request and expence of the Honourable and Worshipful man, Hugh Brice, Alderman, and Citizen of London (81); with intent to present the same to the Vertuous, Noble, and Puissant William, Lord Hastynges, Lord Chamberlain to King Edward the fourth, and Lieutenant of the Town of Calais, and the Marches there; whom he humbly beseecheth to receive in gree and thank. Which book containeth in all seventy-seven chapters and twenty-seven figures; without which it may not easily be understood. The copy here followed, was engrossed, and in all points ordained by chapters and figures in French, in the town of Bruges in June 1464; and undertaken by him to be translated into English, the second day of January 1480, in the Abbey of Westminster. And in his Epilogue, at the end, having beseeched the Lord Chamberlain to pardon his rude and simple translation; 'and yf ther be faulte in mesuryng 'of the firmament, sunne, mone, or of the earth, or 'in ony other mervaylles herin conteyned, I beseche 'you not tarette the defaulte in me, but in hym that 'made the copye.' So having repeated the time when he began to translate the same, as before, he adds, that he finished it the eighth day of March, the same year, the twenty-first year (†) of King Edward IV. The first edition of this book is printed upon a thicker and better paper than the others; it has also no large capitals printed at the beginning of the chapters; they being still painted or drawn out with a pencil in vermilion or red ink, but there are signatures at the bottom of every other four leaves. The figures are simple and but thinly shaded; and some of them keep a little up to the dress of the times, especially in the long beaked shoes. In some copies, the pages at top are numbered, and the figures of the celestial and terrestrial spheres are explained in writing by Caxton himself. There was afterwards another edition of this book printed on a different letter, tho' it might be Caxton's, with a different wooden cut to the second chapter. It has also large *initials* printed before each of them, and at the end, there is this addition — *Caxton me fieri fecit*, which in the first edition is wanting, and shews it to have been that which Mr Lewis describes (82). He says, that 'At the end of this book, is printed an 'Epilogue, with Mr Caxton's cypher, which shews he 'used it not above six years after he has supposed him 'to have first printed in England; though it is not un-'likely that he used it sooner, only, as is very common 'with other old books, this leaf has been torn out '(83),' and so it might be with the copy of this edition we have seen; no such cypher appearing at the end thereof. This copy had been in the possession of the late Reverend Mr Thomas Baker of St John's College Cambridge; who in the short account he has drawn out from the Prologue, in one of the blank leaves before it, has these words — 'It was then 'valued for the matter it contains, is now valuable for 'the print, and is yet a present for a Lord.' Indeed, there

(81) He was a Goldsmith, Sheriff of London 1475, and Lord Mayor of the said city 1485.

(†) 'Tis thought it should be the Twentieth; according to his reckoning.

(82) Life of Caxton, p. 27.

(83) Idem, p. 26.

printing press erected at St Albans in Hertfordshire, by one who was a Schoolmaster in the

there are some mervellous reports in this book, which would persuade us there have been performed, through great knowledge in some of the Sciences, no less surprizing miracles by the Antients, than have been ascribed, through religion, to some of the legendary Saints. But of Virgil in particular, there are such extraordinary performances here specified, as surpass any thing of his own heroes, and would send the most profound magicians to school. The Artificial Dove of old, or the more modern Iron Fly, were nothing to compare with Virgil's copper Fly in this book, which could chase all other Flys, for such a space from his presence: And Virgil's Brazen Horse, is here such a Doctor among the species, that the most diseased of those animals was presently cured by looking only upon it. These rarities, with the spacious city he built upon an egg, were to be seen, as precious or profitable reliques at Naples, when this book was first written; and doubtless that great Lady's tinderbox, at which he obliged all the citizens of Rome to light their candles, who would rekindle the fires he had extinguished throughout that city, would have been as great a curiosity, had it been reposited among the rest. But such an artist he was, in building the wonderful bridge here described; which how performed, no man knew, but all men could pass safely over, as might make us wish him now alive at Westminster; and Friar Bacon's Brazen Head seems to have been but a loggerhead in comparison of that here affirmed to be of Virgil's making; which was endowed with so much brains, as to answer all questions, and foretel all events, and those with such true Oracular Amphibology, that it proved too hard for it's maker; who, unable rightly to interpret one of it's responses, fell a sacrifice to his own art; which, with other such like curious particulars, here mentioned of him, have escaped some of his most considerable editors; and may in the whole, suggest to us, the extensive assiduity of Popish imposture and avarice, in raising profit and admiration from the ignorant, out of miracles and reliques, in every other science, as well as the districts of sanctity; out of Heathen as well as Christian examples, and wherever they think any name of Antiquity is venerable enough to solemnize their absurdities and impositions, as well in profane as sacred story (84). This book seems to have been very attractive in it's time, and had other editions after this; one of them, to make it the more amusing, was adorned with many more wooden cuts than either of these; tho' several of them have no reference to any thing mentioned in the book. There is an abridgment of Caxton's Prologue at the beginning, but his name as the translator is ungratefully sunk by one of his own profession; so early did they begin to be unfaithful in reprinting of books, or transmitting them unmaimed and complete to posterity (85).

(84) See Thymage or Myrrour of the World, Part iii. cap. xiii. Of the Mervailles that Virgyle made by Astronomye in his time, &c.

(85) This edition is intituled, The Myrror and Dyscryptyon of the Worlde; with many Marveylles and the Seven Sciences, &c. emprynted by Laurence Andrewe at the Golden Cross by Flete Bridge, fol. without date.

Next after this, is mentioned by Caxton himself in his *Golden Legend*, as translated out of French and printed by him, '*The XV bokes of Metamorphorses, in which ben contayned the Fables of Ovid.*' This book is placed by Ouduin under this year, where he says; *Libri XV. Metamorphoseon Ovidii in Anglicam prosam per Caxtonum conversi, A. D.* 1480. And after him, Mr Lewis mentions it in the same year; but John Bagford dates it a year before. In Mr Samuel Pepys his library at Magdalen-Coll. in Cambridge, there is a MS. copy of part of this book, intituled, *A Prose translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, beginning at the tenth book*; and at the end, this colophon; 'Thus endeth Ovyde his booke of Metamorphose, 'translated and fynished by me William Caxton at 'Westmestre, the xxii day of Apryll, in the yere of 'our Lord M.$\overset{C}{\text{IIII}}$.LXXX, and the xx year of the regne 'of Kynge Edward the fourth.'

The third book printed by Mr Caxton this year, was *The Chronicles of Englond*; to which is added, *The Descripcion of Englond, Wales, and Scotlond, and also Yrlond*, in folio. Many authors have fallen into errors and mistakes about this book; and many have censured Caxton, as the compiler, who was but the Printer of it. He says himself, that he endeavoured to emprint the same at the requeste of divers gentilmen, and only ordeyned a table of the matters shortly compiled and chapitred, that every man may find more readily what he pleases to rede. Which booke begyneth at Albyne, and endeth at the begynnyng of the regne of Kyng Edward the IIIIth (86). The title of the first chapter is, *The Names of this Londe*, which begins thus — In the noble Londe of Sirrie, there was a noble Kyng and myghty—At the end, Caxton says it was emprinted by him in thAbbey at Westmynster. Fynnishid and accomplyshid the x day of Juyn the yere of thIncarnacion of our Lord God M.CCCC.LXXX, and in the xx yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the fourth. Upon the misapprehension of Caxton's being the author of this Chronicle, many reflections have been made on him. John Major, the Scotish Historian, (87) charges him with improbabilities and inconsistencies, and says, the invective against Robert and David Bruce, contains as many falshoods as words, when he should have accused the author from whom he printed. Yet, as he incorporates the English and the Scotch History together, he takes the greatest part of what relates to his own country from the English writers (88), as Bede, Froissart, and Caxton; which last, he owns he often literally translates; and chuses to follow his History, at the same time that he is quarelling about the truth of it; especially, where it asserts the dependency of the Crown of Scotland upon that of England. But Bishop Nicholson, in his reflexions on Caxton, as encouraging his readers, by the opportunity he had of being acquainted with the Court transactions of his own time, in the reign of King Edward IV, to hope for great matters from him, when his fancy only led him into an undertaking above his strength (89); has therein most severely reflected on himself, by falling into the censure of that which was beyond his knowledge; for if he had read these Chronicles, he would have found at the very entrance, as it has been observed, that they conclude at the beginning, and not at the end of the said King Edward's reign. In these Chronicles it is reported, that King John was poisoned at the Abbey of Swineshed near Lincoln by a Monk of that house, for which Caxton has been ignorantly censured, as the first broacher of that story, at least in English History. He was the first Printer of it, it is true; but it was faithfully, from an old English manuscript, which was the original of this whole Chronicle (90), so that it is no otherwise to be called his, than as it passed his press; and so those who know how to speak of it, do distinguish; as John Stow, where he says — The English Chronicle, printed by William Caxton, and therefore, called Caxton's Chronicle (91), &c. yet Robert Parsons the Jesuit, who was not enough acquainted with this Chronicle to make such distinction, charges Caxton with being the first author of this story (92), and a late writer of notes on Rapin's History of England, as the first who mentions it in English (93). Withal adding, that it is not mentioned by any Historian who lived within sixty years of King John's death, or before 1276; when his being poisoned is mentioned in the Chronicle of John Abbot of Peterburgh, which ends in 1259. How can Caxton, John Fox, or Sir Francis Hastings, be accused justly of malice or forgery in displaying this story, when there are more ancient Historians, who have so circumstantially and positively avouched the same (94), that even succeeding writers, who have been friends to Monkery, have made no scruple to believe it? And why should they not? says the learned and judicious Dr John Barkham in the life of this King, since an author, more ancient and unexceptionable than all the rest, even King John's son and successor in his kingdoms averred it, when the Prior of Clarkenwell saucily told him, being in that house, 'That, as soon as he ceased to do justice towards his 'Prelates, he should cease to be a King:' To which his Majesty enraged with his traitorous threat, reply'd, 'What! mean you to turn me out of my king'dom, and afterwards to murder me, as my father was 'dealt with (95).'

(86) See Caxton's Prologue to the Chronicles of England.

(87) De Gestis Scotorum, 4to, 1521.

(88) Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, Vol. II. fol. 315.

(89) Nicholson's HistoricalLibrary, fol. edit. 1736, p. 69.

(90) There are several MSS. of this Chronicle; one in Bennet-college Library, &c.

(91) Annal. in Hen. VI.

(92) Father Parsons his Warn Word to Sir Fra. Hastings's Watte word, 8vo, 1602, Enc. 2. cap. 15.

(93) English edit. of Rapin in 8vo, Vol. III. p. 242.

(94) Eulogium; MS. in Bibl. D. Rob. Cotton. And another MS. Hist. writ in the reign of King Edward I. Also Pet. Langtoft; R. Higden; John of Tynmouth; Thom. Otterbourne, the Franciscan; John of Lichfield, the Monk of Leicester, &c. &c.

(95) Mat. Paris, Histor. Major, p. 854. Also in Dr Barcham's Life of King John, in Speed's Chronicles.

With these *Chronicles of England* is usually joined, *The Description of Englond, Wales*, and *Scotland*, and also *Yrlond*; which was fynyshed the 18th day of August the yere of our Lord God 1480, and the 20th yere of the regne of King Edward IV. This was printed from John de Trevisa's English translation of Ranulph Higden, author of the *Polychronicon*, and afterwards reprinted with the *Fructus Temporum*, &c.

This

the abbey, and the first, if not the only Printer there, in a chapel within the limits of that monastery, as we are informed by Mr Bagford; who adds, that Caxton and he held a close correspondence (*b*). 'Tis thought that Caxton furnished him, with a set of the types he could best spare; and those indeed which he did use, do much resemble such of Caxton's as were rudest or most worn: 'Tis presumed also, that Caxton taught him his art of Printing, as well as furnished him with materials to exercise the same (*c*). There was also a little practice of the art, about the same time, in the city of London. Of the few books that were printed there, as well as at St Albans, and especially the chief of them, a Chronicle, comprehending the substance of Caxton's in the note last mentioned, which, for want of proper distinction, has occasioned some confusion in the citation thereof, we shall give a short account below [*L*]; and so proceed to enquire after

(*b*) Bagford's Life of Caxton, p. 4.

(*c*) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 48.

This Description consists of twenty-nine chapters. It has been observed, 'That from the Conquest down to 'the reign of King Henry VIII. our English Geographers, have either been very few, or the want of 'Printing has occasioned the loss of most of them, 'and that this of Caxton's is the only thing in it's 'kind which we have (96).' And yet it is certain, as another author truly observes, this is not Caxton's but Higden's Description, and only printed by him from Trevisa's translation of it into English, as has been hinted before (97).

[*L*] *We shall give a short account below.*] The most ancient book printed at either of these places, that has been taken notice of, was a *Treatise of Rhetorick*, and according to the printed catalogue of the choice library of the late Dr John More, Bishop of Ely, set forth at St Albans in 1480 (98). Though it is said, the copy of this book, which is in Bennet College Library, has neither at the beginning or end, any account of the Printer's name, or of the place or time, where or when it was printed. The next in course of time was Jacobus de Valentia's book on the Psalms, printed in the city of London by John Lettou, the next year (99). This printer was in all probability a Frenchman, or a German, who was then allowed to practise that art in this city. And at the same time there was another foreign printer in the said city, William of Machlin, who printed another religious book in Latin, called *The Christian's Mirror*, at the expence of a Dutch Merchant, who is named in the title thereof, as it is here likewise exhibited in the Margin (100). These two foreigners also printed in conjunction, as well as apart, but neither was their letter so fair or clear, nor their composing so regular as Caxton's. They set forth Sir Thomas Littleton's Tenures, in a thin folio, soon after the others, as we before observed; and in the Latin colophon at the end, mention that book to have been newly imprinted by them, in the city of London, near the church of All Saints, or All Hallows; but which church they meant of that name is not now very distinguishable. There was one John Latton, who was Autumn Reader of the Inner Temple, in the sixteenth and seventeenth years; Double Reader in Lent, the twenty-fourth; and Treasurer of the said society the twenty-sixth of King Henry the VIIIth, whom some have imagined to be either the printer of those Tenures; or, as an eminent lawyer, had such respect for that book, and the merits of it's author, that it was, at least, by his procuration and expence, the said Machlin printed the same; but therein they are as erroneous as Sir William Dugdale is, in the account he gives of the said book (101); for if that Lettou had been this Latton, and was at the charge of printing that work, he would have been distinguished in like manner as the other benefactors to their other impressions were. Besides, one of the two religious books above was printed by Lettou himself, without any assistance of Machlin; which shews that he was a professor of the art; but where do we see any eminent Lawyers, even in our days, when that art is much better known, and more generally practised in this city, than it was then, employing their time in printing of Psalm books, or any other? But the book which has nearest relation to any of Caxton's, and was printed not long after these, was that chronicle abovementioned in the text, said to have been printed at St Aban's, and is therefore often stiled *The Book of St Albans*, and *The Chronicle of St Albans*; it is entituled, The *Chroniclis of Englonde, with the Frute of Timis,* printed in a thick short folio 1483. Which part, relating to the latter title, being translated or gathered mostly from foreign authors, chiefly concerning Scripture, and foreign history, the book is improperly quoted thereby as Caxton's (102), tho' his chronicle printed three years before, and relating chiefly to the affairs of England, or the MS. he followed, is involved therein. In the prologue, the said Chronicle and Fruit of Times, are said to be compiled together at Saynt Albons, in the year aforesaid; but it is not mentioned to be printed at St Albons, nor even compiled, or printed by the schoolmaster there; much less by *John Insomuch*; a name surely that was never ascribed to the compiler or printer of this book, till it appear'd in Sir Henry Chauncy, where he is giving an account of the first printing at that monastery (103). Indeed Wynken de Worde, at the end of his edition of this book in 1497 says, 'That '*Chronicle*, with the *Fruyte of Tymes*, was compyled 'in a Booke, and emprynted by *one some time scole-'master* of St Albans.' If there was any such flaw or obscurity about those words, *one some time* in Sir Henry's copy of that impression, as might tempt any body who thought they could restore the true reading, to suppose it should be, and therefore made out of it that name, Sir Henry might have some colour of authority for his assertion; but it is rather believed the first word of the book itself, which is *Insomuch*, ran in his head for the name of the author. This work is divided into seven parts; the last part makes half the book, and begins at the Conquest. Not only the initials of every chapter; but many other capitals in every chapter are drawn or painted with red ink. The leaves are not paged at top, nor have they any words of direction from page to page at bottom; but they have signatures. There are three simple wooden prints in some of the leaves towards the beginning, of the Tower of Babel, the City of London, and that of Rome, with some few others. This author proposes in the prologue, that the *seventh* or last part of these chronicles should be continued, 'from the Normans, *to oure tyme*, whych 'is, under the regne of Kynge Edward the fourth, '23 yere, *whoof noble Cronycles, by custome, may not 'be seen.*' Yet, in the beginning of the *seventh* part of the *table*, it is added again, '*Continuying to our dais*, 'that is to say, to the regne of King Edward the IV. 'the twenty-third yere.' But at the end of the chronicle, this compiler does not descend so low by near a dozen years, being as it is thought cut off by death, for the last paragraph ends with the popedom of Sixtus IV, who was chosen 1471, and is yet, at the makyng of this boke, sais he; concluding that, 'John Abbot 'of Habingdon was this Popys Legate in Englonde, 'to dispose of the tresour of the church, to withstand 'the myschylevabull Turke, &c.' In a copy of this first edition, which I have seen, there are several erasements with a pen, either by the examiners of heretical passages in such old books, or some zealous bigot to Popery, of some passages, which were thought not very consistent with the polity of holy Church; and as he all along interlaces the histories of Emperors and Popes in this work, so where he speaks of one of them, it gave such offence, that the words were entirely crossed over with a pen in that manner; but being not indiscernable, I could read them to be as follows, '*Johannes Anglicus* of the nacion of Maguntynne, about this 'tyme was Pope, and she was a woman, arayed in 'mannys garmentys: Bot she profetid so in holy Scripture, that ther wos founden none lyke hir. Then 'she wos chosen Pope; bot afterward, she wos with 'childe; and when she shuld have gone opynly in 'procession, she traveled and decessid: And this is the '*sixt pope* the whiche, to this tyme, had the nam of '*Holynesse*, and were *vecius*: And this person, as 'other cursed popis wer, was punyshed of God; nor 'she wos not nombred in thee boke of Popis (104).' Yet

(96) Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library.

(97) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 4.

(98) Intituled, Rhetorica Nova Fratris Laurentij Gulielmi de Saona, ordinis Minorum, compilata in Alma Universitate Cantabrigiæ, ann. 1478. Impressa ap. Villam St Albani 1480.

(99) Jacobus de Valentia in Psalterium. Excus. in Civitate Londoniensi, ad expensas Wilhelmi Wilcox, per me Johannem Lettou, fol. MCCCCLXXXI.

(100) Speculum Christiani — Iste Libellus impressus est in opulentissima Civitate Londoniarum, per Willelmum de Machlinia, ad instantiam nec non expensas Henrici Urankenbergh Mercatoris.

(101) Origines Juridiciales, fol. edit. 1671, p. 58.

(102) So Richard Grafton in his Hist. of Engl. Vol. II. As sayth Caxton in his Chronicle which he calls *The Fruit of Tyme*. So Fox — It is found in the Chronicle of William Caxton, called *Fructus Temporum*.

(103) In his History and Antiquities of Hertfordshire.

(104) *The Frute of Timis*, at the end of the fifth Part.

after the next offspring of Caxton's press; which seems to have been intituled, *The*

Yet was there no English chronicle in these popish times so generally read, nor any for above an hundred and fifty years after, so often reprinted, as this was, by Wynkin de Worde, Richard Pynson, Julyan Notary, *&c.* even to five or six impressions in the space of thirty years. I have seen a remark, written in one of Pynson's copies, printed 1510, upon the last leaf but one, after the words, *havyng Possessyon of all the Realme*, that *here ends Caxtons Chronicle.* These later editions of this *Fruit of Times and Chronicle*, have annexed to them *The Description of Englond*, &c. beforementioned, which Caxton reprinted from *Trevisa*'s *Polychronicon*, though both their names are omitted in Pynson's edition; which concludes with a short Latin epilogue, briefly enumerating the Kings of England from the Conquest; which we find not in the others. They all are embellished with wooden cuts, different from one another; and the last edition has most of them in number. But the next most famous book that was printed at St Albans, and this being, also printed, it seems, with Caxton's letter, is all we shall here take notice of, as the off-spring in these early times of that press; and the rather not to be omitted, because of divers mistakes that have been made, concerning both it, and it's author. This book treats of Hunting, Hawking, and Heraldry; and is ascrib'd to an illustrious and heroic Lady, of great gifts in body and mind; a second Minerva in her studies, and another Diana in her diversions; in short, an ingenious *Virago*, as Bale and Pits call her, who lived about 1460, and yet she was no less than an Abbess, as Sir Henry Chauncy, or Prioress, as Dr Middleton stiles her, of the strict and mortified Nunnery at Sopwell in Hertfordshire; who says also, that she was sister to Richard Lord Berners of Essex (†). But that the said Juliana Barnes was such a religious Lady, and so nobly descended, no author, as yet, has attempted to prove. As for the book in question, it has been sometimes called *The Gentleman's Recreation*, and *The Gentleman's Academy*, or book of *St Albans*. But of the original edition now before us, there is a colophon comprehending the true title, in these words, *Here, in thys boke afore, ar contenyt the bokys of* Haukyng *and* Huntyng, *with other plesuris dyverse, as in the boke apperis: and also of* Coot Armuris, *a nobull werke. And here now endyth* The boke of Blasyng of Armys, *translatyt and compylyt togedyr at* Seynt Albons, *the yere from the Incarnacion of owre Lorde Jhū Crist* M.CCCC.LXXXVI. In the last leaf, there is a kind of coat or scutcheon, stampt from a wooden print in colours, representing Gules, a Saltire, in a bordure, Or, within a rundel; out of which arises a kind of double cross having a bar above and below, argent. There is this inscription at top, *Hic finis diversorum Generosis valde utilium, ut intuentibus patebit:* and at bottom, *Sanctus Albanus.* The first paragraph of the book sufficiently expresses the contents of the first treatise, which begins with the same word as the Chronicle of St Albans did, as follows, 'Insomoch, that gentillmen and honest persones have grete delite in *Haukyng*, and desire to have the maner to take Haukys: and also how, and in waat wyse, they shulde gyde theym ordynateli: and to knaw the gentill termys in communyng of theyr Haukys; and to understonde theyr sekenese, and enfermitees: and also to knawe medecines for theym accordyng; and mony notabull termys that ben used in Haukyng, both of of their Haukys and of the Fowles, that their Haukys shall sley: therefore, this book followyng, in a dew forme, shewys veri knawlege of suche plesure to gentillmen and personys disposed to se itt.' To particularize the chapters, and all the terms that were used in this sport, and of the birds of prey that were kept to make it, whereof so many volumes have, with so much unprofitable industry been written, were enough both to furnish out a Dictionary of the jargon, mostly derived from the French, and expose the immoderate application of our ancestors at the same time, in making such a profound science of it. A sport, unknown to the Romans (105); nor mentioned till about the time of Alaricus the Goth, by Julius Firmicus. From the Turks and other Barbarians, the Europeans, and the English especially, ap'd it in great extravagance down to the last century, tho' perhaps to little more benefit or importance, than the Persians did, who trained up their sparrows to hawk after butterflies (106); it appearing in the last chapter of this book before us, that there were Hawks appropriated to all degrees of the people, from an Emperor, down to the holy-water Clerk, and poor man, or the beggar: so true it is, that he was accounted nobody, who in those ages, wherein the indulgence of falconry so licentiously reigned, had not an hawk on his fist; especially, as I said among us; seeing that, even by foreigners, who have practised these bewildering diversions themselves with excess, our English Nobility have been reproached as more inordinately addicted to them. And, as if they had nothing better in them, or depended on nothing more noble to prove their gentility, than Hawking and Hunting (107). Nay, these sports have been maintained as the most preferable accomplishments by some of our Nobility themselves, in those of their own rank; as may be seen in the wise speech of that lordly scorner of Literature, who said, *It was enough for Noblemen's sons to winde their horn, and carry their hawk fair, and leave study and learning to the children of mean people:* To whom, the learned Secretary of King Henry VIII. reply'd, *Then you and other Noblemen must be content that your children may winde their hornes, and keep their hawks, while the children of mean people manage affairs of State* (108). How deep would the Mad Doctor in Poggius have soused this sportsman in his pit, for the restoring him to his senses? especially, if it were considered, that from such as he, so much trespassing of one neighbour upon another, has been occasioned; so much litigiousness and enmity towards one another; and so much expence, not only in law-suits, but in accommodations for the sport itself; so far exceeding the example produced by that facetious Florentine, of one who expended four hundred crowns *per annum*, to kill five or ten crowns worth of birds, that among the instances of greater prodigality in our nation, we have it recorded of Sir Thomas Monson, who was a very expert Falconer, that he was at a thousand pounds charge in goshawks, only for one flight (†): All which considered, it is no wonder the diversion at length dwindled away to that moderation in which it deserves, as well as all other sports, to be exercised. This treatise of *Hawking*, which is written in prose, and has no author's name ascribed to it, consists of fifty-one pages; where it is shown to be at an end, by the word *explicit*. The next leaf begins thus — *Lykewise, as in the booke of* Hawkyng, *aforesayd are writyn and noted the termys of plesure belongyng to gentillmen havyng delite therin: in the same maner thye booke followyng sheweth to sych gentill personys, The maner of* Huntyng *for all maner of Beestys, wether thay be Beestys of Venery, or of Chace, or Rascall. And also it shewith all the termys convenyent, as well to the Howndys as to the Beestys aforsayd*, &c. This treatise of Hunting is written in verse, divided into several chapters; and the whole poem contained in twenty-three pages. It seems in general to consist of two parts, and the readers are addressed throughout the first, in the person of a woman, who begins the work, with distinguishing the beasts of Venery; and having advised, wheresoever you are, in wood or in field, to give heed to what *Tristram* says, or informs you of; she also adds, if you will listen, you shall learn of your *dame*, which kinds those beasts of Venery are; so names the Hart, the Hare, the Boar, and the Wolf; then proceeds to the Beasts of the Chase, *&c.* And in several other parts, speaks to her sons of Venery, and bids them

Say childe where you goo, yowre dame taght you so.

In the chapter of Hunting the hare, there are many French terms used, as the fashionable phrase in that sport at those times. What we call the second part, is a kind of dialogue in several chapters, between the *Master Hunter and his Man.* At the end of the whole poem we read these words, '*Explicit* Dam *Julyans Barnes, in her boke of Huntyng.*' In the next page, there are three or four short chapters distinguishing, which are Beasts of the Chace; of the Sweet, and Stinking Foot: The various names of Hounds: The Properties of a Grayhound; and how to be trained, or what he is fit for every year. After which we have a long list in two leaves, of the proper terms, by which any *companies of beasts and fowls*, as well as several *bodies*

(†) Dr Middleton's Origin of Printing, *&c.* p. 14.

(105) Jul. Scaliger Comment. in *Cir.* fol. 344. Salmuth, Comment. in Pancirol. De Nov. Repert.

(106) Sir Anthony Shirley's Relation of his Travels into Persia, Lond. 4*to*, 1613.

(107) Paulus Jovius in Descr. Britan.

(108) Ric. Pacæi De Fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur, Bas. 4*to*, 1517.

(†) Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, 12*mo*, 1650, p. 105.

The Conquest of Jerusalem, by Godfrey of Bologne, a book which had been written to instigate

bodies or societies of *men* and *women* are to be called in the Sportsman's Dialect; among which, there are some, one would scarcely expect to meet with from a Lady of that holy calling and character which are ascribed to the writer of these pieces; as, *an Uncredibilitie of Cocoldis; abominable sight of Monkis; a rage of Mydenys; a superfluyte of Nunnys*, &c. which however true, those distinctions might be, are not very consistent with a woman in that character. But indeed, there are words so blunt and indecent, both in the treatise of Hawking (110), and in this poem on Hunting (111), as were very unbecoming a woman, in any character. There is another list, in the next page, of the terms or phrases then used in carving, or, as it is called, of breekyng or dressyng divers Beestis, Fowlis, and Fyshes. Lastly, there is a table in another page, of all the Shyreys and Byshoprychcs in the Reolme of Englond: but what congruity it bears with any thing in the foregoing treatises we perceive not. Thus all we see of Juliana Barnes is, that she versified a tract upon Hunting written by Sir Tristram, whom Mr John Manwood of Lincoln's-Inn, in his treatise of *Forrest Law*, calls a Monk and an old Forrester, and always in quoting it ascribes it to him, and never to her (†).

(110) In the Chap. of Medicines for *Wormys*, called *Anguellis*.

(111) In the last Chap. *How ye shall breke an Hert*.

(†) Manwood's Laws of the Forest, edit. 4to, 1665, p. 98, 104, &c.

The next treatise printed in this book, tho' of a martial nature, and perhaps less likely to engage the studies of a religious woman, is yet by authors ascribed also to this Lady, tho' her name appears neither before nor after it. Beginning thus, *In thys booke following is determyned, The Lynage of Coote Armuris, and how Gentilmen shall be knowen from ungentill Men; and how Bondeage began, first in Aungell, and after succeded in Mankynde; as it is shewede in processe, boothe in the childer of Adam and also of Noe, and how Noe devyded the worlde in thre partes to his thre sonnys. Also there be shewyd the nine Colowris in Armys, figured by the nine Orderis of Aungelis; and it is shewyd by the forsayd Colowris, wych ben Worthy, and wych ben Royall; and of Rigalities, whiche ben Noble, and wich ben Excellent. And ther ben here the Virtuys of* Chyvalry, *and many other notable and famowse Thyngys, to the Plesure of noble Personys, shall be shewyd, as the werkys followyng wittenesses, whosoever likyth to se thaym and rede thaym, wych were to long now to rehers: and after theys notable Thyngs aforesayde, followyth*, The Blasyng of all maner Armys *in Latyn, French, and English*: so it begins with, *Incepit Liber Armorum*. Some fabulous Antiquities, Applications, and Allusions, in this part of the said work, seem to have been gathered from another of much the like complexion (112), which informs us, the beginning of these laws of arms were before the ten commandments of God. It is here also observed, that Christ was a gentleman, by his mother's side; and Prince of Cote Armure. After this part, intituled, *The Lynage*, &c. consisting of twenty-two pages, follows the last part, concerning *The Blasyng of Armys*; in which there are a hundred and seventeen coats or scutcheons printed from wood, coloured, and blazoned in Latin, French, English. The example of highest Antiquity here produced, is that of King Arthur; who is said to have changed his Three Dragons, and his other Shield of Three Crowns, for a Cross of Silver, in a Field of Vert; with the Image of our Lady on the right, and her son in her arm. A little further it is observed of the Arms of France, which were, 'Three Flowris in 'maner of Swerdis, in a Felde of Asure; that they 'were given (from heaven) to the Kyng of Fraunce, 'in sygne of everlastyng trowbull, and that he and 'his successaries, allway with bataill and swerddys 'shulde be punyshid.' A little further speaking of a coat consisting of a corded cross, the author says, 'The which cross I se bott late, in the Armys of a 'Nobull Man; the wich in very deed was summe 'tyme a crafty man, a Roper, as he hym selfe sayd.' Where the quartering of the Arms of France and England is spoken of it is thus accounted for, that those of France appear first. 'It shall not be tedeous to 'no man, that Fraunce is put before Englonde in 'blasing; bot the cause is this, for thArmys of 'Fraunce, in armys to be put afore, and we have a 'generall rule, that whensumever in armys be two 'colouris, or moo, in the poynt of the Shelde, then 'ye shall not begyn at the poynt to blase them, bot in 'the right parte, or side, of those armys: that same 'colouré, ther founde, in the right side of the Shelde, 'is nott the Felde of thArmys; for it may be fortune, it is not the greatest coloure in thArmys afor'sayd, but les, or with othir equall; and never the 'les ye shall begyn to blase ther.' Another remarkable quartering is observed in the Arms of Queen Anne, the wife of King Richard II, who bare 'ThArmys 'of Englond, Fraunce, and thEmperor of Almayn 'quartili, and in twenty one partes: that is to say in the 'right side of the Shelde, in the first quarter, she 'bare thArmys of Fraunce, Thre Flore Delucis of 'Golde, in a Felde of Asure; and in the second 'quarter, Thre Libartis of Golde, in a Felde of 'Gowles; and in the thirde quarter, An Egle splayd, 'with two Neckis; and in the fourth, A black Lyon 'rampyng, in a Felde of Silver; and so chaungeably 'she bare these Armys, in twenty one quarteris, the 'which seldyn is seen in Armys.' Further, on treating of Bordures Gobonated, it is said, 'This same 'Bordure baare that nobull Prynce the Duke of 'Gloucestyr, brothyr to that nobull weriowre Kyng 'Henri the fifth; the wich Royall Duke bare in his 'Armys, The hooll Armys of Fraunce and Englond 'quartily, with a Bordure Gobonatit of Silver and 'Sable.' And after having discussed a nice point upon the Arms of Roger Mertemor Earl of Marche, whether they should be called Bordured or not, there is mention made, in another chapter, 'Of certain Nobles 'who bore Fusils in their Arms; of the nombur of 'which, sais our author, my Lord of Glaucestur that 'nobull Prince, uncle to King Henry the sext, was:' adding, 'That he bore Three Fussils in a bar, in his 'Arms (but they are wrong blazoned in the text, or 'coloured in the scutcheon here) by the reson of cer'tain Londes belongyng to the Mounte.' This seems to be one of the latest instances taken notice of in these examples of Blazonry, except that of the noble Roper at first mentioned, and the notice taken of Duke Humphrey's arms. And this last part consists of fifty-six pages, besides that which contains the Arms of St Albans at the end, beforementioned. Thus have we passed through this whole book; and it is a more ample description, or account of it, than has been yet given; the scarcity whereof has occasioned many erroneous assertions. Tho' no name is ascribed to this last part or book of Arms, yet has it been appropriated like the others to the pious Lady aforesaid. The author was apparently conversant abroad in the world, often among courtiers, and men of quality. And how likely such a person, such a critick in the doctrine and laws of Chivalry, a science so full of ostentation to the world, was to have any superintendency over a Nunnery of religious votaries, trained to strict abstinence, sanctity, and retirement from the world, is not easy to resolve. But in short, this very treatise is said to be abstracted from that part of Dr Nicholas Upton's book of *Military Affairs*, which treats *De Insignibus Anglorum Nobilium* (113), who died in 1457, ten years after his patron Duke Humphrey, beforementioned, in the said treatise; to whom it was originally dedicated: And how inconsistent with the character and decorum that must have been expected in a Lady so religiously devoted, the other tracts in this book are, has partly before appeared. It seems not, that Bale or Pits ever saw this original edition, because they also mention with it, a book of Fishing, as of this Lady's writing; which is not to be met with, but in the second edition of these tracts, printed by Wynkin de Worde at Westminster, in folio 1496; and therein it is neither ascribed to her, nor any body else; but only printed in this larger volume of those subjects relating to the Gentry and Nobility; that every idle and ordinary person might not be able to purchase it, as they would if it had been published in a little pamphlet by itself. And in the Preface to that *Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an Angle*, there is expressed some intentions also of publishing a Treatise of Fowling. But nothing more of Juliana Barnes appears, than her name at the end of the said doctrine of Hunting, as was before observed; from whence such high characters have been drawn of her, with such noble alliance, and such holy profession imputed to her, as are beforementioned. In that second edition, it has been noted, that she proposed in her said poem on Hunting, as her model, *A Description of the Myrthes of Huntynge by the Duke of York*,

(112) Gestis Trojanorum.

(113) Vide N. Uptoni De Militarii Officio, Lond. fol. 1654.

gate the Princes of Christendom to another Holy War, against the Turks; in order to dispossess them of the Holy Land. The same year also, he translated out of the Dutch tongue and printed, a political discourse called *Reynard the Fox*; besides two books of Cicero's, and two orations of Banatusius Magnomontanus (*d*), which are commonly bound in one volume together; of which three books, or six discourses, since the reader may expect some distinct account, as hath been given of the others, we shall in like manner draw together some description or memorials of them at the bottom of the page [*M*]. The next production of

(*d*) J. Lelandi Comm. de Script. Britan. p. 48.

York, Master of the Game; and he might feign himself to appear in the character of the old Tristram beforementioned, or it might be the name of his principal Huntsman or Forester. However that was, when the book appeared afterwards in a later edition, published not improbably by Gervase Markham, he says expresly in the title page, that the book of Hunting, Hawking, and Armory were *all compiled by* Juliana Barnes in the year 1486 (114). And yet in the first paragraph of the treatise of Hunting, which is here all reduced to prose, he says, These, and none other be the ancient laws of Sir Tristram; hence, Mr Manwood, in his Forest-Laws, as was said afore, always quotes Sir Tristram, and never Mrs Barnes; and not only gives him the title of Knighthood, but makes him a Monk withal. Sir Henry Chauncey never saw the edition printed at St Albans of this book, nor perhaps any other, because he calls it by a wrong title; *The Gentleman's Recreation, &c.* and makes the press delivered of it in 1481, five years before it's time (115). But he contradicts himself in calling her Abbess of Sopwell, when he has a distinct chapter upon the religious foundation there, and only calls it a Priory; but mentions nothing of Juliana Barnes, in that place. The first person I have met with, who calls her Lady Prioress of that Nunnery, is the author of the printed catalogue of Bishop More's library, where he is giving a title of this book; and as for what has been more lately advanced (†), that Mrs Barnes was sister to Richard Lord Berners of Essex; in none of the pedigrees we have seen of this name, neither that in Sir Henry Chauncey's History last quoted, nor that, more copious, drawn up by the late Mr Peter Le Neve, Norroy King of Arms (116), nor that lately published in the History of the county of Essex (117), does any such Lady Abbess, or Lady Prioress, or any other Lady, of one name, or the other, appear, like those of her in question. And indeed, such a contrast of characters in one person, is apt to raise very contesting ideas. One cannot reconcile the notions those subjects inspire, of their authors being so expert and familiarly practised in those robust and masculine exercises, with the character of such a sedate, grave, pious, matron-like Lady, as the Prioress of a Nunnery is imagined to be; a conjunction of such extreams, seeming quite unnatural. Indeed, we have, and so we may have had, your romping, roaring hoydens, that will be for horsing and hunting after the wildest game, in the most giddy company: but to join so much of these rough and impetuous diversions, as is required to obtain the proficiency aforesaid, with the most serene and solemn profession of a mortified and spiritual life in herself, and the charge or care of training it in others, must make an unaccountable mixture. In that light, there appears such a motley masquerade, such an indistinction of petticoat and breeches, such a problem and concorporation of sexes, according to the image that arises out of the several representations of this religious Sportswoman or Virago, that one can scarcely consider it, without thinking Sir Tristram, the old Monkish Forester, and Juliana, the Matron of the Nuns, had united to confirm John Cleveland's *Canonical Hermophradite* (118): but other examples of the like inconsistencies being also united to dress up one character, might make this appear the less extraordinary, if there was any need to instance them.

(114) The Gentleman's Academy, or Book of St Alban's, &c. Reduced into a better method by G. M. Printed for H. Lownes, 4to, 1595.

(115) Sir Henry Chauncey's Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, fol. 1700, p. 448, 449.

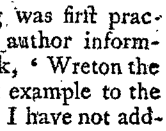
(†) Dr Middleton's Origin of Printing.

(116) The Pedigree of Katherine Knyvet, &c. lineal heir of Sir John Bourchier, Knight of the Garter, the first Lord Berners, By P. Le Neve Norroy, 1717.

(117) The Hist. and Antiquities of the County of Essex, fol. by N. Salmon.

(118) The Works of Mr John Cleveland, &c. 8vo, 1687, p. 20.

[*M*] *Description or memorials of them at the bottom of the page.*] The first of these here mentioned, is intituled, *The Siege and Conquest of Jherusalem, with many other Historyes therein comprysed: and of the Meseases of the Cristen men in the holy Lande; and of their Releef,* &c. *and how Godeffroy of Boloyne was first Kyng of the Latyns in that Royamme; and of his Deth: translated* and *reduced* out of *Frensshe into Englysshe,* by me symple persone *William Caxton*; being begun the 12th of Marche, fynysshed the 7th of Juyn, and enprynted the 20th of Novembre, fol. 1481. The design of this work, as we said was, that every Christian man might be the better encouraged to enterprize war for the defence of Christendom, and to recover the said city of Jerusalem also, that Christians may go thither with strong hand to expel the Saracens and Turks out of the same, that our Lord might be there served, *&c* (119). Matters of fact seem to have been the chief pursuit of the author in this History, and tho' some *mervayllous workes* do occur in it, yet it seems not so over-run with enthusiastick romance, as some other Histories of this age, on that subject are. Our translator says, he presents this book to King Edward IV. which very presentation book, was sold in the auction of Mr Richard Smith's library (120). That expedition was incited by Pope Gregory VII. and it was reported, that no less than two hundred thousand Christians were confederated therein, old and young, rich and poor went without any pressing or compulsion. Besides Godfrey of Boloyne, there were other chief leaders, as Beemond, Duke of Naples; and Hugh, the King of France's brother: and this passage was made by the Vysyon of our Lady, as Master Caxton informs us in another book (121). The next work, intituled, *Thystorye of Reynard, or Reynart the Fox,* in 4to. was looked upon by the late Mr Thomas Hearne, the Antiquary of Oxford, to be an admirable piece, written with a good design to represent a wise and politic government. In the first page of it, as Mr Lewis informs us, for this is one of Caxton's pieces we have never seen; there is his cypher, before spoken of (122), printed in this manner,



but larger; in memory, as it is presumed, of the year in which, and the person by whom, the art of Printing was first practised among us. We are by the same author informed, that Caxton says there is in this book, 'Wreton the 'parable of good Leryng, &c. for an example to the 'people.' And that he says further, 'I have not add-'ed ne mynysshed, but have followed as nigh as I 'can my copi, whiche was in Dutche; and by me 'Wyllyam Caxton, translated into this rude and 'symple Englysshe, in the Abbaye of Westmestre 'the vi day of Juyn in the yere of our Lord 'M.CCCC.LXXXI, and in the xxi yere of the reigne 'of Kynge Edward IIII' The third volume he printed this year, is intituled, — *Tullius his book of* Old Age: *whereunto is added, his book of* Friendship; *and the Decleracyon, shewing wherein* Honoure *shold reste*: emprynted by William Caxton, fol. 1481. He does not mention who was the translator of the first part of this work, which is *Tully de Senectute*, as Leland has also observed: but a late author informs us of a memorial of Wyllyam de Wyrcestre, alias *Botaner*, which he has entred against the year 1473, by which it appears that he was the translator of this piece; in which memorandum it is said, 'On the 20th of August, I presented to Wyllyam 'Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, the book of *Tulley* '*of Old Age*, translated by me into English (123).' This Wyllyam Wyrcestre was an Antiquary and Physician, from whence he had the name perhaps of *Botaner* or Herbalist; and also an Astronomer of great abilities for the age he lived in. He was born in the city of Bristol, *anno* 1415, and was sometyme servaunte and soget, or subject, withe his reverent master John Fastolf Chevalier, and exercised in the werres contynuelly above 44 yeres, (†) and in so great favour he was with Sir John, that he left him one of the executors of his last will, which is dated a little while before his death on the third of December 1459. In faithful and cordial affection to the memory of his said renowned master, he wrote a book of the *Life and Actions of the said Sir John Fastolf*, which we hear is in being, and likely to be published. That account of his being the translator of this book is further confirmed by what Caxton says in his Preface before it, 'That it was 'translated and thystoryes openly declared by the or-'denaunce and desyre of the noble auncyent Knyght 'Sir

(119) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, Vol. III. 8vo, 1744, p. 193.

(120) Bibliotheca Smithiana, 4to, 1682, p. 275.

(121) Caxton's Chronicle, in the year 1061.

(122) Life of Caxton, p. 51.

(123) Mr Anstis's Register of the Order of the Garter, Vol. II.

(†) Itinerarium Will. Worcester, MS. in Bennet-Coll. Library.

of Caxton's press, was a copious body of History in the year 1482, intituled *Polychronicon*, according to the English translation of John de Trevisa, from the Latin of Ranulphus Higden, the Monk of Chester. Upon this History, Caxton bestowed some extraordinary pains; not only in transcribing it entirely over, to modernize, and render the obsolete style more conformable to the phrase or language of his own time, but he compiled and added also a *Continuation* thereof, down to the beginning of the King's reign under whom he then lived; and after that, he was at the trouble of collecting, and writing into the margins of his impression, the series of *Chronology* which was wanting in the copy he followed. And yet here, as in all other of his books, he speaks of his own toilsome endeavours with so much diffidence and humility, as if he feared they would prove more offensive than acceptable, and procure him rather the censure than approbation of his readers; as may appear in the abstract of his own account of the said History subjoined, and the observations which others have made thereon [*N*]. The next year, 1483, there are no less

'Sir Johan Fastolf of the countee of Norfolk Bannerette, lyving the age of fourscore yere; exercysyng the warrys in the Royame of Fraunce and other countrees, for the diffence and unyversal welfare of bothe Royames of Englond and Fraunce, by forty yeres enduryng; the fayte of armes hauntyng, and in admynystryng justice and politique governaunce under three Kyngs; that is to wete, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and was Governour of the Duchye of Angeou, and the countree of Mayne; Capytayne of many townys, castellys, and fortressys, in the said Royame of Fraunce; having the charge and saufgarde of them dyverse yeres, ocupyeng and rewlynge three hondred speres, and the bowes acustomed thenne; and yeldyng good acompt of the forsaid townes, castellys, and fortresses to the seyd Kyngs, and to their Lyeutenauntes, Prynces of noble recommendacion; as Johan, Regent of Fraunce, Duc of Bedford; Thomas, Duc of Exeter; Thomas, Duc of Clarence, and other Lyeutenauntes.' It appears further in Caxton's said proem, That this treatise of *Old Age* had been translated out of Latin into French by Laurence de Primo Facto, at the command of Lewis, Duke of Bourbon; and as Caxton prays his reader, to take this reducing patiently, submitting himself to his amendment or correction; he might have an hand in modelling the said discourse, according to the newest mode of stile from the said French translation; yet in the main, he might follow as to the sense, the translation made by Wyrcestre from the Latin, it seems at the command of Sir John Fastolf; because he says some things that in the original there compendiously specified, and in a manner hard or obscure in the text, are more amply expounded, and rendered sweeter to the reader, keeping yet the just sentence of the Latin. To this is joyned the second treatise, which is of *Friendship*, beginning thus; — 'Here followeth the said *Tullius de Amicicia*, translated into our maternal Englishe tongue, by the noble famous Erle, therle of Wurcestre (sone and heyre of the Lord Typtoft) which in his tyme flowred in vertue and cunnyng; to whom I knew none lyke emonge the Lordes of the temporalitie in Science and moral vertue.' This treatise is marked with signatures in the same manner as the former at the bottom of the pages, but in neither are they numbered at top. Lastly, follow the *Two Declarations* made by Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gayus Flamyneus, rivals for the love of Lucrice. Shewing wherein *True Honour and Nobility consists*: the former placing it in blood, riches, and the worshipful deeds of his ancestors, without urging any thing of his own life or manners; the latter insisting that noblenes cannot be derived from the glory or merits of another man, or from the flattering goodness of fortune, but must rest in his own proper virtue and glory. After these orations, Caxton concludes with requesting his readers to remember the translator, both of them, and the treatise of Friendship before them; 'I mean, *says he*, the Right, Vertuous, and Noble Erle, therle of Wurcestre, which late pytously lost his life; whos soul I recommende vnto youre special prayers; who also in his time made many other vertuous workes, whiche I have hard of. O good blessyd Lord God! what grete losse was it of that noble, vertuous, and well-disposed Lord? whan I remembre and advertyze his lyf, his science, and his virtue; methinketh God not displesyd ouer grete losse of such a man, consyderyng his estate and conning; and also thexercise of the same; with the grete laboures in gooing on pylgremage to Jherusalem; visytyng there the holy places that our blessyd Lord Jhesu Criste holowed with his blessyd presence, and shedding there his precious blood for our redempcion, and from thens ascended unto his fader in heaven. And what worship had he at Rome, in the presence of our holy fader the Pope? And so in all other places unto his deth; at which deth, every man that was there, might lern to dye, and take his deth paciently; wherin I hope, and doubte not but that God receyved his soul into hes everlastyng blysse: for as I am enformed, he ryght advisedly ordeyned alle his thinges, as well for his last will of worldly goodes, as for his sowle helthe; and pacyently and holyly, without grudchyng in charyte to fore, that he departed out of this world, whiche is gladsom and joyous to here, *&c.*' This John Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, thus praised and lamented by his editor, was born at Everton in Cambridgeshire, educated at Baliol-College in Oxford, where he attained to great learning; was created by King Henry VI. a Viscount, Earl of Worcester, and Lord High Constable of England; and by King Edward IV. Knight of the Garter; he was twice Lord High-Treasurer of England; and in 1467, Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland. In the Civil Wars between those Kings, he could not be ungrateful to one, who had so much advanced him, nor disloyal to the other in whom the right of the Crown lay; so he visited the Holy Land, and at Rome made such an oration before Pope Pius II, that with the eloquence thereof, it drew tears from his eyes. But returning home in the short and unlucky interval of King Henry's restitution, which was remarkable for nothing but the death of this worthy Lord; he was accused of some pretended rigor in the government of Ireland, being suspected of favouring secretly King Edward's party; so in 1470, the ax cut off more learning in this Nobleman at a blow, than it left in the heads of all the Nobility besides. He wrote some orations and epistles besides those two translations abovementioned, and was buried in the Dominican's Convent in London according to Leland, who bestows high commendations upon him, not only for his great learning and Ciceronian eloquence, but his many virtues and other deserts (124).

(124) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 48, *&c.* See also Bale, Camden, Brook, Sir James Ware, de Script. Brit. Fuller's Worthies, and Dugdale's Baronage.

[*N*] *In the Abstract of his own Account of the said History, and the Observations which others have made thereon.*] Because this *Polychronicon, translated from the said Ranulphus Hygden, Monk of Chester, by Sir Johan Trevisa, Chapelayn unto Lord Thomas of Barkley*, and dedicated to him, comprehends the occurrences of many ages, it is so called; and from *His* great example, who wrought all his works in six days, and rested on the seventh, he divides it into seven books. The first describes all countries in general, more especially Britain; the other six are a concise model of civil history, from the Creation down to his own time; that is under the reign of King Edward III. Trevisa, in his Dialogue prefix'd, in defence of *Translations* says, that Higden brought the History down to his last days. It ends in 1357; which therefore gives more credit to their report, who write, that this historian died in 1363, than theirs, who prolong his life fourteen years beyond that (125). But Trevisa's account of the time when he finished the said translation, printed at the conclusion of this work, is an error of the press, or of the copy, which Caxton followed; for here in print it is 1357, the same year that Higden finished the history itself; whereas Trevisa mentions later dates in his own notes or additions interspersed, as we have before observed;

(125) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III, p. 24.

less than six books, said to be of his printing, extant, if not one or two more also printed in the same year, that are undated. These are intituled, *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*; *Liber Festivalis*; John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*; *The Legend of the Saints*; Cato's *Distichs*; and *The Knight of the Tower*. As the account that is to be given of these need not be very circumstantial, they may all be comprehended under one note [O]. There have

served (126); however Archbishop Usher, and Bishop Nicholson after him, among other mistakes, say, those interpolations were not made by Trevisa, but the editor (127). But as Mr Lewis rightly observes, out of the old manuscript of this translation, it was ended by Trevisa in 1387; which will comprehend the latest date mentioned by him in those notes. After the said seven books, we have one more compiled by Caxton himself, which continues the history down to 1460, 'and the first year of King Edward IV. which amounts 'to an hundred and three years,' says he, in his epilogue, at the end of the book: which exactly corresponds with the year in which Higden concluded his Chronicle. But in respect to the addition Caxton has made, he complains for want of those advantages which printing, had it been in use in that period, might have afforded, by the intelligence or communication of historical materials for his purpose; that few writers could be heard of in those days, who preserved in their registers the occurrences of the times: so that he could meet with no other authorities than a book entituled, *Fasciculus Temporum* (128); and another, called *Aureus de Universo*, which yet contributed but little to his undertaking. Indeed the fifteenth century has not been accounted very fruitful in eminent writers, especially of history: And it has been observed, particularly of the reign of Edward IV, that even the favourers of justice and his cause, have not known what account to give of the times (129), or how to form a regular history out of such an heap of confusion. Yet there were authors in that age who might have been assistant to Caxton, could he have arrived at the knowledge of them; but their writings remaining in manuscript, and, as it were, locked up in obscure confinement, till they were set at liberty by the press, are come to be better known in our times, than when they were written (130). We shall only observe further of Trevisa's translation; that the chronological tables, wherewith Higden says he charged his margins, in double and treble columns, were omitted in the copy that Caxton followed, or at least left unprinted by him; wherefore in some of the printed copies, those tables are written throughout with red ink, and probably with his own hand. And all we shall further add of Ralph Higden the reputed author, is, that by a comparison which has been made of some old MS. copies of this *Polychronicon*, with the *Polycratica Temporum* of Roger Cestrensis, a Benedictine Monk also of St Werberg, that are reposited in the *Harleian Library*, there have been some reasons found to believe, that our Ralph of Chester did endeavour to appropriate Roger of Chester's labours to himself; and particularly by a crotchet he used in the initial letters of the several chapters, which begin his *Polychronicon*, out of which it has been observed there may be read these words, *Præsentem Chronicam compilavit frater Ranulphus Monachus Cestrensis*. But this was a whimsey used by other historians of those times, as an author before cited has observed (131).

[O] *They may all be comprehended under one note.*] Yet that we may speak distinctly of them, we shall begin with that which is called, *The Pylgremage of the Sowle*; *translated out of Frenshe into Englisshe: Full of devout maters towching the sowle, and many questyons assoyled, to cause a man to lyve the better in this world*, &c. It was printed by Caxton at Westminster, and finished the sixth day of June, fol. 1483. 'and the *first* 'yere of the regne of Kynge Edwarth the Fyfthe (132).' This *Pylgremage* is related in the manner of a dream. The author was a man of copious imagination; and this version out of French, with somewhat of additions, as it is said at the end, was made in the year of our Lord 1413. Mr Mattaire says it was written in French by Antoine Gerard, and entituled by him *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*, and printed at Paris 1480 (133). As for the translator, it does not directly appear who he was, but among the additions abovementioned to be made, some, if not all of the poetry, seems to be a part: and much of that, written in the stile and stanzas of John Lydgate. This is remarkable, that the thirty-fourth chapter of that poet's *Life of the Virgin Mary*, which is a digression in praise of Chaucer, and the author's lamentation for the loss of him, who used to correct his works, he being then newly dead; and that, the thirty-fourth chapter of the second book of this Pilgrimage should be the same poem; which being unsuitable for any body to repeat, to whom Chaucer had not done such services, offers some probabilities that this translation was made by Lydgate (134). The next he this year printed is entitled,

Liber Festivalis: or Directions for keeping Fast all the year. 'Tis said to be printed at Westmynstre by William Caxton the laste day of Juyn, Anno Domini 1483, in quarto (135). It consists of short discourses or sermons on the principal sundays and holy days in the year. There have been many editions of this book. We never saw this of Caxton's; but one printed, though without the printer's name, by Wynkin de Worde in 1496, we have seen, and others. Those sermons on the principal Fasts and Feasts, &c. are interlarded with historical narratives out of the legends; that the clerks who excused themselves for default of books, might have this to teach their parishioners therein; and shew them, what the saints suffered and did for God's sake. Mr Hearne observes, 'That this 'book consists of a course of homilies, in which are 'many *odd stories*: That it goes by no other name 'but that of *Festivall*, among curious men, who are 'very inquisitive after copies of it (136).' It may be further observed, that some of those odd stories are such, that the Papists are now ashamed of them. Mr Lewis speaks of four sermons more added to this edition, which were also of Caxton's printing, as he says, and which, we, as well as Mr Palmer, have seen in a separate book; but printed also by Wynkin de Worde, though his name is not mentioned therein; yet visibly his performance, as well by his type, as his custom of registring at the end, the number of his signatures. This English book, printed at Westminster the same year as the other, 1496, has a Latin title, and is called *Quatuor Sermones*, though it is not very distinctly divided into four sermons; but the two first seem to be comprehended under certain topics, by which we are instructed how to attain the knowledge of God. As the articles of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments (137), the seven Sacraments, the seven Deeds of Mercy, the seven deadly Sins, and the nine Torments of Hell. The third sermon treats of the three parts of Penance; contrition, confession, and satisfaction: And that which seems to be the last sermon is called the *General Sentence*, or *Church Curses*; which were read to the congregation quarterly; some of which are singularly observable; ending very expressly against the with-holders of *Tythes*. After which follows the *Modus Fulminandi Sentenciam*, in Latin; wherein all the violators of any articles mentioned in the said general sentence, are excommunicated, anathematis'd, given up to the Devil, and damn'd by *holy Church*, to all intents and purposes; wherever they are, in whatever doing, unless they repent and make satisfaction; after which sentence the lights were extinguished *ad Terrorem*, and all the bells set a jangling (138). This quarterly custom of cursing and damning the people, was begun, it seems, by Archbishop Langton, in the year 1222; of which constitution, and the exposition of John Wicliff thereupon, more may be read in one of the authors before quoted (139). We are in doubt, whether there be any older editions of the *Liber Festivalis*, and the *Quatuor Sermones*, in English, than those here mentioned, however they have been ascribed to Caxton, under the year aforesaid; and if there is not, they should be restored to Wynkin de Worde.

The next book he printed this year, is entitled, *Confessio Amantis: That is, to saye in Englysshe, The Confession of the Lover; made and compyled by* Johan Gower, *squyre, borne in* Walys, *in the Tyme of King* Richard *the second. Which book treteth, how he was* confessyd

(126) See the marginal remark (3) in the note [A].

(127) Vid. Usseri Hist. Dogm. edit. ab Hen. Wharton, p. 157, 439; and Nicholson's English Historical Library, edit. fol. 1736, p. 65.

(128) Mr Maittaire mentions a book called *Fasciculus Temporum*, per *Joannem Pryss*, fol. Argentine, Anno Dom. 1487.

(129) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 63.

(130) As, Froissart, R. Avesbury, Tit. Livy, T. de la More, J. Rosse, H. Knyghton, T. Walsingham, J. Wethamsted, and T. Otterborne, &c. &c.

(131) Bishop Nicholson, as above, fol. p. 64, 65, 67.

(132) This young Prince began his reign April 9, and was murdered in the Tower, and succeeded by his uncle Richard III. on the 22d of June in the same year.

(133) Annal. Typogr.

(134) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 126.

(135) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 67, 68.

(136) Hearne's Chron. of Robert of Gloucester, Vol. II.

(137) Of the Censure and Danger there was in reading only the Pater Noster, Creed, &c. in English above twenty years after this book was printed, See Lewis, p. 69, out of Fox, Tindal, Archbishop Arundel, &c.

(138) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 388.

(139) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 74.

have also been two other books entered into the Catalogue of his Works, under the same

confessyd to Genyus *preest of* Venus, *upon the Causes of Love, in his five Wyttes, and seven dedely Synnes*, &c. *with divers Historyes and Fables, touching every matere comprysed therein*. This is the title of the said book. And at the end we read as follows, *Emprynted at Westmestre, by me* Willyam Caxton, *and fynished the 2d day of Septembre, the* fyrst *yere of the regne of King* Richard the Third, *the yere of our Lord* a Thousand CCCCLXXXXIII. which, to agree with that year of the said King, must manifestly be a figure of X too much; like the error of setting one too few, in the early printed book, beforementioned, at Oxford. The very Title of this original edition may serve to correct several errors; and among others, even in so eminent an Antiquary as Leland; who says, as Fuller also does, and every body else after him, that Gower was born in Yorkshire (140), whereas he appears, in the very front of this book, to have been a Welshman: Then again, they have made him of the knightly order, and called him Sir John Gower, after Bale, *&c.* But here we see he is called no more than a squire. The same author would also make him *Poet Laureat*, from the little band or fillet, with four roses, or white quarter-foyles, that were carved about the head of his monumental effigies in St Mary Overy's church, as if it had been a wreath of bays; and Fuller, from the same, would think him a Judge (141), though that, with the collar of SS. carved round his breast, and a white swan at the end of it, were no other than the cognizances of Henry Earl of Darby, afterwards King Henry IV. which his esquires, or some of his officers wore; as may hereafter more particularly appear elsewhere. But there is an error in Mr Mattaire, of mispelling his name, which Mr Lewis has fallen into (142), and which could proceed from nothing else, but the mistaking one letter in his name, as it appears in that old print, for two; where the first stem of the 𝔴 appearing so much longer than the others, they have taken it for an l and a v, so instead of Gower they have called him Golver. This work he begun at the encouragement of King Richard the second, as his own words inform us (143), and in the sixteenth year of his Majesty's reign. When, as he more particularly tells us, meeting that King upon the river of Thames, his Majesty call'd him into his own barge, and among other discourses, enjoined him to undertake some new work for his own entertainment. Therefore he resolved upon such a performance as might neither be void of prudence for the wise, nor matter of diversion for those who were gallantly disposed. And because few men then wrote in English, as he tells us, in his second prologue (144), 'he determined to write this book in our 'own tongue, for the general use of his countrymen.' Thus we see his motive for writing this book, the matter it treats of, and the time when he began it; but through the frequent interruptions of sickness and natural infirmities of old age, it seems he did not finish it long before the said King was murdered in Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire. And about that time he address'd it by the second prologue to that Prince's successor, Henry of Lancaster, aforesaid. This last prologue only, was printed with this first edition of Gower; but from such an imperfect copy, as 'tis said, that it wanted in several places, not only leaves, but whole columns and pages; which, together with the changing of words, and transposing of sentences, made this easy author unintelligible, as next the editor, Tho. Barthelette, pretends (145), who was printer to King Henry VIII, dedicated his edition of this book to the said Prince, and in his preface thereto restores the original prologue. Chaucer and he used to submit their works to each other's correction; and he wrote many other books, besides this, both in verse and in prose; and one or more of them is in being, though none besides was ever printed. He was blind some time before he died, if after he was so, he presented his song in *Praise of Peace*, to King Richard aforesaid; and it is not unlikely but he survived Chaucer some few years, though the time of his death is not distinctly agreed on.

(140) De Script. Britan.

(141) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire.

(142) Life of Caxton, p. 80.

(143) Gower's Confessio Amantis, the first Prologue printed in the second edition, by Thomas Barthelette, fol. 1532.

(144) Printed in this first edition.

(145) T. Berthelette's Preface to his edit. of Gower, as before.

The next product of Caxton's press, in the same year was, *The Golden Legende: wherin ben conteyned alle the hygh and grete Festys of our Lord; the Festys of our blessyd Lady; the Lyves, Passyons, and Myracles of many other Saynts; and other Hystoryes and Actes. Fynyshed at Westmestre, by Wyllyam Caxton* 1483. This is the first edition of the Golden Legend in English; it is printed in double columns on a spacious form, and that copy which we have seen, is perhaps the largest and most pompous of Caxton's printing; adorned with many wooden cuts, different from those in the following editions; with the initial letters in red ink. At the end, whence the title above is extracted, we also read these words; 'Whych werke I have accom'plished at the commaundemente and requeste of the 'noble and puyssaunte Erle, and my specyal good Lord 'Wylliam, Erle of Arondel.' There is but one preface to this edition; but to his next, in a smaller size, there is also another; expressing, that as the work would be over-chargeable to him, he began to despair of going through with it; till the said Earl sent a gentleman to him, named John Stauncy, who sollicited him, in no wise to leave off, and promised that the said Lord during his life 'Shold geve, *says he*, and 'graunt to me a yerely fee; that is, to wete, a bucke 'in sommer, and a doo in wynter; with whych fee 'I hold me wel contente, *&c.*' It is an error in Bishop Nicholson, where he says, That *Capgrave's Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ* was translated into English by Caxton, and first printed in the year 1516 (146). Tho' indeed, he does, as he is charged by that author in the Legend of St Ursula, add 15,000 men to the martyrdom of the 11,000 virgins, from what he had heard at Cologne. But after all the monstrous improbalities of that story, how rationally the said 26,000, may be reduced to two persons, may appear in a modern French Historiographer, who is of Father Sirmond's opinion about this Legend, that those who first broached it, finding, in some old martyrological MSS. *St Ursula, & Undecimilla V. M.* that is, *St Ursula and Undecimilla, Martyrs*; and imagining that *Undecimilla* with the *V.* and *M.* which followed, was an abbreviation for *Undecem Millia Martyrum Virginum*; did thence out of *two virgins*, make *eleven thousand* (147). The truth is, of this whole volume, it is no translation from any one author; for Caxton tells us, he had by him a Legend in French; that we suppose, called *La Legend d'Oree*, and another in Latain, and a third in English, which varied in divers places; and also that many Histories were comprised in the two other books, which were not in the English one: therefore, says he, 'I have wryton one oute of the 'sayd thre bookes; which I have orderyd otherwyse 'than the sayd *Englishe Legendis*, which was so tofore 'made (†).' The following editions have several of the Lives and Histories differently disposed. For this begins with the Advent, Nativity, *&c.* of our Lord: and this edition has at the end, *The noble History of of the Exposicion of the Mass*, and the *Twelve Articles of our Faith*, which are wanting in the following editions; but it concludes with the life of St Erasmus, the holy Bishop, as they do (148). Besides another edition of this book, printed by Caxton, the same year, as Mr Richard Smith has reported, in the copy he had thereof in his library (149), there was another printed by Julyan Notary; who has suppressed Caxton's name at the end, as his custom was in reprinting his books (150); and afterwards there was another impression made of it by Wynkin de Worde; who at the end thereof says, that it hath been diligently amended in divers places, where it was requisite (151). The reason why it was called the *Golden Legend*, is therein given to be, 'That as gold passed all other metalls in 'value, so this Legend excelled all other books.' Yet an ingenious Spaniard has described it by a comparison of it's author to metals of a much inferior value (152), which indeed, in relation to several of the Monkish miracles in it, are more suitable thereto. The next he printed this year was,

The boke said or called Cathon, translated out of Frenshe into Englishe, in thAbbaye of Westmestre 23 *of Decembre* 1483. It contains Cato's Distichs or Precepts in Latin, with a Version and Comment in English. And he tells us, it had been translated out of Latin into English by Master Benet Burgh, late Archdeacon of Colchester (153), and High Canon of St Stephen's at Westminster; but because there had lately fallen into his hands this book in French, which rehearsed many fair instructions, he had translated that into Eng-

(146) English Historical Library, fol. the last edit. p. 98.

(147) Valesiana, 8vo, Amsterd. 1693.

(†) Caxton's first Pref. to the Golden Legend.

(148) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 134.

(149) Idem, p. 120.

(150) The Golden Legend, &c. imprynted by Jul. Notary, fol. 1503.

(151) Legenda Aurea, &c. Lond. fol. 1527.

(152) Ludovicus Vives, de Disciplinis, l. ii. p. 91.

(153) See Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II.

ſame year; but as we find not that they have any dates to them, whereby they can be poſitively fixed under this year, that which we have to ſay of them may be mentioned apart [*P*]. The next year, 1484, we meet with no more than a ſingle ſpecimen of his performance, unleſs that mentioned in the laſt note was printed the ſame year. Of this, and three more which we find of his printing the next year, 1485, it may be expected we ſhould give ſome deſcription, as of the reſt [*Q*]. There has been a Book

liſh; which he preſented to the city of London, and moſt gratefully tenders his ſervice thereto; where he calls himſelf a *Conjurye*, or ſworn citizen of the ſame, of the fraternity and fellowſhip of Mercery; and ſays, he owes of right his ſervice and good-will to it, being in duty naturally bound to aſſiſt and counſel her as far as he can, even as to his mother, of whom he received his nouriture and living; and that he ſhall pray for the proſperity and policy of the ſame during his life.

(154) Inſtructions.

The laſt we meet with of his, dated this year, is, *The booke of Thenſeignementes* (154) *and Techinge that the* Knyght of the Toure *made to his* daughters, *and ſpeketh to many fayre Enſamples. Enprinted* at Weſtmiſtre, fol. the laſt day of Janyver, 1 Richard III. This he tranſlated, he ſays, into our maternal Engliſh, at the requeſt of a noble Lady, who had brought forth many fair daughters, for the love ſhe always had towards them, and a deſire to increaſe their knowledge in virtue; wherefore he entreats thoſe who ſhould learn any thing therein, ‘By whiche they ſhould ben wyſer and better, that they ſhould give laud and thankynge to the ſayd Ladyes good grace, &c.’

[*P*] *That which we have to ſay of them, may be mentioned apart.*] Theſe two books Mr Lewis mentions as printed by Caxton under the year aforeſaid, 1483, tho' there appears no date into them. The firſt, he name, *The Fables of Æſop, Avian, Alphonſus, and Poggius: tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Englyſh, at Weſtmeſtre.* ‘The leaves of this book, he ſays, are numbered, I°. II°. III°. and it has the ſignatures, but not the direction, or catch-word; nor any date (155).’ As we remember not to have met with it, we can ſpeak no more of it. The other is intituled,

(155) Life of Caxton, p. 79.

The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthode: tranſlated out of the Frenſhe, and imprinted by William Caxton, 4to. without date. Mr Lewis (156) has, by ſome miſtake, inſerted the year 1483, in that part of Caxton's Reherſal, at the end of this book, which he tranſcribes. We remember no other volume of ſo ſmall a ſize of Caxton's printing. It conſiſts of about an hundred pages, and is perhaps one of the ſcarceſt of his performances that are now in being: Tho' no date of the year when it was printed is expreſſed, it may be gueſſed at within a year, over or under, by ſuppoſing it in 1484, from the ſhort reign of that Prince to whom it is inſcribed at the end, as we ſhall ſee. There are large initial letters uſed at the beginning of the chapters, and only one ſort of points which are oblique or ſloping daſhes; there are alſo ſome double or united types, as in his other books; alſo ſignatures, but no catch-words at the bottom of the leaves, nor any numbers at top. It is divided into eight chapters. The I. ſhews how a Knight, who was an Hermit, beſtowed this rule or order of Chivalry upon a ſquire. The II. treats of the original of Chivalry or Knighthood. III. Of the Office of Chivalry. IV. Of the Examination that ought to be made of the Eſquyre, when he enters into the Order. V. In what manner the Squire ought to receive Chivalry. VI. Of the *Signefyaunce* of the Arms belonging to a Knight. VII. Of the Cuſtoms that appertain to a Knight: and VIII. Of the Honours that ought to be done to a Knight. By all which it will appear how different the Honour, the Profeſſion, and the Qualifications required in Knights anciently were, from thoſe for which they have been created in latter days (157). At the end, we have Caxton's Epilogue or Reherſal; in which he ſays this tranſlation was made by him at the requeſt of a genteel and noble Squire, according to the copy he delivered him; which book, he ſays, was not fit for ordinary perſons, but only thoſe noble gentlemen, who by their virtue intend to enter into the order of Chivalry; which had not been exerciſed as in ancient times, when the noble acts of the Knights of England were renowned through the univerſe, ſuch as before the days of Chriſt, were Brenius and Belinus; who from Britain, now called England, even to Rome, and beyond, conquered many realms; whoſe noble acts remain in the Hiſtories of the Romans. And ſince the Incarnation, behold, ſays he, that noble King of Britain, King Arthur, with all the brave *Knights of the Round Table*, whoſe deeds of Chivalry fill ſo many volumes, as is incredible to believe. ‘O ye Knyghts of Englond! where is the cuſtom and uſage of noble Chyvalry, that was uſed in tho dayes? *What do you now*, but go the *baynes* (*), and *playe at dyſe*? And ſome not well adviſed uſe not honeſt and good rule, ageyn all ordre of Knyghthode. Leve this, leve it; and rede the noble volumes of Saynt Grael, of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Triſtram, of Perſeforeſt, of Percyval, of Gawayn, and many mo: there ſhalle ye ſee manhode, curtoyſe, and gentleneſs. And loke in latter dayes of the noble actes ſyth the Conqueſt; as in Kyng Richard's dayes, *Cuer du Lyon*; Edward I, and the III, and his noble ſones; Syre Robert Knolles, Syr John Hawkewode, Sir Johan Chaundos, and Syre Gaultier Manuy: rede *Froiſſart* (†). And alſo behold that vyctoryous and noble Kynge Harry the Fyfthe, and the Captayns under hym; his noble brethren; therle of Salyſbury, Montagu, and many other, whoos names ſhyne gloryouſly by their virtuous nobleſſe and actes that they did in thonour of thordre of Chyvalry. Allas; what do ye, but ſlepe and take eaſe, and ar all diſordered fro Chivalry. I wold demaunde a queſtion, yf I ſhould not diſpleaſe. *How many Knightes ben there now in Englond, that have thuſe and thexcercyce of a Knyght?* That is, to wete, that he knoweth his hors, and his hors hym? That is to ſaye, he beynge redy at a poynt, to have al thyng that longeth to a Knyght; an hors, that is accordyng, and broken after his hand; his armures and harnoys mete and fyttyng, and ſo forth. I ſuppoſe, and a due ſerche ſhold be made, ther ſhold be many founden that lacke; the more the pyte is. I wold it pleaſyd our ſoverayne Lord, that twyes or thryes in a yere, or at leſt ones, he wold do crye *Juſtes of Pees*, to thend that every Knyght ſhold have hors and harneys, and alſo the uſe and crafte of a Knyght, and alſo to tornoye one ageynſte one, or two ageynſt two, and the beſt to have a prys, a dyamond or jewel, ſuch as ſhold pleaſe the Prynce. This ſhold cauſe gentylmen to reſorte to thauncyent cuſtoms of Chyvalry, to grete fame and renowmee; and alſo to be alwey redy to ſerve theyr Prynce, when he ſhalle calle them, or have nede. Thenne late every man that is come of noble blood, and entendeth to come to the noble ordre of Chyvalry, rede this *lytyl book*, and doo therafter, in kepyng the lore and commaundements therin compryſed; and thene I doubte not he ſhall atteyn to thordre of Chyvalry, & cetera.’ So he preſents the ſaid book to his dread ſovereign Lord King Richard, King of England and France, that he may command the ſame to be read to the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen within his Realm; that the ſaid noble order of Chivalry may be hereafter better practiſed and honoured, than it had been of late times. So praying for his Majeſty's welfare, and after this life, for one everlaſting, he concludes (158).

(156) Idem, p. 81.

(157) Britiſh Librarian, p. 191.

(*) Baths, or Bagnios.

(†) If Caxton had tranſlated and printed this Hiſtorian, it is preſumed, we ſhould have had a more correct and genuine work, than his French editors have given us; by whom, the Engliſh names at leaſt, if not the facts, were much corrupted.

(158) Reherſal to the Book of Chyvalry.

[*Q*] *It may be expected we ſhould give ſome deſcription, as of the reſt.*] The firſt of theſe four is called, *The Ryal book: or book for a Kyng.* In which is compriſed, The Ten Commandments: The Twelve Articles of Faith: The Seven deadly Sins: The Seven Petitions of the Pater-Noſter: The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt: The Seven Virtues, &c. It was compiled, as Caxton ſays, at the requeſt of *Philip le Belle* of France 1279, and was reduced by himſelf out of French into Engliſh at the requeſt of a ſingular friend, a worſhipful Merchant and Mercer of London, for a ſpecial book, to know all vices and branches thereof, and alſo all virtues; which for the great ſubſtance compriſed therein, ought above all others to be called *The Royal book: or book of a King*; every man being ſuch, as the Scripture calls him, who can wiſely and perfectly govern himſelf according to virtue: and alſo becauſe

Book of Homilies ascribed to him the same year, though it seems to be no other than the *Liber Festivalis* before mentioned, which my author has, among other errors, multiplied into two books more (*e*); and also entitles him to another in 1486, from Mr Bagford, which neither of them we believe ever saw (*f*). It is better attested, that in the year following he printed *The Book of Good Manners* in folio, which was compiled by Jaques le Graunt, an Augustine Friar, from the Scriptures, Holy Fathers, *&c.* It was delivered, as Caxton says, to him, by his special friend, who was a Mercer of London, named William Praat, and translated by him out of Frenshe, finished the eighth of June, the year last mentioned, and *emprynted* the 11th of May after, 1487. The year after this, we meet not with any books that are expresly mentioned to have been printed by him; whether he was interrupted by any sicknefs, as he was now grown very aged, and probably infirm; or the books he printed this year happen to be lost; or whether they were some of those he printed without dates, we cannot now determine. Indeed Mr Palmer ascribes one to him in this year, 1488, but erroneously; for it appears not to have been printed till after his death (*g*). In the year 1489, we meet with two books appropriated to him; an account of which may appear in the note referred to [*R*]. And two more of his

(*e*) Directions for keeping the Feasts, *&c.* and An Exposition on the Lord's Prayer, *&c.* See S. Palmer's History of Printing, *&c.*

(*f*) A Treatise against Pride, ib.

(*g*) Intituled, Dives and Pauper: a Dialogue on the X Commaundments; emprynted by Ric. Pynson, fol. 1493, and by W. de Worde, 1496, *&c.*

because it was composed at the request of that noble King Philip. It was printed the 2d of Richard III. fol. with figures (159).

(159) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 96, where, by mistake, he says it was printed in the 2d of Ric. II.

The next is intituled, *Thystorye of the noble, right, valyant, and worthy Knyght,* Parys, *and of the fayr* Vyenne, *the Daulphyns Doughter of* Vyennoys; *the whyche suffred many Adversytees, bycause of theyr true Love, or they coude enjoye the Effect thereof of eche other: translated out of Frensshe into Englysshe by William Caxton, at Westmestre,* &c. Emprynted, fol. 1485. That Dauphin is here named, Sir Godfrey of Alaunson, kinsman to Charles, King of France in 1271. The story ends, after all their disappointments, with the Marriage of that Constant Pair. It does not appear, in Dr Middleton's catalogue of those books printed by Caxton, which are preserved in the publick library at Cambridge, that there is any copy of it there.

But what was accounted his capital work this year, is a large thick volume, intituled, *The Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of King* Arthur; *of his noble* Knyghtes *of the* Round Table, *their marvayllous Enquestes and Adventures; thAchyevyng of the* Sang real; *and in the end,* Le Morte D'Arthur; *with the dolorous Deth and Departyng out of thys World of them Al. Whiche book was reduced to the Englisshe by Syr* Thomas Malory, Knyght, *and by me* (William Caxton) *devyded into twenty one bookes; chaptyred, and emprynted, and fynysshed in th' Abbey Westmestre, the last day of July, the yere of our Lord* 1485. That Sir Thomas Malory seems to have drawn this voluminous romance out of several manuscripts, written in the French and Welsh tongues, of the said King Arthur and his Knights; and to be conversant in the adventures of such redoubted champions, Caxton thought would inspire a noble spirit of valour in our gentry, which made him recommend it to them, as was before observed (160). If this Sir Thomas Malory was a Welshman, as Leland, and others after him assert, he was probably a Welsh Priest; as appears not only by the legendary vein which runs through all the stories he has thus extracted and wove together, but by his conclusion of the work itself, in these words: 'Praye for me, whyle I am on lyve, 'that God sende me good delyveraunce; and when 'I am deed, I praye you all, praye for my soule; 'for this booke was ended the 9th yeer of the reygne 'of Kyng Edward the Fourth, by Syr Thomas Maleore, Knyght, as Jesu helpe him for his grete myght, 'as he is the *servaunte* of Jesu, bothe day and nyght.' As the author has not made his heroes any great commanders of their passions in their amours, nor rigorously confined them to honour and decorum, in point of fidelity and continence, his book became a great favourite with some persons of the highest distinction for a long time. It had two or three impressions afterwards, and seems to have been kept up in print, for the entertainment of the lighter and more insolid readers, down to the reign of King Charles I (161), though Mr Ascham had long before passed such a censure upon it, as might have put it out of continuance upon his remembring, at what time, and in what place, it had supplanted all others; where he observes that, in our forefathers time, when Papistry, as a standing pool, covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, saving certain books of Chivalry, as they said for pastime and pleasure; which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monks, or wanton Canons; as one, for example, Morte Arthur; the whole pleasure of which book standeth in two special pointes; in open man-slaughter and bold bawdry. In which book, those be counted the noblest Knights, that kill most men without any quarrel, and commit foulest adulteries by subtlest shifts; as Sir Lancelot, with the wife of King Arthur, his master; Sir Tristram, with the wife of King Mark, his uncle; Sir Lamerock, with the wife of King Lote, that was his own aunte. This is good stuff for wise men to laugh at, or honest men to take pleasure in! Yet, says he, I know when God's Bible was banished the Court, and Morte Arthur received into the Prince's chamber (162).

(160) Caxton's Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, in the Rehearsal.

(161) One edit. called The Storye of the most noble and worthy Kynge Arthur, *&c.* folio, emprinted by Thomas East. Another is, The most ancient and famous Hist. of the Renowned Arthur, *&c.* 4to, 1634, *&c.*

(162) Roger Ascham's Schole-Master: or, a plaine and perfect Way of Teaching children to understand, write, and speake the Latin Tonge, *&c.* 4to, 1571, Book i.

The third book we meet with of his printing this year, bears the title of *Thystory and Lyf of the most noble and Crysten Prince, Charles the Grete, Kyng of Fraunce, and Emperour of Rome: reduced out of Frensshe, by William Caxton, and by him emprinted the first day of Decembre, fol.* 1485. This work, through it's great scarcenefs, has not been sufficiently described in the Histories of our first printed books. Dr Middleton, by not mentioning it, implies, that they have it not in the publick library at Cambridge: and Mr Lewis mentions it in such a cursory manner, as if he had never seen it (163). Though it was originally compiled mostly to the honour of Frenchmen, yet, as our translator observes, it is for the profit of every man. Herein, besides the History of *Charlemain* himself, the reader will find that of *Richard* of *Normandy*, with the feats of *Rowland* and *Oliver*, and several others of his champions. Much of that vein which was in the spiritual inspirers of Invasions against the Turks, Saracens, and other Miscreants, as they were called, under the title of the *Holy War*, appears in this book. It was first gathered together by our translator, at the incitement of Henry Bolounyer, Channon of Lausanne, the whole three parts out of two French books; that is to say, The first and third part, out of an old authentick book, named (‡), *Myrrour Hystoryal* (a fine copy whereof was in Isaac Vossius his library) and the second part out of an old romance; and at the request of some singular friends, especially Mr William Daubeny, one of the Treasurers of King Edward IV. Jewels, translated into English, and printed as above. Whether that treatise of the Actions and Manners of the Emperour Charles, which is said to have been written by Christiana of Pisa beforementioned in French, and finished on the last day of November 1404 (164), was serviceable in the compiling of this, we know not, having never seen it.

(163) Life of Caxton, p. 97.

(‡) This seems to be the same work with the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincentius Belluacensis.

(164) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 97.

[*R*] *An account of which may appear in the note referred to.*] The first of these books is intituled, *The Doctrine of Sapience.* It is a collection of discourses upon moral and divine subjects, illustrated with examples and parables; and divided into eighty-three chapters. The two last whereof are, 'First, The Excusacyon of hym that made thys booke.' And the other, 'The Complaint of hym that made thys 'boke.' In the former of these, we find that the same was first made in the year of our Lord 1388, by the Rev. Father in God, Guy de Roy, Archbishop of Sens; but the year after, a religious brother of the Order of Clugny, reading it diligently over, and finding it deficient in examples and authorities, he supplied it therewith; preserving, however, all convenient brevity; because, in matters of devotion, the world was

his books which bear date the succeeding year, are also to be met with in the libraries of the curious. The one, a prosaick translation of Virgil, or History drawn out of his poem of Æneas; and the other, a book of necessary instructions or preparations for death; a doctrine he now very wisely took to the learning of, since he was so near putting it in practice. These are the two last books we have met with of his printing that are dated; and as there are always some historical memorials, or other remarkable particulars, in the proems or postscripts of his other books, that are worthy of preservation or revival, so there are in these; which therefore deserve some extract to be made of them, like the rest [S]. Others have entitled him to the printing of several books beyond

was then so moderate, as to be satisfied with a little, and preferred short masses, but long meals. It was translated by Caxton, out of French at Westmestre, and fynyshed the 7th of May 1489. One of the author's who have written of Caxton, mentions this as the first book he had seen with Caxton's cypher printed at the end of it; but it is to be found, as we have observed, in some, much earlier. If he did not use it so early as to the book of Chess, it might be found taken out of another book, and bound up with it, and so answer Mr Palmer's account, that it did appear therein; but it is wanting in many of his books, wherein it was first printed, because being printed often on the last or spare leaf, at the end, it has, as a picture, been torn out by children (165). Not that it is always a proof the book was printed by Caxton, wherein it does appear; for it is well known to those who have been conversant in our first printed books, that Wynkin de Worde used Caxton's cypher to many books by him printed several years after Caxton's death, which has occasioned frequent mistakes in our catalogues, and multiplied the list of Caxton's books, far beyond the number he printed.

(165) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 99.

The other work printed by Mr Caxton the same year is called, *The book of the Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye: made and drawen out of several authors, by Chrystyne of Pyse, in Frensh*: translated into English, and printed by *William Caxton*, fol. 1489. This Lady was born at Pisa in Italy; but removing with her father to Bologne in France, she wrote her book in the language of that country, and flourished about the year 1400. In her Prologue to this book, she apologizes for herself, to those who would object, that the handling of her distaff and spinning-wheel might have better become her, than meddling with those warlike subjects, according to the example of Minerva; by answering, that the invention and even use of arms, were owing to that Goddess, as well as arts. Her work, divided into four parts, is gathered out of *Frontinus*, *Vegetius*, and *Tharbre of Bataylles; with many other thynges sett into the same, requisite to Werre*, &c. There are some chapters towards the end, treating of that final Trial of Right, &c. by *single combat, within the lists*, as it was allowed and ordained by the Imperial and Lombard laws; which have been esteemed the most curious part of the book. What opinion King Henry VII. had of it, may appear by Caxton's own words at the end, where he says, 'It was delivered to him by that King in his Palais of Westmestre 'the 23 of January in the 4th year of his regne; 'who desired and wylled him to translate it into English and put it into print, that every gentleman born 'to arms, and all manner of men of warre, &c. should 'have knowledg how to behave themselves in feats 'of war, &c.' Accordingly the translation was finished the 8th of *Juyll* the said year, and emprynted the 14 day of Juyll next following, and full finished (166).

(166) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 265.

[S] *Some extract to be made of them, like the rest.*] The first of these two books is intituled, *The Boke of Eneydos; compyled by* Vyrgyle: *which hath be translated oute of Latine into Frenshe, and oute of Frenshe, reduced into Engleysshe, by me* William Caxton, *the 22d day of Juyn, the Yere of our Lorde* 1490; in a thin folio. This reduction of that epic poem to an historical narrative in prose, was then a very acceptable and much approved work, to familiarize ingenious men to the contents thereof, and attract them to a better acquaintance with the original. As to the author, he seems to be that person, whose book in French, upon the same subject, was printed seven years before (167). This work begins so high as the building of Troy by Priamus, and is continued, beyond the slaughter of Turnus by Æneas, to the succession of his son Ascanius, and two or three successions beyond. In the sixth chapter the author has some digressory animadversions upon Boccace, for relating the story of Dido, in his *Fall of Princes*, differently from Virgil; and recites his account, as well as that of his author. And in chapter 33, he passes over Æneas's descent into hell, *because 'tis feign'd*, and *not to be believ'd*; as if several other parts of this story, which he has repeated, were not as incredible as that. But to pass to the Translator and Printer; we observe his style to be more *ornate*, as he terms it, or dressed up in superfine words, especially of the French extract, than we believe it would have been, had he not submitted it to such correction as he gratefully owns was done by him. There appear also some improvements in the printing of this book, beyond what may be observed in some of those before spoken of, by a greater regard to regularity in the page, and not running out, but keeping the lines all even at the end. There are also here large initials at the beginning of every chapter, and besides commas and periods, also colons and semicolons, or what might be designed as such, though not always printed perhaps to answer the purpose of them (168). Our Translator, in his preface, which is near two leaves, informs us, that sitting in his study, where lay divers *paunflettis* and books, this work in French happened to come to hand; in reading whereof, he took great pleasure, for it's judicious and eloquent style; for which, as well as the subject matter, he thought it would be very proper for the instruction of young Noblemen, as it had long since been learned daily in schools, especially in Italy and other places; so he undertook to translate it. But when he saw and considered the fine and strange terms to be used therein, he doubted whether it would please some gentlemen, who had lately objected, that in his translations he had adopted some over-curious terms, which could not be understood by the common people, and desired him to make use of *old and homely termes* in his translations; that is, long-accustomed and native, not new-fangled and foreign words; and he wishes he could satisfy every body; so he took an old book and read in it, but he found the English so rude and broad that he could not well understand it. And the Lord Abbot of Westminster (†) shewed him certain evidences written in old English, for him to reduce into the then current language, and he found them so written, that he says they approached nearer Dutch than English, and he could not make them plainly understood. 'And certaynly, says he, our langage now used, varyeth 'ferre from that which was used and spoken whan I 'was born; for we Englysh men ben borne under the 'domynacyon of the mone, which is never stedfaste, 'but ever waverynge; wexyng one season, and waneth 'and dyscreaseth another season; and that comyne 'Englyshe that is spoked in one shyre varyeth from 'another. In so muche, that in my dayes happened, 'that certaine merchauntes were in a ship in *Tamyse*, 'for to have sayled over the see into Zelande, and 'for lacke of wynde, they taryed atte *Forlond*, and 'went to lande, for to refreshe them; and one of 'them named Sheffelde, a Mercer, came into an 'hows, and axed for mete, and specially he axed *for eggs*, and the goode wyf answerde, *that she coude speke no Frenshe*; and the marchaunt was angry, for 'he also coude speke no Frenshe, but wolde have 'hadde egges, and she understode hym not. And 'thenne at laste another sayd, that *he wolde have eyren*; then the good wyf sayd, that she understod 'him wel. Loo, what sholde a man in thyse days 'wryte, *egges*, or *eyren*? Certaynly it is harde, to 'playse every man, by cause of diversite and chaunge 'of langage. For in these days, every man, that is 'in ony reputacyon in his countre, will utter his 'communicacyon and matters in such manners and 'termes, that fewe men shall understonde them; and 'som honest and grete Clerkes have ben wyth me, and

(167) Livre des Eneides, compilé par Virgyle, translaté de Latin en François, par Guillaume de Roy, Lyon. 1483.

(168) The British Librarian, p. 127, &c.

(†) This was Dr Thomas Milling, as was before observed, p. 1229, (and not John Islip) who shewed him these old Saxon Deeds.

beyond this year, 1490; but their miſ-reckonings, with the cauſes thereof, may manifeſtly appear. Indeed, beſides all thoſe books abovementioned, which are ranged in their annual order, according to the direction of their dates, we find that he printed alſo ſeveral others, which are undated; therefore cannot be diſtinctly remitted to the years under which they firſt appeared. And ſome there are, which neither mention the time when, the place where, nor the perſon's name by whom, they were printed; yet were probably ſet forth by him, though not after the year aforeſaid, nor all of them, that have been aſcribed to him; becauſe both his type and his cypher, having been ſometimes uſed by his ſucceſſor, as hath been obſerved, have miſguided ſome; as an erroneous opinion that he lived three or four years longer than he did, has others, to father performances upon him in which he could have no hand. Of all theſe undated books we ſhall make the cleareſt diſtinction we can, and ſpeak in the beſt order our intelligence has enabled us, under one more head or diviſion [T]; and then, all that remains more to be obſerved is, that

'and deſired me to wryte the moſte curyous termes 'that I coude fynde: and thus, bytween playn, rude, 'and curious I ſtand abaſhed. But in my judgmente, 'the comyn termes that be dayli uſed ben lyghter to 'be underſtonde than the old auncyent Englyſhe. 'And for as moche as this preſent booke is not for a 'rude uplondyſh man to labour therin, ne rede it, 'but only a Clerk and a noble gentleman, that feleth 'and underſtondeth in faytes of armes, in love, and 'in noble Chyvalry; therfor in meane bytwene bothe, 'I have reduced and tranſlated this ſayd booke into 'our Englyſhe; not over-rude, ne curyous; but in 'ſuch termes as ſhall be underſtanden, by Goddys 'grace accordyng to my copye. And yf ony man wyll 'entermete in redyng of hit, and fyndeth ſuche termes 'that he cannot underſtande, late hym goo rede and 'lerne Vyrgyll, or the Pyſtles of Ovyde; and ther he 'ſhall ſee, and underſtande lightly all, yf he have 'a good redar and enformer; for this booke is not 'for every rude and unconnynge man to ſee, but 'Clerkys and very gentylmen that underſtands gentylnes and ſcyence. Then I praye alle them that ſhall 'rede in this lytyl treatys, to holde me for excuſed for 'the tranſlatynge of hit; for I knowleche my ſelfe 'ignorant of connynge to empryſe on me ſo hie and 'noble a worke. But I praye Mayſter *John Skelton*, 'late created Poete Laureate in the Unyverſite of 'Oxenforde, to overſee and correcte thys ſayd booke; 'and taddreſſe and expowne where as ſhall be founde 'faulte, to thym that ſhall requyre it: for hym I 'knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne and Englyſhe 'every dyfficulte that is therein: for he hath late 'tranſlated the Epyſtles of Tulle, and the booke of 'Dyodorus Syculus (†), and dyverſe other workes oute 'Latyn into Engliſhe, not in rude and olde langage, 'but in polyſhed and ornate termes craftely; as he 'that hath redde Vyrgyle, Ovyde, Tullye, and all 'the other Poets, and Oratours, to me unknowen: 'and alſo he hath redde the ix Muſes, and underſtands their muſicalle Scyences, and to whom of 'them eche Scyence is appropred: I ſuppoſe he hath 'dronken of *Elycon*'s Well. Then I praye hym, 'and ſuch other, to correcte, adde, or mynyſhe, 'whereas he, or they, ſhall fynde faulte; for I have 'but folowed my copye in Frenſhe, as nygh as me is 'poſſible. And yf ony worde be ſayd therein well, 'I am glad; and yf otherwyſe, I ſubmytte my ſayd 'boke to theyr correctyon; which boke I preſente 'unto the hye born my tocomynge naturell and 'ſoverayne Lord *Arthur*, by the Grace of God, 'Prynce of Walys, Duc of Cornewayll, and Erle of 'Cheſter, fyrſt begoten ſone and heyer unto our moſt 'dradde, naturall, and ſoverayn Lorde, and moſt 'Cryſten Kynge Henry the VII, by the Grace of 'God, Lorde Kynge of Englonde, and of Fraunce, 'and Lorde of Ireland; byſeching his noble Grace 'to recyve it in thanke of me his moſt humble ſubget and ſervaunte: and I ſhall praye unto Almighty 'God for his proſperous encreaſyng in vertue, wyſdom, 'and humanyte; that he may be egal with the moſt 'renouned of alle his noble progenytours; and ſo 'to lyve in this preſent lyf, that after this tranſitorye 'lyf, he, and we all, may come to everlaſtynge lyf 'in heaven; *Amen*.' We read in Mr Lewis, That the bright and accurate author of the *Dunciad* tells us, 'Caxton tranſlated into proſe Virgil's Æneis as an Hiſtory; and that he ſpeaks of it in *a very ſingular manner*, as of a book *hardly known*.' But this cenſure, ſays my author, is confuted by the very copy of Caxton's Preface to this book, which even this ingenious writer has printed in his Appendix. So he extracts ſome particulars before recited; and concludes, with, *How eaſy a matter is it to make dunces at this rate* (169)!

(†) A MS. of his Tranſlation of this author, if not the other, is ſtill in being.

The other book he ſet forth the ſame year is called *A Lityll Treatiſe, ſhorte and abredged, ſpekynge of the arte and crafte to knowe well to Dye: tranſlated oute of Frenſhe into Englyſhe, by William Caxton, the xv day of Juyn*, and printed by him, *folio*, 1490. This important ſubject, of ſuch univerſal behoof, was prudently undertaken by Mr. Caxton at the age he was now advanced to, and under the decay he now perhaps felt approaching, which put an end to his laudable labours by then he was about a twelvemonth older. It is the more to be regarded, in that he choſe, by this work to ſet himſelf the example of that doctrine which is therein recommended. It is divided into ſix parts; treating Of the Praiſe of Death, and how we ought to die gladly; Of the Temptations we are under at the Point of Death; Of the Queſtions that ought to be made at that Time; Of the Inſtructions that ought to be given; Of the remembrance of God's Dooings and Sufferings for us; and Of certain devout Prayers that ought to be ſaid by, or for, the dying Perſon. From all which articles it may evidently appear, as the author concludes, That to every perſon who would die well, it is neceſſary that he learn to die, before death comes, and prevents him (170).

(169) Life of Caxton, p. 149.

(170) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 129.

[T] *And ſpeak in the beſt order our intelligence has enabled us, under one more head or diviſion.*] And firſt of thoſe which are thought to have been among ſome of his earlieſt productions. Among theſe, as he had a ſingular reſpect for Chaucer, ſo after he had it in his power to extend his renown, by the publication of his works, he ſeems to have no longer deferred this juſtice to them, than he could procure the manuſcripts that would inſpire him to pay it. From thence he printed, I. *Boecius de Conſolatione Philoſophie*, in folio, without date, or place where printed; without capital initials to the chapters, ſignatures, catch words at bottom, or numbering of pages at top. In his poſtſcript at the end, he ſays, that foraſmuch as the ſtyle is difficult to be underſtood by ſimple perſons; 'Therefore, the 'worſhipful Fader and firſt foundeur and enbeliſsher of 'ornate eloquence in our Engliſh; I mene Maiſter 'Geffery Chaucer hath tranſlated this ſayd worke oute 'of Latyn, into oure uſual and moder tonge; folowyng 'the Latyn as neygh as is poſſible to be underſtande; 'wherein, in myne oppynyon, he hath deſervid a 'perpetuell lawde and thanke of all this noble Royame 'of Englond; and in eſpeciall of them that ſhall rede 'and underſtande it.' Then he tells us further, that becauſe this tranſlation was not diſperſed, nor known; 'att the requeſte, *ſays he*, of a ſinguler friende and 'goſſib of myne, I William Caxton have done my 'debuoir and payne tenprynte it, in form, as is here 'afore made, in hopyng that it ſhal prouffit moche 'peple, to the wele and helth of their ſoules, and 'for to lerne to have and kepe the better pacience in 'adverſitees. And furthermore, I deſir and require 'you, that of your charite ye wold praye for the 'ſoule of the ſayd worſhipful man, Geffery Chaucer, 'firſt tranſlatour of this ſayde boke into Engliſh, and 'embeliſsher, in making the ſayd language ornate and 'fayr, which ſhal endure perpetuelly, and therefore 'he ought eternally to be remembrid; of whom the 'body and corps lieth buried in thAbbay of Weſtmeſtre beſide London to fore the chapele of Seynte 'Benet,

that though he printed no more books, yet had he such a share of health, or at least such strength

'Benet, by whos sepulture is wreton on a table hangyng on a pylere, his epitaphye maad by a Poete Laureat, whereof the copye foloweth, &c.' This epitaph, consisting of thirty-four lines in Latin, was composed by Stephen Surigon, Poet-Laureate of Milan, at the cost and instance of Mr Caxton; and may be seen in several editions of Chaucer's works (171). It is not improbable, but Chaucer himself was under some such tribulation, when he translated this book, as the author was, when he wrote it: but of that, we have no room to expatiate here. Another part of the same author, Caxton also printed, as we are informed, which was II. *A Collection of Chaucers and Lydgates Poems*, quarto. This book is without any signatures, date, or name of place, or printer, and contains fourteen pieces of theirs and John Skogan's writing, as they are enumerated by Mr Lewis (172). That this collection was of Caxton's printing, we cannot affirm, having never seen it. But others of Chaucer's works are well known to have been first set forth by him, as III. *The Canterbury Tales*; tho' it doth not appear, that any of our Typographical Historians have seen a perfect copy of his edition, because they have quoted nothing from the proem, or epilogue of it. That which we have seen in the Harleian library was imperfect, so is another that Mr Samuel Pepys was possessed of, which is preserved with his other books, in Magdalen College Cambridge. The contents thereof were transmitted by Dr Daniel Waterland, Master of the said college, to my author, when he was writing upon this subject, and he has printed the same (173); wherein it appears, that the number of Prologues and Tales in the said copy amounts to fifty; besides, as it seems, Chaucer's tract of Repentance or Retractation for writing his Parson's Tale; which, in some following editions, was rejected as spurious, and an imposition upon his name, contrived by some of the Priests, in revenge for his having exposed them. We have been informed, that Caxton published two editions of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, but some have observed, that he could not get such complete copies as have since been discovered, and that therefore his editions have fallen into such neglect and decay. We have seen some other little pieces of Chaucer's that were also printed by him, as IV. His *Troylus and Creseyde*, folio, without date; and V. *The Book of Fame, made by Geferey Chaucer*, emprinted by Wylliam Caxton, fol. without date. This poem is in three books, and towards the end of the second, there is, in a note written upon the margin of the copy that was in the Harleian Library, in a modern hand, these words, 'Here all other editions are imperfect; and there are some lines in others which are not here, and therefore are to be suspected.' Caxton, at the conclusion of this work, has given a great encomium of Chaucer (174). These two pieces are printed in a less character than the edition beforementioned of the Canterbury Tales, which we have seen; but it might be of the same size with that of the other edition that is spoken of; and so Caxton might by degrees, as he could meet with the manuscripts, design a compleat and uniform edition of Chaucer; but we think he never did proceed much farther towards the same, than what we have spoken of. But to the other Poet lately mentioned with him, we have seen entitled, VI. *The Lyf of our most blessyd Lady, Mayde, Wyf, and Moder of our Lord Jhesu Cryst: Compyled by Dan John Lydgate, Monke of Burye, at the Excitation and Styryng of the Noble and Victoryous Prince, King Harry the fyfthe. Empryntyd by Wyllyam Caxton.* Folio, without date. This is a poem, divided into eighty-two chapters, three of which are concerning the Virgin's Midwives; and therein are to be found, which is more than every body knows, the names of them. In the conclusion we have some of 'Master Caxton's poetry, with two ballads, as he calls them, in Latin and English (175). There is another work of the same author printed also by him under the title of VII. *The Laberous and most Merveylous Werkes of Sapience*; a thin folio, without date. Though neither the Author's nor Printer's name appears to this poem; it was visibly enough printed by Caxton and composed by Lydgate, had we not the authority of John Stow for it, in the catalogue of his writings. The author tells us it was written at the command of his Sovereign, perhaps King Henry V, and it seems to be one of the scarcest of his pieces extant. It is not mentioned, as we remember, by any writer who has undertaken to enumerate Caxton's works. There seems to be more invention in it, and variety of matter, than in most other of his compositions; displaying, after a copious debate between *Mercy* and *Truth*, *Justice* and *Peace*, a distinct survey throughout the palace and domains of *Sapience*, of all the products of Nature, Arts, and Sciences, in several chapters; with his further reference at the end of each, to the authors who have written upon them (176). We have also VIII. his book named, *Speculum Vitæ Christi: or, The Myrrour of the blessyd Lyf of Cryste: Compiled from the Latin Booke of Dr Bonaventure*, De Meditacione Vite Jhesu Cristi. *Together with a shorte Treatyce of the hyhest and most worthy Sacramente of Crystes blessid Body, and the Merveylles thereof, &c.* folio. Imprinted by William Caxton, without date. This book is divided into seven parts, according to the seven dayes of the week; and in the Latin Proem before it we are informed, that whatever is translated therein from the work ascribed to Bonaventure, is distinguished in the margin by a B, and all the rest, which is interlaced by the Translator, is signified by an N. It is further said in that Proem, that, about the year 1410, the Compiler presented the said translation and additions, to Archbishop Arundell, for his inspection and examination, before it was published; who singularly approved of it, and exerted his Metropolitan authority in recommending it to the publick, for the edification of the Faithful, and the confutation of the Lollards. It is adorned with many wooden cuts; and the first of them, printed before the said Proem, represents the Translator presenting his book to the said Archbishop of Canterbury (177). The reason given for the title of this book, as Mr Lewis observes, or it's being called *The Myrrour of the blessyd Lyf of Jhesu Criste*, is because the Life of Christ may not be fully described, as the Lives of other Saints, but in a manner of likeness; as the image of a man's face is shewed in the *Mirror*, or looking-glass (178). The next that occurs, is IX. Three Ecclesiastical pieces in Latin, intituled, *Directorium Sacerdotum; sive* Ordinale Secundum Usum Sarum; *una cum* Defensorio ejusdem Directorii; Item *Tractatus qui dicitur* Crede Michi, fol. without date. To this book is prefixed a Calendar; at the end of which is Caxton's cypher; and in the Prologue that follows, it appears, that the said Ordinal was written by Clement Maydestone, Priest, the same, we take it, who was a learned Carmelite, and wrote the History of Archbishop Scroop's Martyrdom (179), besides other things. At the end of the *Defensorium Directorii*, there is a colophon, expressing, That Directory and Defence of it to have been printed by William Caxton at Westminster near London. After which follows the *Crede Mihi*, which was so named, because it might be depended upon, as the true and approved form or rule of the church of Sarum (180). These three are said to be the only tracts we have of Caxton's printing in Latin; though there is a good deal of Latin text mixed with several of the translations he published; as Cato, Boetius, and two or three more; which are proofs sufficient that he did not confine himself only to the printing of English books. X. *The Chastysing of Goddes Chyldren*, a book prouffytable for manne's soule, and ryght comfortable to the body; and specially in adversite, fol. without date (†), or any appearance of the Printer, further than by Caxton's cypher. There is a copy of it in Secretary Pepys's library. XI. *A Booke composed of dyvers Gostley Matters*; of which the first is named *Orologium Sapiencie*: shewing seven points of true love of everlasting wisdom. At Westmistre, folio. This name was given it, because the subject of it was communicated to the author in a vision, under the figure of a fair *Orloge* adorned with roses, and cymbals sweetly sounding. There is besides in this book, 2. *The Twelve Prouffytes of Tribulacion*, and 3. *The Holy Rule of Saynt Benet.* Printed also at Westmistre, at the desire of certain worshipful persons, perhaps rather at Caxton's press than by him, as the Latin lines by my author quoted seem to imply (181). XII. *The Curiale of Alayn Charetier*, translated out of French into English, and printed in a very thin folio,

(171) As that printed by Thomas Godfray, fol. 1532; and that by Geo. Bishop, fol. 1602, &c.

(172) Life of Caxton, p. 104.

(173) Idem, 105, &c.

* One of these editions might be only supervised or corrected by Caxton: for Richard Pynson, in the Proheme to his edition of the Tales, styling Caxton his worshipful Master, says, that 'This boke had bin diligently ovirsene, and duely examined by *his Politike Reason, and Oversight*.'

(174) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 242.

(175) Id. p. 127.

(176) Ib. p. 229.

(177) Id. p. 122.

(178) Life of Caxton, p. 110.

(179) H. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 369, &c.

(180) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 111.

(†) The only edition we have seen, with other tracts annexed, was printed in a thin folio by Wynkin de Worde, 1493. Vide Catal. Bibl. Harleian. Vol. III. p. 125.

(181) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 112, &c.

strength of intellects, in the advanced years he was now arrived at, that he kept pre-paring

folio, by W. Caxton, without date. This is the copy of a letter he wrote to his brother, who desired to come and live at Court (182). That Charetier was a famous French Poet and Historian, and Secretary to Charles VI and VII, Kings of France. He was a great refiner of the French language, and died in 1458 (183). By which it may be computed, that his poem called *La Belle Dame sans Mercy*, could never be translated by Chaucer, though an old translation of it is printed in his works. XIII. *The Lyf of the Holy and blessyd Vyrgyn Saynt Wenefryde.* It is a very thin folio, of fifteen leaves only, without date, but, at the end of the Life is this colophon, 'Thus endeth the Decollacion, the Lyf after, and the Translacion of Saynte Wenefrede Virgyn and Martir, whiche was reysed, after that her Hede had been smyton of the space of 15 Yere; reduced into Englissh by me William Caxton.' Then follow the Offices of the Popish Church, in Latin, upon the day of her passion, her translation, &c (184). Whether this is a translation of that religious Romance from the Epitome of her Legend in Friar Capgrave, or from his original, written more at large by Robert Prior of Shrewsbury, we have not leisure to examine; but from a copy of this Prior's Life of her, there was an English translation published above an hundred years since (185), which being reprinted towards the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, with additions, by it's Popish editor, of several miraculous cures performed at Winifred's Well in Wales, there was another impression given of it the next year by Dr William Fleetwood, then Bishop of St Asaph, with such learned and judicious notes annexed thereto (186), as may serve to reduce the zeal of her Pilgrims to a due temper, and correct the jesuitical dose of miracles, to the satisfaction of all readers, having either affection for the reasonableness of our Established Faith, or aversion for the dotages of Popery.

(182) Catal. Bibl. Harl. Vol. III. p. 122.

(183) Vid. Oudini Com. de Script. Eccles. et Baillet Jugemens des Savans, edit. Amsterd. 4to, Tom. IV. p. 10.

(184) Cat. Bibl. Harl. Vol. III. p. 29.

(185) The admirable Life of Saint Wenefride, Virgin, Martyr, Abbess, and Patroness of Wales, by J. F. with a copper print of her *Well*, and herself kneeling before a crucifix, *Permiss. Superior.* 8vo, 1635.

(186) The Life and Miracles of St Wenefrede, together with her Litanies, with some Historical Observations made thereon, 8vo, 1713.

There are still some other books, which have been thrust into the lists of Caxton's Works, which we have met with no certainty that he ever printed: such as, 1. *The Siege of Rhodes*, in prose; written, and dedicated to King Edward IV, by John Kay his humble Poet Laureat. 2. *The Spousage of a Virgin.* 3. *The Book of Arts and Sciences.* 4. *De Fide et Cantu Famule sue.* 5. *The goody Narration, how St Augustine, the Apostle of England, raised two dead Bodies at Long-Compton: Collected out of divers authors; translated by Jhon Lidgate Monk of Bury.* This ridiculous miracle is pretended to have been performed upon the corps of a patron of the church there, who had been excommunicated an hundred and seventy years before, and on the corps of the Priest who had so expelled, to confront him, because he had refused to pay the said Priest his tythes (187). Of this fiction, which betrays it's own inconsistency with the age it pretends to concern, there is also a MS. in the Cottonian Library; and such a tract, with the aforesaid title, was printed in quarto about the year 1525, but no body has produced, or pretended to hear of one, printed so early as Caxton's time. There has been likewise 6. *The Life of St Edward the Confessor*, ascribed to him in Mr Bagford's Catalogue of his Works, which is all the authority others also seem to have had for repeating it in theirs. Some books he might print no further than in part, and leave them unfinished, which might be compleated by his successor; others he might recommend, or leave in charge, to be printed after his death. Hence, perhaps, we may some how account for that different expression at the end of some books which are reputed his, *Caxton me fieri fecit.* In one of those cases, the leaving of a book behind him, which he had not quite printed, or composed at the press, we are told there is an example in 7. *The Lyff of that gloryous Vyrgyn and Martyr Saynt Katheryn off Sene: With the Revelations of Saynt Elysabeth, the Kynges Daughter of Hungarye. Emprynted at Westemystre, by Wynkyn de Worde*; fol. without date. It is thought that Caxton translated this book, and printed the greatest part of it; being visibly with his type, all but the last page, and two or three leaves besides in the book, which are said to be printed with Wynkin's letter; if the difference in that book which occasioned this observation, was not owing to the taking some leaves out of one impression to compleat the said copy, which might be of another. As for Caxton's cypher at the end of it, it has been said before, that Wynkin used it to several books he printed entirely himself after Caxton's death; yet perhaps with some regard or distinction to such only, as Caxton might have some hand in, design of printing, or desire to have printed. That remarkable Legend was compiled by Fryar Reymond, of the Order of St Domynic, Doctor of Divinity, and Confessor to this Holy Virgin. He says the truth of what is here written may be proved by the writings of her Confessors, and also the witnesses he proposes to cite at the end of each chapter; and they were doubtless thought needful; here being many miracles fastened upon her, as well after, as before her death, which happened on the twenty-sixth of April, 1380. As for St Elizabeth, who ended her life in 1261, she declared she had so great certainty of all her *Revelations*, that 'She wolde rather suffree Deth, thenne doubte ony lytyll part of theim, that they were not trewe (188).' As for that St Katherine, the said Wynkin also printed afterwards a book of her *Revelations*, in which she is called the New Seraphical Spouse of Christ, and she concludes her work with begging of him 'That she may renne in the deedly way, with the lyghte of Holy Faythe; with the whiche lyghte me seemeth, thou hase made me now lately, *Ghostley Drunke* (189).' The work is said to have been written as she indited, in her mother tongue, was translated into English by *Dane James*, and printed at the cost of Richard Sutton, Esq; Steward of the monastery of Syon. The copy, whence these observations were made on it, had belonged to the Lady Elizabeth Strickland, a sister of that monastery, and is still in being. The last book we shall take notice of that has been ascribed to Master Caxton, is intituled, 8. *Vitas Patrum: The right Devoute, moche lowable, and recommendable Lyff of the ould ancyent holy Faders Hermytes; late translated out of Latyn into Frenshe, and diligently corrected in the City of Lyon, the Yere of our Lord 1486, upon that which hath be wryten, and also translated out of Greke into Latyn, by the blessyd and holy Saynt, Saynt Jerom &c. and other solytary relygyous Persones after hym; and after, in the Yere of our Lorde 1491 reduced into Englyshe; following the Copy, alwaye under Correccyon of Doctors of the Chirche. Emprynted in Westmynstre by Wynken de Worde*, folio, with several wooden cuts, 1495. The said Wynkin, in his colophon at the end of those Lives of the Hermits, or *Holy Faders lyvynge in Deserte*, informs us, *it was translated out of Frenshe into Englyshe by Wyllyam Caxton of Westmynstre, late deed*, and that *he fynyshed it at the laste Daye of his Lyff.* Had these particulars been duly regarded, they might have prevented those errors, which have been the consequence of stretching his life two or three years beyond that in which he died. There have been other mistakes made about this book, as if it were only a different edition of the *Golden Legend* before mentioned. But it is indeed a different book from any already spoken of, and may properly enough be admitted into the Catalogue of Caxton's Works, in his character as a Translator, though not as the Printer thereof (190).

(187) Selden's Hist. of Tythes, edit. 4to, 1618, cap. ix. x. Also Sir W. Dugdale's Hist. & Antiq. of Warwickshire. Dr Prideaux's Origin of Tythes, p. 165; and Bishop Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.

(188) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 125.

(189) The Orcharde of Syon, in whiche is conteyned the Revelacyons of Seynt Katherine of Sene; with ghostly Fruytes and precyous Plants for the Helthe of Mannes Soule. Imprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, fol. 1519.

(190) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 127.

This is all we have here to say of Caxton's Works in particular; some more pieces there are, we might be thought tedious to speak any further of, which have, in certain Catalogues, been attributed to him; wherein through ignorance, or craft to advance their value, his name is often joined to old black-lettered books, which he did neither translate or print; as others, which he did, may have been lost, before their antiquity rendered them rarities, and desirable to be preserved in the libraries of the curious. His judgment in the choice of those authors or arguments upon which he did bestow his time and labour, is rarely to be called in question; because, as we have often observed, the subjects were commonly pitched upon, and he enjoined and encouraged by others, persons of the highest rank and authority, to set them forth. As for the choice or form of his type or letter, his, like that of the other first Printers, must have been taken from the most established, and best known writing then in use; for had they used any new-invented character, men must have gone to school again to have read it. As for other distinctions, in the mechanism of his work, or his improvements in the art of Printing, than we have incidentally spoken of, we shall refer our readers

paring copy for the press to the very last. And indeed, that a man should, for twenty years together, after age had crept over, and begun to make impressions upon him, when others naturally covet a cessation from labour, especially of the brain; that he should still, after he had given between fifty and threescore testimonies of his indefatigable diligence, in the publications he had made, which are computed to have amounted to that number; and now, as he could be little less than fourscore years of age, that he should be desirous of giving still fresh and further instances of his zeal to promote or disperse the most virtuous examples and pious instructions among his countrymen; these, as they are no ordinary proofs of the painful services he bestowed upon them, so they have deserved no common acknowledgments. 'Tis easy to recollect, from what has been said, that the novelty and usefulness of his art, recommended him to the special notice and encouragement of three crowned heads, and their royal families, besides some of the greatest Noblemen in their reigns. And surely, as he justly merited those honours, he has also, praises that might be equal to them. It was the least then that Bale could bestow upon him, and yet some ignorant or ungrateful Translators have made it still less, where he says that he was *Vir non omnino stupidus, aut ignaviâ torpens*; a man by no means dull, or benummed with sloth: *Sed propagandæ suæ Gentis Memoriæ studiosus admodum*; but exceedingly intent upon spreading abroad the History of his country (*b*), and such other topicks, as we have seen, that he thought would most effectually inculcate religion, vertue, and good manners; to promote which, his great age seems not to have any ways abated his constant application; for he was now assiduously engaged in translating from the French, a large volume of the *Holy Lives of the Fathers Hermets living in the Deserts*; a work that still, from the examples of quiet and solemn retirement therein set forth, might further serve to wean his mind from all worldly attachments, exalt it above the sollicitudes of this life, and inure him to that repose and tranquillity, with which he seems to have resigned it. For we are informed by Wynkin de Worde, that this book was translated in the year 1491, by William Caxton, and that he finished it the last day of his life, as we have before observed in the preceding note. So that, nothing can be plainer, than that he finished his life and translation together, on the same day in that year; which, though others had also read, who have spoken of his death, yet has it been mistaken by most of them, because the book was not printed by the said Wynkin till four years after, in 1495; which date, and the expression of it's being translated by W. Caxton, *late deed*, they regarding more than the date of the translation, have concluded that he either died that year (*i*), or the year before (*k*). But Wynkin's account of his master's death is so true, that it agrees with the memorandum in being, of some expences at his funeral in St Margaret's church at Westminster, where, between the twenty-seventh of May 1490, and the third of June 1492, in the second year of this account, *viz.* 1491 (*l*), it appears, in the Warden's account-book of the said parish, that six shillings and eight pence were charged for four torches, and sixpence for tolling the bell (*m*), at the burying of the said William Caxton; and further, in the same book, among the receipts six years after, that he had left (we suppose in his last Will, though it is not to be found in the Prerogative Office) thirteen copies of his *Golden Legend*; and by another book, preserved also in the same place, being a Register of many particulars relating to the Abbey, that his executors gave to it, thirteen years after his death, two copies of *The Life of St Katherine*, and two of *The Birth of Our Lady*. 'Tis

(*b*) Balæus, Script. Illustr. Major. Brytan. Catal. edit. Basil. fol. 1557, Cent 8. cap. 43.

(*i*) Mr Bagford.

(*k*) Dr Middleton.

(*l*) Mr Lewis, p. 117, makes it 1492, which should be corrected.

(*m*) Idem, p. 118.

readers to Mr Palmer's remarks, who was a good judge, being a good Printer himself; and to the observations that may be made by an attentive inspection of Caxton's own books for that purpose. If any ask, How it came to pass that he printed none of the Greek or Roman Classicks? we may answer, by another question, How came it that none of them were printed in those days at either of the Universities? why, it was not the taste of that age; it was not the reading in fashion: no, the Heathen and Profane examples in those old Greek and Roman Poets and Historians, were not so relishable to Mother Church, as Ordinals, Confessionals, and such books as would inspire pious contributions, and enlarge ecclesiastical revenues; or such as would instruct them in Holy Knight Errantry, in Pilgrimages or Sainterings to the Holy Land, or the brave attempts of Military Christianity, to ravish it out of the hands of it's Miscreant Possessors by Holy Wars. As for his not printing any of the English translations of the Old or New Testament, as Trevisa's, and others there were, besides Wycliff's in his time, as well as some more early and less liable to objection; the danger of such an undertaking may appear in the words of Sir Thomas More, where he says, 'That on account of the penal-'ties ordered by Archbishop Arundel's Constitution' (which were the same with those of being the Fautors of Heresy, *viz.* the greater excommunication and death (191)) 'though the old translations that were before 'Wycliffe's days remayned lawful, and were in some 'folkis handys had and red, yet he thought no Prynter 'would lyghtly be so hote to put any Byble in prent at 'hys own charge, and then hange upon a doubtfull 'tryall, whyther the first copye of hys translacyon was 'made before Wycliff's dayes, or synnis: for yff yt 'were made synnys, yt must be approved byfore the 'pryntyng.' But such an approbation, my author intimates, was not then to be obtained (192). In short, how much this new ART of PRINTING alarmed the Prelacy, and how much they feared it would uncloke the mysteries in which they had involved religion, so produce the *Reformation* which ensued, cannot better appear than in a letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to the Pope, where he says, That his Holiness could not be ignorant what divers effects the new invention of Printing had produced; for as it had brought in, and restored books and learning, so together it had been the occasion of these sects and schisms which daily appeared in the world, but chiefly in Germany; where men begin now to call in question *the present faith and tenets of the Church*, and to examine how far religion is departed from it's primitive institution. And that which was particularly to be most *lamented*, they had exhorted *lay* and *ordinary men* to *read the Scriptures*, and to *pray in their Vulgar Tonge*. That if this were suffered, besides all other dangers, the common people at last might come to believe, that there was *not so much use of the Clergy*: for if men were persuaded once, they could make *their own way to God*, and the *prayers* in their *native* and *ordinary language*, might pierce Heaven as well as in *Latin*; How much would the authority

(191) Lyndewood's Provinciale.

(192) Sir Thomas More's Dyalogues, fol. edit. 1529, p. 49, col. 1.

'Tis thought he died unmarried, as there is no intelligence of his leaving any other issue than these of his press; which may serve as a MONUMENT of his industry and benevolence to posterity, till some of his successors in the art, shall, in justice to him, or in honour to themselves, raise him *one* in *marble*.

thority of the *Mass* fall? How prejudicial might this prove to all Ecclesiastical Orders (193)? However, Mr Caxton cannot be charged with any design, in establishing the *Art* among us, but what was very laudable: He had no thought of disturbing the faith, or tenets of the Church: He made choice of such books to print, as had a tendency to promote religion, and encourage virtue and good manners; or 'Books, in which he 'found many good enseignmentis, and learnynges, 'and good ensamples for all maner of peple in generally: special books to know all vyces and braunchis 'of them, and also al vertues,' as he expresses it in his own ancient phrase; for the frequent and necessary use whereof, throughout this account of his Life, we may be allowed the same apology as was made by one of our late learned Antiquaries upon the like occasion (194), who hopes the extracts he has made will not be disrelished, because they have been inserted in their primitive spellings and obsolete terms; which he dares own are, like the precious rust and canker upon antique coins and medals, the most convincing marks both of their *antiquity* and *genuineness*. G

(193) Liberty of Conscience, the Magistrates Interest, &c. 4to, 1668, p. 21; from Lord Herbert's History of King Henry VIII.

(194) Mr Anstis, in his Order of the Garter.

CECIL (WILLIAM) Baron of Burghley, Burleigh, or Burly, Secretary of State in the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards Lord High-Treasurer of England; one of the ablest Statesmen, and one of the worthiest Ministers, that this, or perhaps any other, nation, has produced (*a*). There is no doubt that he was descended of a very antient and honourable house, and therefore there was no need that he should be flattered with a fabulous descent from an old Roman family. He was himself very knowing in genealogies, and made many of those collections, which have enabled such as have considered this matter since, to trace his pedigree with great perspicuity and exactness (*b*) [*A*]. His father was Richard Cecil, Esq; Master of the Robes to King Henry VIII, and his mother Jane, daughter and heiress of William Hickington of Bourn in the county of Lincoln, Esq; both persons of very great character and worth (*c*), and for whose memories their son testified the highest respect, even in his most exalted fortune [*B*]. He was born in the house of his grandfather David Cecil, Esq; at Bourn in Lincolnshire,

(*a*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. v.

(*b*) Camden's Remains under the title of firnames, p. 40. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 405.

(*c*) Life of William Lord Burleigh by one of his Domesticks, MS. differing in some particulars from that published.

[*A*] *With great perspicuity and exactness.*] It is justly observed, by a very judicious author, that firnames in our country were a long time before they took any settled form, and that how well soever the descent of a family might be proved, there would be still great variations in the manner of spelling the name by which it was distinguished (1). As for instance, in the present case; Sitsilt, Sicelt, Seycil, Seisel, after which it came to be wrote Cycele, then Cycyl, as it stands in many of the old manuscripts of the reigns of King Henry VIII and Edward VI; last of all, it came to be spelt Cecil as we write it now (2); and the reader will forgive me if I tell him, what I think he will not meet with any where else, that this new orthography seems to have been the invention of Polydore Virgil, at least the first time I have met with it, appears in a letter of his addressed to the noble person who is the subject of this article (3). From hence some took occasion to suggest, the descent of this family from a Patrician stock of the same name amongst the Romans, and a certain writer upon our Antiquities speaks of this very seriously (4): 'Of the 'families of the Camber Britons, says he, otherwise 'called Welshmen, or of such as being issued from 'Wales do now remain in England, I shall not need 'to speak, considering their firnames are easily known, 'by being commonly according to their own most ancient custom. With this people it is not to be 'doubted, but that during the space of about five 'hundred years that they were subject to the Romans, 'divers of the Romans settled and mixed themselves 'among them, whose posterity hath since remained in 'account, as being of the ancient families of Wales, 'and I do find very probable reason to induce me to 'think, that, among others, the honourable family of 'the Cecils being issued from Wales, is originally 'descended from the Romans.'

But the truth of the matter is, that this firname is as little Welsh as Roman, for the best Genealogists agree, that Robert Sitsilt, an assistant to Robert Fitz Hamon in the conquest of Glamorganshire, in the fourth year of King William Rufus, anno 1091, was the ancestor of the family (5); which Robert was rewarded with lands by the said Robert Fitz Hamon, for his services, and afterwards by marriage had Alterennes in that part of Herefordshire called Ewyas land, with other lands in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire (6). From this Robert Sitsilt the founder, the family is very clearly traced down to Philip Siselt, who married Maud, daughter and heir of William Philip Vaughan of Tilliglasse, by whom he had two sons, Philip, who enjoyed the estate of Alterennes in the parish of Walterston, in the county of Hereford; and David, who was the grandfather of William Cecil Lord Burleigh, of whom we are speaking (7).

This David Siselt having purchased a fair estate in Lincolnshire, founded, 22 Hen. VII, a chantry in St George's in Stamford (8), and in 3 Hen. VIII, was constituted Water-Bayliff of Wittlesey-mere in the county of Huntington, and also Keeper of the Swans there, and throughout all the waters and fens in Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Northamptonshire, for the term of thirty years (9). Also in 5 Hen. VIII. he was made one of the King's Serjeants at Arms, and having this employment at Court, obtained, for Richard his son and heir, the office of a Page of the Crown (10). Likewise in 8 Hen. VIII, he obtained a grant for himself and son, of the Keepership of Clifford Park in the county of Northampton (11). And in 15 Hen. VIII, continuing still Serjeant at Arms, he was constituted Steward of the King's Lordship of Coly Weston in that county, and was Escheator of the county of Lincoln from 15 November 21 Hen. VIII, to 15 November 22 Hen. VIII (12). In 23 Hen. VIII, on the death of Sir William Spencer, Knt. he was constituted Sheriff of Northamptonshire for the remaining part of that year, and was also Sheriff the next ensuing year (13). And having been three times Alderman of Stamford, departed this life in the year 1541, the 32d of Hen. VIII, as should seem by the probate of his last Will and Testament, which bears date that year (14). It is very remarkable, that in this Testament, he is styled David Cyssell of Stamford in the county of Lincoln, Esq; and that it appears he left behind him two sons, Richard and David, and a daughter Joan. His body, according to his directions, was interred in the parish-church of St George at Stamford (15), and it was at this gentleman's house, that the great man of whom we are speaking was born, as is mentioned above in the text; so that there was no kind of reason for recurring to art or contrivance, much less to fiction or forgeries, to entitle him to an ancient and honourable descent.

[*B*] *Even in his most exalted fortunes.*] It is requisite that we should here give some account of the parents of Lord Burleigh; and first then of his father, who, as we have shewn, was the eldest son of David Cyssell of Stamford in the county of Lincoln, Esq; and his own name Richard. By the interest of his father at Court, he was preferred, in the eighth year of

(1) Camden's Remains, p. 95.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 405.

(3) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 145.

(4) Verstegan's Restitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, p. 244. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 473.

(5) Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 124, 141, 142. Hollingshed's Chronicle, p. 1255.

(6) Barnes's Hist. of Edward III. p. 75.

(7) From an ancient Pedigree of this Family, drawn by the hand of Camden.

(8) Pat. 22 Hen. VII. m. 1.

(9) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(10) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(11) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 13.

(12) Pat. 15 Hen. VIII. m. 1.

(13) Fuller's Worthies, in Com. Northam. p. 299.

(14) Butcher's Survey of Stamford, at the close of Peck's Antiquarian Annals of that town, p. 27. Ex Regist. Spert. qu. 3 in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

(15) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, in the close.

Lincolnshire, September 13, 1520 (*d*). and received the first tincture of letters in the grammar-school at Grantham, from whence he afterwards removed to Stamford (*e*). About the year 1535 he was removed to the university of Cambridge, and entered of St John's college, where he distinguished himself by the regularity of his life, and a very strict, indeed a very surprising, application to his studies (*f*) [C]. When he had laid a solid foundation of sound and useful learning, according to the laudable custom of that age, his father thought fit to send for him up to London, and about the year 1541 placed him at Gray's-Inn (*g*), with an intention to have bred him in the profession of the Law, which, though his fortunes afterwards took another turn, was a circumstance very happy for him, as it led him to a perfect acquaintance with the constitution of his country, of which he was always a passionate admirer, and in every station of life zealous in it's defence and protection. While he was thus employed, an accident introduced him to the knowledge and favour of his Sovereign. It fell out, that O-Neil, a famous Irish Chief, being at Court, brought with him two of his Chaplains, who were very great bigots, not only to the faith, but to the power of the Roman Pontiff, with whom Mr Cecil, coming to see his father, chanced to have a very warm dispute, which was managed in the Latin tongue, with so great skill and vivacity on the part of Cecil, that the two Priests, finding their deficiency in point of argument, fell into a downright passion. This being reported to the King, who, whatever failings he might have, was certainly one of the most learned Princes of his time, he had the curiosity to see the young man, and after a long conversation was so much taken with his abilities, that he directed his father to find out a place for him, but as there was nothing vacant, the old gentleman asked the reversion of the *Custos Brevium*, which was readily granted, and some years afterwards came into his possession (*h*). This early introduction at Court gave a new biass to Mr Cecil's inclinations, and induced him to think of pushing his fortune in that road which he had so happily entered

(*d*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*e*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domesticks.

(*f*) See this matter fully explained in the subsequent note.

(*g*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*h*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domesticks.

of Henry VIII, to be one of the Pages of the Crown (16). In 12 Hen. VIII, he waited on the King at that famous interview with the King of France, between Calais and Guiennes; and in 22 Hen. VIII, being Groom of the Robes to that King, obtained a grant of the office of Constable of Warwick-castle, then in the Crown (17). In 27 Hen. VIII, being one of the Grooms of the Wardrobe, he had a grant of the office of Bayliff of the King's water called Wittlesey-mere, and the custody of the swans, and of those waters called Great Crick and Merys, in the counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Northampton, for the term of thirty years, after the expiration of the term granted to David Cyssell his father (18). In 31 Hen. VIII, he was Sheriff of Rutlandshire (19). In 32 Hen. VIII, being wrote Richard Cecyll of Burley in the county of Northampton, Esq; he had a grant to him, his heirs and assigns for ever, of the scite of St Michael's priory near Stamford, and the church, and 299 acres of arable land, lying in the parish of St Martin's in Stamford, in the county of Northampton (20). In 34 Hen. VIII, being then Yeoman of the Wardrobe, he was made Yeoman of the King's manors of Nassington, Yarwel, and Upton, in the county of Northampton, for life (21). In 36 Hen. VIII, he purchased the manor of Esyngdon in the county of Rutland, then also in the Crown, as a parcel of the Earl of Warwick's lands (22). In 37 Hen. VIII, he surrendered his custody of Warwick castle (23). He remained Yeoman of the Robes to King Edward VI to the last day of his life, which was the nineteenth of May 1552 (24), and dying at Court, his body was interred in the parish church of St Margaret's Westminster. In the month of April, 1553, a commission was issued to Sir Richard Cotton, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Walter Mildmay, Knights, together with Edmund Pidgeon, Clerk of the Wardrobes, any three or two of them, to take an account of Jane Cecil, and Sir William Cecil, Knt. Administrators of the Testament of Richard Cecil, for certain robes, apparel, and jewels of the King, in the custody of the said Richard (25). As for his widow, who was the daughter of William Hickington of Bourn in the county of Lincoln, she survived, and remained his widow thirty-five years, and was a very grave, religious, and virtuous Lady, delighting much in works of piety and charity, as well in her life-time as at her decease, and she had the comfort of seeing her children, and her childrens children, to the fourth and fifth generation, departing this life March 10, 1587, when she had lived seven years above fourscore. Besides the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, these worthy persons had three more children, all daughters, *viz.* Margaret, who married first Roger Cave of Stamford, Esq; and after his decease, Ambrose Smith of Bosworth, Esquire; Elizabeth, married first to Robert Wingfield of Upton, Esq; afterwards to Hugh Allington, Esq; and Anne, who was married to Thomas Whyte of Tucksford, Esq (26); The Lord-Treasurer Burleigh caused to be erected at the upper end of the north chancel in St Martin's church at Stamford, a noble monument to the memory of his parents, and by it is his own.

(16) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(17) Pat. 22 Hen. VIII. m. 1.

(18) Privat. Sigill. 27 Hen. VIII.

(19) Wright's Hist. of Rutlandshire, p. 12.

(20) Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. m. 7.

(21) Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. m. 7.

(22) Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. m. 28.

(23) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 134.

(24) As appears from the inscription mentioned hereafter.

(25) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 491.

(26) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, in the close, p. 69.

[C] *Indeed a very surprizing application to his studies.*] He was entered of St John's college May 27, 1535 (27), and finding several persons of distinguished parts then students there, this inspired him with such a thirst for learning, that he made an agreement with the Bell-ringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning, applying himself with such vigour to his studies, that with much sitting a humour fell into his legs, of which, not without difficulty, he was cured, though his Physicians considered it as one of the principal causes of that inveterate gout with which he was tormented in the latter part of his life (28). Dr Nicholas Medcalfe, who was at this time Master of the college, was his great patron, and frequently gave him money to encourage him (29), but the strong passion he had to excel his contemporaries, and to distinguish himself early in the university, was the chief spur to his endeavours. At sixteen he read a Sophistry Lecture, and at nineteen a Greek Lecture, not for any pay or salary, but as a Gentleman for his pleasure, which was the more remarkable at that time, as there were but few who were masters of Greek, either in that college or in the university; but though he applied himself with so much assiduity to Greek literature, yet he always affected a general knowledge, as never intending to tie himself up to the study of any single branch of science (30). He pursued the same method when at Gray's-Inn, and took the assistance of conversation as well as books in both places, delighting very much in free-disputes upon all sorts of subjects, by which he became very early both a copious and correct speaker. He was very happy in two qualities which rarely meet, for he had a strong memory and a sound judgment. He assisted both, by an indefatigable application, by recording every thing with his pen that occurred either in reading or from observation, and this in the most methodical manner, as is evident from the vast collections he left behind him upon a great variety of subjects (31). He addicted himself particularly to the Antiquities of his own country, and to the Histories of the great families, which he understood better than most men of his time; neither did he forsake his studies when he came into great employments, but was perpetually reviewing and adding to his notes, which gave him that admirable facility of writing, in which he surpassed most in his time, and was hardly excelled by any (32).

(27) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(28) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domesticks.

(29) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 95.

(30) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(31) As appears from what are still preserved in several publick and private Libraries, besides numbers that are lost.

(32) The reader may find ample testimonies of this in the Appendixes to Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Strype's Memorials, Strype's Annals, &c.

[D] To

entered. In all probability he was encouraged to this by the family to which he became allied by marriage; for having espoused Mary, the sister of Sir John Cheeke, a gentleman of fair character and great learning, which seems to have happened about this time (*i*) [*D*], he was by him recommended to the favour of the Earl of Hertford, uncle to his royal pupil, so well known afterwards by the title of Duke of Somerset (*k*). In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, he came into the possession of his office of *Custos Brevium*, which brought him in two hundred and forty pounds a year (*l*); and having married to his second wife Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook the Director of the King's studies, he found himself as well supported in his pretensions at Court as he could desire (*m*). In 1547, his noble patron, the Protector, gave him at once a great proof of his favour, and a high mark of his confidence, by appointing him Master of Requests, an office, not of distinction only but of great trust (*n*). He was quickly after favoured with another mark of the Protector's kindness, who took him with him in his expedition into Scotland, where he was present in the battle of Musselburgh, Sept. 10, in the same year (*o*), and his life was very narrowly saved there by the tenderness of one of his friends, who in pushing him out of the level of a cannon, had his arm shattered to pieces by that shot, which otherwise had dispatched Mr Cecil (*p*). Upon his return to Court he grew into such favour with his excellent master, that in 1548 he was advanced to the high post of Secretary, which he enjoyed twice in that reign, and for want of distinguishing this, some eminent writers have fallen into great confusion (*q*) [*E*]. But as there is no course of life so subject to sudden turns of fortune as that in a Court, so it was not long before Mr Cecil learned this from experience; for the very year after, a strong party being formed against the Lord Protector, many of whom were members of the Privy-Council, they assembled at London, while the King and the Lord Protector with his friends were at Hampton-Court, and finding themselves supported by the city of London, they sent a bold charge to the King, against the Duke of Somerset, to Windsor-castle, whither he was then removed, which produced all that they expected; for that noble person being of a mild and gentle disposition, and above all things apprehensive of a civil war, suffered himself not only to be divested of his power, but also to be made prisoner (*r*). At the same time, his friends, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, Edward Wolfe, and William Cecil, Esqs; were committed to custody, and though it is asserted by some great Historians, that when the rest were sent to the Tower Mr Cecil was discharged (*s*), yet we find in his own Diary that he was sent to that prison in November 1549, and we are also told, that he continued there about the space of three months (*t*). His behaviour however having been always just and moderate, had procured him many friends, and these

(*i*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*k*) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*l*) As appears from his own computation in his Diary.

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*n*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domesticks. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*o*) Lord Burleigh's Diary. Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domesticks. Camden. Annal. p. 774.

(*p*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domesticks.

(*q*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*r*) Sir John Haywards Life and Reign of Edward VI. in the Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 306, 307. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 136, 137.

(*s*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 138. Rapin's Hist. Vol. VIII. p. 71.

(*t*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domestick's. The entry in his Diary runs thus: *Mense Novembris iii Ed. VI. fui in Turre.*

[*D*] *To have happened about this time.*] The author of his Life tells us, that on the 8th of August, 33 Henry VIII, he took to wife Mary Cheeke, sister of Sir John Cheeke, Knight, who lived with him not above a year and a quarter, by whom he had his first son Thomas. The same writer farther observes, that this was after he had spent some time at the Inns of Court (33). This does not very well agree with what Camden tells us, for he says expresly, that he married this lady in the twentieth year of his age, while he was at St John's; that she lived with him a year or two, and that after he came to Gray's Inn he married his second lady (34). The truth of the matter is, that the former writer is somewhat, but Mr Camden is almost in every particular mistaken. Lord Burleigh, in his manuscript diary, has set down the day of his birth, Sept. 13th, 1520. Mr Camden places his birth in the year 1521. Lord Burleigh, in his diary, sets down the time of his coming to Gray's Inn thus, *May* 6th, 1541, *I came to* Gray's Inn, *when in my twenty-first year*; and he marks the time of his marriage thus, *August* 8th, 1541, *I married Mary Cheke at* Cambridge; so that it is plain he married his first wife after he was at the Inns of Court, as the writer of his life says. In Lord Burleigh's diary we find, that this eldest son Thomas was born May 5, 1542, and that his first lady died Feb. 22, 1543, at two in the morning, so that she must have lived longer with him than the writer of his life mentions.

(33) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(34) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

[*E*] *Some great writers have fallen into much confusion.*] It does not appear that any of our historians had the least intimation of Mr Cecil's being Secretary of State so early. The writer of his life says, that in the second year of King Edward VI. he was committed to the Tower about the Duke of Somerset's first calling in question, that he remained there a quarter of a year, and was then enlarged, he then proceeds thus, *The Duke of Somerset perceiving the King's great liking to Mr Cecil about the third year of the King's reign, preferred him to be Secretary of State, being but twenty-five years old, and Anno* 5. *Ed.* VI. *he was made a Knight* (35). All which is equally confused and incorrect, for Mr Cecil was much older than he speaks of when King Edward came to the Crown, and it was not in the third, but in the second year of his reign that Mr Cecil was made Secretary of State, the first time; which we learn from his own diary, where he entered it thus—*Sept.* 1548. *cooptatus sum in Officium Secretarii*, i. e. I was admitted to the office of Secretary in Sept. 1548. It appears from Bishop Burnet, that when the great disturbance happened in October, 1549, Sir William Petre and Sir Thomas Smith were Secretaries (36), but as we hear nothing of his removal, it is very probable that Mr Cecil was Secretary likewise, since as the reader will observe in the text, there were afterwards three Secretaries in this reign. It is plain, that Bishop Burnet was mistaken in affirming, that Mr Cecil was discharged at Windsor, and not committed with the rest to the Tower, since both himself and the writers of his life positively say the contrary (37). King Edward, in his Journal, makes no mention at all of Mr Cecil's being removed from his post, or of his being sent to the Tower; but he takes notice, that Dr Wotton was made Secretary of State at this time (38); and though Bishop Burnet is clear, that it was in the room of Sir Thomas Smith, yet it might as well be in the room of Mr Cecil, for Mr Camden, who mentions Sir Thomas Smith's being Secretary in this reign, says, that he was made so when Cecil was the other Secretary, and from thence it is not possible to distinguish when he was made (39). It appears from King Edward's Journal, that Mr Cecil did not long continue in disgrace, but was very soon brought into business again, though he was not restored to his office (40). When this happened we learn from those words in the King's Journal, Sept. 6th (1550) *Mr* Wotton *gave up his Secretaryship, and* Mr Cecil *got it of him* (41). In the month of October following the King granted him an annuity of one hundred pounds, in consideration of his said office, during his Majesty's pleasure, to be paid from the augmentation from the Michaelmas preceding (42). And thus we have done all in our power to clear up this matter.

(35) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(36) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 135.

(37) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(38) See the King's Journal, in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. Append. p. 9.

(39) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 318.

(40) See the King's Journal, as before, p. 17.

(41) Ib. p. 20.

(42) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 493.

[*F*] For

these taking advantage of the King's personal regard for him, not only procured his liberty, but brought him again to Court, where his abilities were found so useful, that the Duke of Northumberland, who had now the greatest credit, was willing that he should be restored to his office, and accordingly, by the resignation of Dr Wotton, this was brought about (*u*). There are many writers who fix this promotion to the eleventh of October 1551, but his own Diary assures us it was in the month of September, and it appears from King Edward's Journal of his own reign, that it was upon the sixth of that month (*w*). But it is true, that on the eleventh of October he was knighted, and sworn of the Privy-Council (*x*). His credit and favour was now greater than ever, and his interest with his Royal Master such, that he was believed to have a great share in those productions that were said to fall from the King's pen; for when a letter from his Majesty, in relation to her perverseness in religion, was presented to the Princess Mary, she could not help crying out, *Ah! Mr Cecil's pen took great pains here* (*y*). He steered with all the caution and circumspection that those critical times required, and was particularly careful to avoid taking any share in the Court quarrels that were so frequent during that short reign. Yet it was not possible for him, with all his skill and diligence, to escape falling under some difficulties, more especially in that fatal business of the death of the Duke of Somerset, towards whom he is by some charged with much unkindness, for which, however, there is no visible foundation (*z*) [*F*]. The Duke himself was a man, though of a tender nature, sometimes intemperate in speech, and there is reason to doubt, that some who were pretty near him, might take occasion to excite and draw from him those unguarded expressions, which were afterwards made use of as a pretence, though a very poor pretence it was, to take away his life (*a*). Sir William Cecil did indeed keep his ground at Court when his noble patron fell, but this was not owing to the Duke of Northumberland's favour, but to several other causes (*b*). In the first place his abilities were wanted, and his moderation esteemed, the Duke of Northumberland being no enemy to men of capacity who did not oppose him. Sir William Cecil stood extreamly well with the King, had his ear very much, and was the person to whom his Majesty confided his most secret thoughts; so that, without some apparent offence in him, no wise man would ever entertain a thought of his removal; add to all this, that he lived in strict friendship with the most eminent and worthy persons about the Court, and more especially with those who were immediately about the King's person, and we shall easily discern, why Northumberland himself, with all his power and his peevishness, chose rather to use the Secretary with the utmost civility, than to aim at giving him any uneasiness (*c*). Neither is there any necessity of recurring to any sinister motives, to account for that high regard shown by this powerful favourite to our rising Statesman, since while all the rest of the Courtiers

(*u*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domesticks.

(*w*) See the King's Journal in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. ii. in p. 20 of the Appendix.

(*x*) Stow's Annals, p. 604. Godwyn's Hist. p. 244, 245.

(*y*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 174.

(*z*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 476.

(*a*) Hayward's Hist. of the Life and Reign of Edward VI, in Kennet's Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 321.

(*b*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 223.

(*c*) See the Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by Mr Strype.

[*F*] *For which however there is no visible foundation.*] After what has been said in the former notes, and the variety of authorities alledged in support of the facts laid down in them, we may safely trust the reader with a piece of libel which was transmitted to the Lord Burleigh himself, when he was High-Treasurer of England, by one of his agents abroad, who extracted it from a Latin treatise, written and published by the Papists on purpose to defame him, in which there is collected all that had ever been whispered by his enemies to his prejudice, in regard to the first scenes of his life, thus it runs, 'Of the Lord Treasurer's pedigree they write in this manner; Cecil his father, groom of the Wardrobe, was never called master but in jest; and his mother would never suffer herself to be called mistress but when her son was made Baron of Burleigh. His grandfather, one of the King's guard, kept the best Inn in Stamford, himself first of all bell ringer in St John's College in Cambridge, and after grew by learning and cunning, by the help and favour of Sir John Cheeke and Sir Anthony Cooke, to be Secretary to the Duke of Somerset, Protector, to whom he was a stickler, to set him against his own brother, the Admiral, for pleasing the Duchess, and to cut off his head as he did; the principal instrument to bring in Father Latimer to be an agent, as he was in that tragedy, and for this service, by the Duchess of Somerset's procurement to her husband, Mr Cecil was made Secretary to King Edward VI. After seeing Dudley Earl of Warwick more cunning and potent than the Duke of Somerset his master, he secretly forsook him, and betrayed him, and gave matter of overthrow to Warwick against him; for which service Mr Cecil was set up by Warwick, and brought into the King's favour and council again, and he followed that man's fortune so long as he stood in prosperity, even to the deprivation of all King Henry VIII. his children, and penned the proclamation and oaths that the Duke of Northumberland and Suffolk set forth against them, and could have been content to have dispatched them with his own hand, if Northumberland would have put him to it (43).' As to his descent, and the estates of his family, when this noble person was born, they have been so fully set out from records, that no doubts can be entertained about them. As to the Lord Admiral it is very probable, that in his post of Secretary of State Mr Cecil might draw some of the proceedings against him; but that either he or the Duke were instigated by the Duchess to put that great man to death, is a vulgar calumny, since it is certain his own crimes made it necessary, and there are very few acts of attainder that can be so well justified as that by which he fell. He endeavoured to supplant his brother the Duke of Somerset, in the first year of his nephew's reign; he aimed at marrying the Lady Elizabeth, but being defeated in that, he privately espoused the dowager Queen Catherine, who it was strongly suspected he poisoned. He then renewed his addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, engaged the master of the Mint to cheat the King of ten thousand pounds a month, to enable him to raise a rebellion; and the very last words he spoke before his execution were, to direct his servant to carry two letters which he had written, to excite the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth to revenge his death upon the Protector. It was his own knowledge of this man's crimes, and not Mr Cecil's insinuations, that induced the pious martyr Latimer to speak against him in his sermons (44). As for Mr Cecil's attachment to the Duke of Somerset, he lost his liberty and his office for him; and before his last troubles began, the Duke was so far from suspecting Cecil, that he sent for, and communicated his fears to him, upon which he made him this answer (45), *That if he was innocent he might trust to that, and if he was otherwise he could but pity him*, which does indeed prove the Secretary's prudence, but without the least prejudice to his integrity. As for the latter part of this libel, it will be cleared up by considering what is said in the text of his dislike to the whole proceeding, with regard to King Edward's will, founded upon incontestable authorities.

(43) Extract of a seditious Treatise, written in Latin, and published in the Low Countries under the feigned name of *Philopatris*, sent by one of the Lord Treasurer's servants by way of information.

(44) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 476, 477.

(45) King Edward's Journal of his own Reign.

[*G*] *Which*

Courtiers almost were involved in factions and intrigues, he constantly attended the business of his office. He was appointed one of the Commissioners for establishing a new body of Ecclesiastical Laws, and though Sir John Hayward affirms that this came to nothing (e), yet in that, as well as in many other things, he was mistaken (f). Secretary Cecil was also very assiduous in settling the debts of the Crown (g), and in contriving ways and means for their discharge, and, which must appear somewhat strange, considering the confusion of the times, he, at this juncture, framed a scheme for the benefit of trade, which ought to render his memory immortal [G]. It appears plainly, that notwithstanding the great favour the Secretary stood in with his master, and the court that was paid him upon this account by the greatest men, yet he neither made private advantages to himself by grants, nor would he hinder in any manner the fortunes of other men, as is clear from his consenting to the appointment of Sir John Cheeke, Third Secretary, with Sir William Petre and himself, and as that gentleman was his brother-in-law it is very probable that he was instrumental in his promotion (h). On the 12th of April, 1553, Sir William Cecil was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, with an annual fee of an hundred marks, a very moderate reward surely for his many and great services (i). In reference to the disposition of the Crown, made by the King his master to the Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of Frances Duchess of Suffolk, who was also the eldest daughter of Mary, Queen-Dowager of France, and Duchess of Suffolk, younger sister to Henry VIII, it was an affair in contriving of which he had no concern, but, on the contrary, when he discovered it in agitation, he made such a disposition of his effects as he thought proper for their security, in case he was imprisoned or obliged to leave the kingdom (k). A certain author indeed charges him with having a great hand in it, and with drawing most of the papers relating to that settlement, but without any colour of justice, for the instrument was drawn by the Judges, who thought to secure themselves from being answerable for what they did by taking out the King's pardon (l). Sir William Cecil, when he was desired to sign this instrument, as a Privy-Counsellor, by the King himself, refused to do it, but, at his Majesty's earnest entreaty, subscribed simply as a witness of the King's signing (m). After the decease of King Edward, the Duke of Northumberland would have had him drawn the *Proclamation* of his daughter-in-law declaring her title, and shewing the legality of it, but Sir William very judiciously observed, that this was entirely out of his province, and so transferred it upon the Attorney and Sollicitor-General as better skilled in the Law. The Duke would afterwards have put him upon writing a letter in justification of the Lady Jane's title, in which Queen Mary was to be treated as a bastard, but he plainly refused him, and his example being followed by every body else, the Duke was forced to draw it himself (n). All this time the Privy-Counsellors were in the Tower, and looked upon themselves as little better than prisoners, which put Sir William upon contriving means for their escape, which was effected after the Duke of Northumberland's march into Cambridgeshire, by assembling the Privy-Council at the Earl of Pembroke's house, called Baynard Castle, where most of those who met declared for Queen Mary, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget going off to her that very night, and Sir William Cecil followed the next day, and though some attempts had been made to prejudice

(e) Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI, in Kennet's Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 236, 237.

(f) Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. II. p. 479.

(g) A Compleat View of what the King owed in the month of Feb. 1551, from the MS. of Sir William Cecil, is inserted in the 9th chapter of the second Book of Strype's Memorials of the reign of Edward VI.

(h) See the Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 135.

(i) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 506. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 330.

(k) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 223, 224.

(l) Sir John Hayward's Hist. of the Life and Reign of Edward VI, as before cited.

(m) This is taken from an account of that whole transaction drawn up by order of Sir William Cecil himself, for clearing up his conduct in that affair.

(n) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 476.

[G] *Which ought to render his memory immortal.*] It was at this juncture that the liberties of the Merchants of the Steel-yard were seized into the hands of the Crown, from whence we may date all the beneficial trade of this kingdom (46). It is true, that our commodities and manufactures were exported before, and it is likewise true, that corporations multiplied apace; that new trades were continually springing up, and that a spirit of industry began to diffuse itself through the nation. Yet our commerce was in a bad situation, we had hardly any shipping, the staple of our woollen trade was at Antwerp, the Italians remitted our Money, and the Germans and Flemings carried on the whole trade of export and import; so that while we were in this wretched situation the people laboured and sweated, and the strangers run away with all. A very few English merchants there were, and they took abundance of pains to give the government some light into this affair, and Sir William Cecil comprehending what they said, supported their cause so well in council, that they carried their point against the foreign merchants, by which I may venture to say the commerce of this island was set free; not that I concur in the common opinion, of there being little or no traffick before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but because I am satisfied, from a very laborious enquiry into this matter, that though the trade of England was very considerable even then, yet the trade of the English was very insignificant, and must have continued so, if it had not been for this bold step, which shows how much good statesmen may do to their country, when they really mean it well, and take pains to inform themselves how it's welfare may be promoted. But besides this, Sir William Cecil was the patron of another project, which though it was not brought to bear, yet plainly shews how indefatigable he was in consulting the publick good. This project consisted in abolishing the staple at Antwerp, and opening two free ports in England, *viz.* Southampton and Hull. There is still extant a paper, containing the whole of this scheme, digested in the clearest method possible, showing upon what motives the staple at Antwerp ought to be suppressed, how far that conjuncture was favourable to such a design, the reasons why Southampton and Hull were made choice of, in preference to other parts, the favourable consequences that might be expected from such establishments, and the danger and difficulties that were to be apprehended in making this attempt, with their remedies. We may from hence discern, that Sir William Cecil was none of those hasty ministers, who after taking a scheme into their heads, or having it proposed to them, proceed all at once to carry it into execution, without weighing or considering it's consequences; but a wise and prudent manager, who took care to examine every undertaking to the bottom, by viewing it in all the lights possible. The troubles and perplexities of that reign arising from factions at home, and the unsettled state of things abroad, prevented him at this time from performing, what, upon mature deliberation, he judged beneficial for the nation; but he never lost sight of his design, or abandoned his care of trade, till by degrees, and as occasions offered, he delivered it from most of those difficulties and embarrassments with which, till his time, it had been encumbered; and therefore we had reason to say in the text, that his conduct in this respect ought, amongst a wise, free, and grateful people, to render his memory immortal.

(46) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 207. Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. p. 326. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 350.

prejudice him in her Majesty's favour, yet he was very graciously received, and with very good reason (o) [H]. But as he very well knew that he had many powerful enemies, and foresaw the complexion of the ensuing reign, he made use of this early favour to obtain a general pardon (p). It is scarce to be doubted, that if he would have changed his religion, he might have continued in his office, but he chose to lose this that he might keep that. He did not however apprehend, that his having no share in the ministry, obliged him either to oppose those who had, or to forget the personal friendship and great intimacy in which he had lived with many of them, which therefore he kept up, and being well acquainted with the moderate and mild disposition of Cardinal Pole, he consented to go with the Lord Paget and Mr Hastings to invite him to England, which he accordingly did, and returned with him November 23, 1554 (q), in hopes that he might ballance the power of Dr Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Lord High-Chancellor, and Prime-Minister to Queen Mary, a Prelate of great abilities, but very zealous for the religion and power of the Church of Rome, though he had not been always of that opinion (r). In the month of May 1555, he attended the Cardinal, with other Lords commissioned to treat of a peace, and remained beyond the seas two months (s). After his return, a Parliament being summoned to meet the twenty-first of October following, he was chosen Knight of the Shire for the county of Lincoln, and behaved in the House of Commons, not only with great freedom and firmness, but with much spirit and vivacity, having a large share in a debate which produced the rejecting of a bill from the House of Lords, for confiscating the estates of such as had quitted the kingdom on the score of religion (t). This behaviour as it might be naturally expected, created him some trouble, out of which however he extricated himself by his great address, without the loss either of liberty or of reputation (u) [I]. He was again chosen to represent the county of Lincoln in the last

(o) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(p) Sir William Cecil's Vindication of his own conduct.

(q) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(r) Sir Thomas Smith's Life, by Mr Strype.

(s) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(t) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(u) See this matter clearly explained in the note.

[H] *And with very good reason.*] There is something very singular in the account which a celebrated historian has been pleased to give us of Sir William Cecil's behaviour, for after telling us, that he waited upon the Queen, was graciously received, and might have kept this employment, if he would have complied so far as to have declared himself of her Majesty's religion, he closes these matters of fact with the following remark (47), 'He was nevertheless exposed to 'no persecution on account of his religion, whether 'his artful behaviour gave no advantages against him, 'or his particular merit procured him a distinction 'above all other Protestants.' As to the artfulness of his behaviour, it will best appear from the answer he gave to those honourable persons, who by command of the Queen communed with him on this subject, to whom he declared, 'That he thought himself bound 'to serve God first, and next the Queen, but if her 'service should put him out of God's service he hoped 'her Majesty would give him leave to chuse an ever-'lasting, rather than a momentary service; and as for 'the Queen, she had been his so gracious Lady, that 'he would ever serve and pray for her in his heart, 'and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in 'her defence as any of her loyal subjects, so she would 'please to grant him leave to use his conscience to 'himself, and serve her at large as a private man, 'which he chose rather than to be her greatest coun-'sellor (48).' The Queen took him at his word, and this was all the art Sir William used to procure liberty of conscience for himself, unless we should call it art that he behaved himself with much prudence and circumspection afterwards. We may add to this however, that the remark is false in fact, as well as capable of being taken in a sinister sense, for there were many other Protestants treated with the like indulgence, such as Sir Thomas Smith, who had been also Secretary of State, and who had treated both Gardiner and Bonner roughly enough in the days of King Edward, and yet was not only suffered to live in peace, but also had a pension given him of one hundred pounds per annum (49). The famous Roger Ascham also, who had been Latin Secretary to King Edward, enjoyed both his freedom and his employment, and this by the favour of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, as is plain from the letter he wrote that prelate, to desire his favour (50). It is therefore not unkind barely, but unjust, to represent Sir William Cecil at the only Protestant unpersecuted under the reign of Queen Mary, and as particularly distinguished in that respect, whereas others shared the same liberty, and were even better treated than he.

(47) Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 62.

(48) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(49) Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith.

(50) Aschami Epistolæ, p. 263.

[I] *Without the loss either of liberty or of reputation.*] The business particularly mentioned in the text was occasioned by Sir William's opposition to the bill, for confiscating Protestants estates, and some warm speeches the same day on other subjects, but more especially in relation to a money-bill, in all which Sir William Cecil delivered himself frankly against the conduct of the administration. One day, says the author of his life, when he had spoken with more than ordinary applause, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Pollard, and several other members, invited themselves to dinner with him. Sir William said they should be welcome, provided they said nothing at table of parliamentary affairs, to which they agreed. At dinner, however, some of them talked a little too freely, for which Sir William reproved them, and charged them with breach of promise. The Privy-Council had intelligence of all that passed, and sending for the knights and gentlemen committed them all, reserving Sir William Cecil to be last examined. As soon as he came into the room, and had paid his obedience to the Council, he made it his humble request, that they would not treat him as they had done the rest, which he owned he thought was a little severe, *viz* in committing them first, that they might hear them afterwards, whereas it was his suit, to be heard first, and if then there should appear just cause he was content to be committed. 'You speak, Sir William, said Lord 'Paget, like a man of experience, go on.' Sir William making use of this licence proceeded to set the affair in such a light, that by the consent of all the Council he was discharged (51). But neither the risque he run upon this occasion, or the violent counsels that prevailed in the latter part of Queen Mary's reign, could deter him from rendering his country service in that station in which he had alone power to act, since Popery became again the established religion. His own account of this matter, set down by way of remark in his diary, will at once show the situation he was in, and his sentiments on that situation, and therefore I shall transcribe it, as more satisfactory than any thing that could be offered on this head by another pen (52). xxi *Octobris* 1555 *comitia erant celebrata Westmonasterio in quibus ego interfui, aliquo cum periculo. Nam quamquam invitus electus fueram, ut eques consularis pro Lincolnicensi provincia, tamen in illo consessu libere sententiam dixi, unde odium mihi peperi. Sed melius fuit obedire Deo quam hominibus.* 'On the 21st 'of October the parliament met at Westminster, in 'which, not without some danger, I discharged my 'duty as a member. For though I sought it not, yet 'being returned knight for the county of Lincoln, I 'spoke my mind freely, whereby I incurred some dis-'pleasure. But better it is to obey God than men.' It may not be amiss to observe here, that this voluntary choice of Sir William Cecil for the county of Lincoln, both in this and in the succeeding parliament, which was the last of that reign, does equal honour to him, and to those who chose him, for even at that time of day the court exerted both art and power in order

(51) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(52) Lord Burleigh's MS. Diary.

last Parliament of this reign, in which he observed the same steady conduct, and while he was thus employed in the service of his country openly, he entertained a private correspondence with the Lady Elizabeth, the presumptive heir of the Crown, to whom he gave such notices from time to time, as were highly useful to her in her distressed circumstances (*w*). As this could not be done without danger to himself, so it was very gratefully as well as graciously acknowledged by that Princess on her accession to the throne, November 16, 1558 (*x*). The first service that he rendered her was, upon the very day that she became Queen, by presenting her with a paper, consisting of twelve particulars which were necessary for her to dispatch immediately (*y*). At the time of her sister's decease, Queen Elizabeth was at her manor of Hatfield, whither before it was long, most of the great men repaired to her, and on the twentieth of the same month her Council was formed, when Sir William Cecil was first sworn Privy-Counsellor and Secretary of State, and as he entered thus early into his Sovereign's favour, so he continued in it as long as he lived, which if in one sense it does honour to the abilities and services of Cecil, it was in another no less glorious to the Queen his mistress, who, in this respect, did not act from any spirit of partiality or of prepossession, but with that wisdom and prudence which directed her judgment in all things (*z*). She saw plainly that Sir William Cecil's interests were interwoven with her own, and she very judiciously discerned, that he was fittest to be her Counsellor, whose private safety must depend upon the success of the counsel he gave. It was necessary to make these remarks, because it shews the reader the true state in which he stood with his mistress; for though there were other persons, who were sometimes as great or greater favourites than Cecil, yet he was the only Minister whom she always consulted, and whose advice she very rarely rejected (*a*). The very first thing he advised was to call a Parliament, and the first thing he proposed to be done there was the settlement of religion, in reference to which he caused a plan of Reformation to be drawn, with equal circumspection and moderation; for though no man was a more sincere Protestant, yet he had no vindictive prejudices against Papists, nor did he, on the other hand, lay any greater weight upon indifferent things, than he judged absolutely necessary for preserving decency and order; for he very well knew, that without an Established Church the State could not at that time subsist, and whoever considers the share he had in establishing it, and has a just veneration for that wise and excellent establishment, cannot but allow, that the most grateful reverence is due to his memory (*b*) [*K*]. The constant and daily business of his office, which, to have dispatched in the manner he did, would have taken up all another man's time, and actually took up a very large proportion of his, did not, however, hinder him from interposing in all the great affairs that related to the service of the Crown and the welfare of the nation. Amongst

(*w*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*x*) Camden. Annal. p. 26.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 5.

(*z*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

(*a*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*b*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 82. Osborne's traditional Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 246.

order to carry it's point in parliament, and it plainly appears, from the collections of state papers (53), and private letters relating to those times, that both the influence of ministers, and downright corruption, were employed to gain the members to compliance, as also to engage the people to choose members that would comply (54). The proceeding therefore of so great a county as Lincoln in such a case, was a clear proof, that the men of property therein had escaped the contagion, and that these uncorrupt persons should without any sollicitation, or even application, of Sir William Cecil, fix upon him to be knight for their shire, is a noble testimony of his merit, as it very clearly proves that he was thought a man of the greatest candour and courage by those who knew him best, and who, as they were incorruptible themselves, would most certainly take care in their choice to have such a representative as they thought above corruption.

(53) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. in the Collection of Records.

(54) Collection of State Papers in the hands of J. C.

[*K*] *The most grateful reverence is due to his memory.*] We have an account from Camden of the wisdom and prudence of this reformation, and he gives a succinct account of the heads of that famous paper which was drawn up for the management of it (55). This paper is also mentioned by Burnet in his History of the Reformation (56), and is actually inserted in his collection of records (57), and there is another copy of it printed by Strype (58), but it is not yet agreed who was the author of this paper; some think it was John Hales, others ascribe it to Mr Beale, Clerk of the Council; but Strype is rather inclined to think it was penned by Sir Thomas Smith; the title of it is, *The Device for the* alteration *of* religion *in the first year of Queen* Elizabeth, *offered to Secretary* Cecil. It consists of *seven* questions, all of them very short, propounding the principal things to be done towards a Reformation, with their answers, at large. Two things are certain with regard to this paper, first, that it was the basis of all that was afterwards done in parliament; and secondly, that it was offered to the Queen, and some of her principal ministers, by Secretary Cecil. To me, I must confess, it is very apparent, that it was either written by, or under the direction of, Sir William Cecil himself, though he took the necessary precaution of making it pass for a thing proposed to him, that he might not seem too assuming, and that he might not be obliged to enter into the defence of every particular in it, if the Queen or her ministers, had thought proper to vary it in any respect. In parliament he argued for every part of it learnedly, and clearly, and it was his advice that all such as were affected to Popery, might be allowed to speak freely upon that occasion, which they did, and fiercely too, but with very little weight; so that all that was done had not only the outward form and appearance of a legal and constitutional sanction, but really and truly received it, without any interposition of force, of influence, or of corruption (59). This great statesman himself, in a treatise upon the Felicities of the Queen his Mistress's reign, sets down, as one of the first, her settlement of religion, of which he speaks with great modesty, and moderation, affirming, that the Queen ever declined the title of Head of the Church, though she desired to be esteemed, what of right she was, the sovereign of all her subjects, ecclesiastical as well as civil. Of his own concern in this business he is altogether silent; but it appears from the most authentick papers, that he was the principal manager of it, both in respect of matter, and manner (60). He was the promoter of all things in the House of Commons; by his direction bills were proposed in the House of Peers; he thought of Dr Parker for Archbishop of Canterbury; and upon the whole, Strype had reason to say as he does, 'There was indeed great opposition made to the reformation of religion by many men at court; and had it not been for Cecil's diligence, wisdom, and interest with the Queen, in all likelihood, it had not proceeded with that roundness it did.' *This*, says he, *I set down here as a debt of gratitude, owing from this* Church *to his* memory (61).

(55) Annal. Eliz. p. 30, 31, 32.

(56) Hist. Reformation, Vol. II. p. 377.

(57) Collection of Records, p. 327.

(58) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 4. in the Appendx.

(59) Memoirs of the Administration of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, p. 29, 30.

(60) Life of Lord Burleigh. Meditation on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Lord Burleigh, MS.

(61) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 82.

[*L*] *But*

mongst these he very justly reckoned the regulation of the coin, which had been debased in the reign of Henry VIII, had been also practised upon in that of Edward VI to such a degree, as to be thought past restoring, and an attempt being made for that purpose which miscarried, in the reign of Queen Mary, the impossibility of doing any good in it, passed, at this time, for a thing certain (c). But it was Cecil's maxim that whatever was necessary must be expedient, and therefore he persuaded the Queen to set about it without delay, which she did, and though the design was not immediately brought to perfection, yet the success that attended this first step gave very great hopes, and at last his scheme took effect entirely, which, to those who are proper judges, will not only appear a great felicity, but one of the most important in this reign [L]. As he contributed by this step very much to the settling of affairs at home, by removing many of the difficulties, which, though they were severely felt, had never been understood, or their true cause discovered, so he was very far from neglecting affairs abroad, which were also excessively embroiled, Spain being already a secret, and France a declared, enemy, with the advantage of having Scotland much in her power, and a very plausible pretence from the Queen of Scotland's marriage to have it wholly, so by Cecil's advice the Queen looked closely to what was nearest, and took those under her protection which stood up for the Reformed Religion in Scotland, well knowing that she had it in her power to support her friends there with much less trouble and expence than the French, and in the mean time suffered the business of a general peace to proceed in the slow way of a negociation, in which Spain pretended to have the Queen's concerns at heart, but with little sincerity (d). When the French found that the opposition in Scotland was not to be got over by any force that they could spare, they began to try another method, and their Embassador at London was directed to propose to Queen Elizabeth the yielding up of Calais. The loss of this town was said to have broke Queen Mary's heart, the restitution had been vigorously insisted upon by Queen Elizabeth, and the Spaniards themselves, to keep up a shew of good intention, for some time supported her instances upon this head; yet now, when she might have had it without any obligation to the Spaniard, she answered very steadily and wisely, That she would not desert her friends for a paltry fishing town (e). The French, upon this, finding she would not go their way were obliged to go her's, and to offer a negociation in Scotland for restoring the peace of that kingdom. This was very readily accepted, Sir William Cecil and other Commissioners were dispatched into that country, and by concluding the convention of Leith, and the treaty of Edinburgh, raised their mistress's reputation, and secured the peace of the kingdom on that side (f). Upon his return he was received with great marks of esteem by his Sovereign, who, upon the death of her good servant and faithful Counsellor Sir Thomas Perry, bestowed his place of Master of the Wards, Jan. 10, 1561, on Sir William Cecil. As there never was a Princess more frugal of honours or slow in Preferments than Queen Elizabeth, so the examples of pluralities under her reign were so very few, that it is not at all surprising they were attended with much envy (g). Sir William had his share of this while he was Secretary only, but when he was also made Master of the Wards the clamour grew louder, but without much affecting him, for having enough to do with the Queen's business and his own, he troubled not himself with peoples speeches. His new office brought upon him fresh cares and an additional load of business, which however he went through with patience and diligence, and discharged it to the satisfaction of all, but those who were resolved not to be satisfied (h) [M]. It is generally agreed, that Parliaments in this reign were very different from

(c) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(d) Camden. Annal. p. 40.

(e) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(f) Camden. Annal. p. 66, 67.

(g) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(h) See this point fully justified in the notes.

[L] *But one of the most important in this reign.*] We are told by the author of his life, that it was a common saying of this great man, *That a kingdom cannot be rich while it's coin is base* (62). He had indeed extraordinary judgment in things of this kind; and even in King Edward's time he had considered the matter very maturely, for it was with a view to this that he engaged his learned and worthy friend, Sir Thomas Smith, to write a treatise on the value of Roman money, which he accordingly did, and addressed it to Sir William Cecil (63). The truth of the matter was, that the coin had been scandalously debased, for the shilling, which in the first of Henry VIII contained one hundred and eighteen grains of fine silver, was in the latter part of his reign reduced to forty, and in the reign of Edward VI it was brought down to twenty grains (64). And this was the true cause of the supposed dearness of most commodities, which though in reality very little raised in their value, were however in appearance sold for four or five times as much money as in former times. But this alteration, like every other measure of which he had the direction, was not brought about hastily, and with violence, but in so easy, and so gentle a manner, that while both the Crown and people bore a share in the burthen of the reformation, yet they eased one another so much, that the load was hardly felt. By proclamation (65) the value of base money was reduced, though not so low as it's intrinsick worth. At this rate, which was sufficient to encourage the subject to bring it in, the Queen received it at her mint, and from thence issued again sterling silver, for during the whole course of her Majesty's reign, gold and silver only were coined, and the money of England, from being as bad as any, became very soon the fairest and finest in Europe (66). This having opened a passage, and made such a thing practicable, the prices of most necessaries were reduced, that the publick might reap the advantage of so wise a regulation. There was likewise due care taken, that soldiers, servants, and day-labourers, should be justly and regularly paid, and have a short and secure remedy against any that might attempt to oppress them. As to the first, it was a common saying in the army, during her whole reign, and it was surely a saying that did honour to her administration, *viz. The Queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly* (67).

[M] *Who were resolved not to be satisfied.*] His enemies were in hopes that this preferment would have been fatal to him. The post of Master of the Wards had been always executed by a Lawyer, and because Sir William Cecil professed himself none, they were ready to take him at his word, and flattered themselves they should soon find him tripping. Their hopes were much increased upon his first coming into the court, where

(62) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(63) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by Strype, and the heads of the treatise itself, which is now lost, are to be found in the Appendix.

(64) Mr Lowndes his Extract from the Mint, in Locke's Discourse upon the Coin, p. 69.

(65) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(66) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 75.

(67) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. i.

from what they have been since, and that great points of State were seldom suffered to come under the consideration of the House of Commons. There wanted not, however, some busy spirits then as well as in succeeding times, who flattered themselves with the hopes of becoming considerable, either by pretending to an extraordinary degree of loyalty, or a flaming zeal for their country, and these gave the Queen and her Ministers no small trouble, more especially with regard to the succession, a point of which they were very tender, and with very good reason, for the Queen being the last of her family and unmarried, there wanted not some who were desirous to press the change of her condition upon their Mistress, under a colour of love and respect, and others again were very sollicitous to have the succession provisionally settled, as a thing equally necessary for the Queen's security, and the tranquillity of her subjects (*i*). But Elizabeth was too wise to conceive very highly of the fidelity of either of these parties, and therefore made it her constant study to quiet both, having very substantial reasons against declaring in favour of either (*k*). This too was her Minister's point, which, though he managed in the House of Commons with great dexterity, and, generally speaking, with good effect, yet he raised himself thereby many warm enemies amongst both parties, who persecuted him with all the bitterness and venom imaginable, by defaming him both to his Sovereign and to the people. Sir William Cecil was very sensible of this; and yet he was very far from retorting this usage on his enemies, on the contrary he was extreamly courteous to men of all parties, received whatever informations or complaints were addressed to him, and did what he could towards giving every body satisfaction, meddling as little as it was possible in Court intrigues, and neglecting nothing that fell properly under his care, as a Secretary of State or Privy-Counsellor (*l*) [*N*]. It was very early discovered, that, notwithstanding all his fair pretences, King Philip II of Spain was very far from being sincerely well-affected to Queen Elizabeth, nor was that Princess apprised of it earlier by any body than by her Secretary, Cecil, who from time to time laid before her the discoveries that were made of his Catholick Majesty's practices, and the reasons she had to apprehend, that he meant to do her still worse offices than those he had done already. Yet the Secretary constantly advised the Queen not to break with that Monarch, but to dissemble her sense of his ill usage, and at the same time proposed sending the Lord Viscount Montacute at the head of an embassy into Spain, that from time to time she might find new pretences for negociations, rather than be obliged to commit hostilities (*m*). This the enemies of Cecil represented as the effects of a weak and timorous disposition, detrimental to the Queen's credit abroad, and injurious to the glory of the nation. But in regard to the French, Sir William Cecil pursued quite another conduct, for he had advised the Queen to listen to the proposals made by the Protestants in that kingdom, and to assist them with ships, men, and ammunition, as well as money, which she accordingly did, and this proved the cause of new clamours, for those who before held him fearful and pusillanimous, charged him now with rashness and disregard of the publick safety, whereas, in fact, he acted very consistently in both businesses (*n*). He thought the power of the King of Spain too great to be disputed with till that of his Mistress

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 125. Strype, Hollinshed, Stowe, &c.

(*k*) Camden, ubi supra. Osborne's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Annals.

(*l*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*m*) Camden's Annal. p. 70.

(*n*) Strype, Holinshed, Stow, &c.

where it is allowed that he turned all things upside down; for finding the forms and practice very different from, or rather directly opposite to, the rules prescribed by former masters, he first considered them, and finding they were just and right, he obliged the practisers to conform to them (68). They struggled vehemently at the beginning, and talked loudly of the known forms, but Sir William Cecil told them, they must stick to the known rules, for that these would regulate both his conduct and theirs. Whereas by the other method they were parties, practisers, and judges, all at once, which for his own dignity, the ease of the suitors, and the credit of the court, he could not allow (69). His method was, to hear patiently all that could be alledged without hastily declaring his own opinion; but he held the Lawyers to the point, and would not let them digress to show their eloquence, or their wit. His decrees were short and plain, which he delivered first slowly, and with much solemnity, and then in a clear and regular method, he delivered the reasons of his decree, from point to point, and would always have the latter entered with the former. He raised the Queen's revenue, and reformed many abuses, but without bearing hard upon the subject, or making his court odious to the nobility. Contempts of the court, which before had been regarded as matters of practice, he treated seriously and severely, for he said, that even those who could not do, were under no necessity of declining justice, and that, as he did not sit there to oppress, so he would not be trifled with, or suffer the Queen's authority to be despised. He kept also the sheriffs, and all the officers of the court, in great awe; and as he was very exact himself, so he loved and expected punctuality in others (70). He willingly heard the Lawyers argue in any court where he sat, and would often argue himself, with great weight and perspicuity. Yet his skill in the Law served, in his private capacity, to no other purpose, than to keep clear of it; for it is said, that in his whole life-time he never sued or was sued (71). So exact was his regard to justice, and so extensive his patience.

(68) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(69) Remarks on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and upon the Character of her principal Ministers. Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(70) Memoirs of William Cecil Lord Burleigh, p. 35, 36.

(71) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*N*] *As a Secretary of State, or a Privy-Counsellor.*] It might be imagined, that the great reserve which Sir William Cecil constantly kept upon the subject of the succession, might possibly arise from his complaisance, or deference, for the behaviour of the Queen his mistress; but it seems more likely, that his advice influenced her behaviour, in reference to this ticklish point. There were no less than three claimants publickly mentioned, *viz.* the Queen of Scots, the family of Hastings, and the family of Suffolk; and the partizans of each of these were equally vehement and loud (72). The Queen observed a kind of neutrality, but still in such a manner, as sufficiently intimated she favoured the first title, or rather looked upon it as the best, notwithstanding the jealousies she had of her presumptive successor. This appeared by her confining John Hales, who wrote a book in defence of the Suffolk line (73), and by imprisoning one Thornton, upon the complaint of the Queen of Scots (74), for writing against her title. The Secretary kept himself clear of these businesses, and never gave the least intimation of his own sentiments, farther than that he wished the question of the succession might rest during the Queen's life, or till she thought proper to determine it in a legal way; for thus much we find delivered in some of his discourses, all, or most of which, I suppose, to have been brought to the Queen's ear or eye, as being calculated entirely for her service (75).

(72) See Leicester's Commonwealth. Doleman's Treatise of the Succession, and other pieces of the like kind.

(73) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 410.

(74) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 128.

(75) A Meditation of the State of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the Lord Treasurer of England, the Lord Burleigh, MS.

Miſtreſs was better eſtabliſhed, but he judged otherwiſe of the ſtate of the French, and was willing that the Engliſh troops ſhould gain experience, and the navy ſtrength, at the expence of a foreign power, that for many years had been practiſing againſt the ſafety of his country (o). It is very probable, that the moſt potent of his enemies were well enough appriſed of the reaſons by which he ſupported the advices he gave to the Queen, but, as parties are very ſeldom guided by any principle, when they found themſelves, as they thought, ſtrong enough, they made no ſcruple of attacking him with all the violence imaginable; in order to which, they repreſented the ſtate of publick affairs as very dangerous, and in a manner deſperate, and charged him with being the author of all the meaſures by which they became ſo; but the Queen was too wiſe to be deceived by ſuch ſtories, and a Princeſs of too great ſpirit, to give up a Miniſter who had ſerved her faithfully, to reſentments which he had drawn upon himſelf by his fidelity in her ſervice (p) [O]. One would have imagined, that this would have ſecured Sir William Cecil from any future attacks of the like kind, but it was very far from having this effect, for as it ſhewed the Queen's high eſteem of his perſon and counſels, ſo it raiſed the malice and jealouſy of the Earl of Leiceſter, his principal competitor, to the utmoſt height, and therefore he was a conſtant ſpy upon all his actions, and left no method untried to bring about his diſgrace. Some years after, another opportunity preſented itſelf which Leiceſter determined to make uſe of (q). Some Spaniſh ſhips, having great treaſure on board, put into the Engliſh ports to ſecure it from the French, and afterwards landed it, the Queen's officers aſſiſting, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſolemnly affirming it was his maſter's money, and that he was ſending it into the Netherlands for the pay of his army. The Secretary, in the mean time, received advice, that not one piece of eight belonged to the King of Spain, but that it was the money of ſome Genoeſe Bankers, who were in the greateſt terror leſt the Duke of Alva ſhould convert the ſame to his Maſter's uſe, in order to carry on ſome great deſign, which the Court of Spain kept as an impenetrable ſecret. Sir William Cecil therefore adviſed the Queen to take the money herſelf and give the Genoeſe ſecurity for it, by which method he ſhewed her, that ſhe would greatly advantage her own affairs, diſtreſs the Spaniards, relieve the Netherlanders, and wrong no body (r). The Queen took his advice, upon which the Duke of Alva ſeized the effects of the Engliſh in the Netherlands, the Queen made repriſals, and out of them immediately indemnified her own merchants. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London kept no meaſures upon this occaſion. He gave Secretary Cecil ill language at the Council-Table, and libelled the Queen, by appealing to the people againſt their Sovereign's adminiſtration (s). This produced a great deal of diſturbance, and Leiceſter and his party took care to have it publiſhed every where, that Cecil was the ſole author of this counſel. While things were in this ferment, Leiceſter held a private conſultation with the Lords he had drawn to his intereſt, wherein he propoſed that they ſhould take this occaſion of removing a man, whom they unanimouſly hated. Some of the Lords enquiring How this could be done? Sir Nicholas Throgmorton anſwered, 'Let him be charged with ſome matter or other in Council when the Queen is not preſent, commit him to the Tower thereupon, and when he is once in priſon we ſhall find things enough againſt him (t).' It ſo happened, that about this time a flagrant libel was publiſhed againſt the Nobility, Lord Leiceſter cauſed Cecil to be charged before the Council, with either being the author of it, or it's patron, of which he offered no other proof than this, that it had been ſeen on Cecil's table. This the Secretary readily confeſſed, but inſiſted that he looked upon it in the ſame light they did, as a moſt ſcandalous invective; in ſupport of which he produced his own copy with notes on the margin, affirming that he had cauſed a ſtrict enquiry to be made after the author and publiſher of the work (u). All this however would have been but of little uſe to him, if the Queen had not had private notice of their deſign. While therefore the Secretary was defending himſelf, ſhe (little expected, and leſs wiſhed for) entered the Council-Room, and having in few words expreſſed her diſlike of ſuch cabals, preſerved her Miniſter, and ſhewed even Leiceſter himſelf that he could not be overthrown: another ſingular inſtance of the Miniſter's good fortune, and of the Queen's firmneſs (w) [P]. The affair of the Duke of Norfolk's ruin followed,

(o) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(p) See this point clearly explained in the notes [O] and [P].

(q) Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of William Cecil Baron Burleigh, p. 47.

(r) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

(s) Camden. Annal. p. 177.

(t) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(u) Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of the Lord Burleigh, p. 48, 49.

(w) Camden. Annal. p. 178.

[O] *By his fidelity in her ſervice.*] It is not a little uncertain when this firſt attempt was made againſt Sir William Cecil, but in all probability, as it aroſe on the ſcore of the ſuccours and money which the Queen ſent to France, it might be in the year 1553, when that matter was upon the carpet, for at that time there were abundance of ſtories ſpread about to the Secretary's diſadvantage; and this not only without regard to truth, but even with manifeſt contempt of probability; as for inſtance, that he had changed his religion in Queen Mary's time, and laboured to be Secretary, if that Princeſs would have conſented; and that, being diſappointed of his hopes, he correſponded with the Princeſs Elizabeth, and was new modelling the Court entirely to his own mind. Theſe ſtories were circulated by his enemies at home and abroad, to juſtify the attempts that were to be made to drive him out of the Queen's favour; but as ſhe knew better than any body, that what was alledged was directly falſe, that he had never diſſembled his religion, and that the motives to his conduct were very different from thoſe which were ſuggeſted, ſhe readily gueſſed at the true ſources of theſe intrigues, and gave her favourites to underſtand, that ſhe was miſtreſs of her own reſolutions, and would keep, or remove, her Miniſters as ſhe thought proper (76).

[P] *And of the Queen's firmneſs.*] This ſecond ſcheme, which was carried to a much greater length than the former, or than any of the former, for Camden intimates, that there was more than one deſigned before this againſt Cecil (77), was concerted by the greateſt men in the kingdom, and may be truly conſidered as the ſtrongeſt attack that was ever made upon a Miniſter without bringing him to ruin. The beſt way of repreſenting facts of this nature is, from original writers, who lived in the times when they happened, and of theſe I ſhall produce two; the firſt is a Popiſh

(76) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. i.

(77) Annal. Eliz. p. 178.

followed, not long after he had been embarked in the faction against Cecil, and therefore we find this Minister sometimes charged, though very unjustly, with being the author of his misfortunes, a calumny from which he vindicated himself with candour, clearness, and vivacity (*x*), as equally abhorring the thoughts of revenge, and hazarding the publick safety, to facilitate his private advantage. The truth of the matter is, that Cecil had no greater share in the Duke's misfortune, than was necessarily imposed upon him by his office of Secretary, and which consequently it was not in his power to avoid; to which we may add, that the Duke himself was in some measure accessary thereto, by acting under the delusive influence of his capital enemy as well as Cecil's (*y*) [*Q*]. In the mean time that furious rebellion broke out in the North, which in part justified the truth of what he suggested to have been the real design of his enemies, when they laid that deep plot for his destruction (*z*), and he returned the Queen his mistress the kindnesses she had shown him in preserving him from so powerful a confederacy, by confounding the devices of his and her enemies, and extinguishing the flame of rebellion, though powerfully fomented from abroad, and secretly abetted by numbers at home, almost as soon as it blazed (*a*), and this, rather by the assistance afforded by his intelligence, for he was then sole Secretary, and by the wise discourses he penned, for he delighted in showing the nation that they were governed by reason, and not by the Queen's will or that of her Ministers, than by the troops that were employed, which were militia; whose cause rather than discipline was better than that of the rebels. Thus the prudence of Cecil prevailed more than arms, and hindered that defection from becoming general, which the Earl of Westmoreland's influence in the North made dangerous enough in every particular (*b*) [*R*]. After so glorious

(*x*) See the particulars of this in the note.

(*y*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 542.

(*z*) Bishop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 15.

(*a*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*b*) See an extract of the Life of Pope Pius V, written by Jerom Catena, in Carleton's Remembrances, p. 17.

pish writer, who sets down the matter thus, 'Cecil 'being rejected by Queen Mary got to serve the Lady 'Elizabeth, and entred with her when she came to 'the crown, to the change of religion, &c. the Earl 'of Arundel was cozened by him, and Bacon with 'hopes of having the Queen in marriage, &c. These 'proceedings of Cecil and Bacon seeming intolerable 'to the antient nobility of the realm, they joined in 'the old Lord Treasurer's house to pull them both from 'her Majesty by violence, and to hang them at the 'Court gate; but Cecil escaped, by abusing the Duke 'of Norfolk with weeping and fair promises, and paid 'him afterwards with cutting off his head, &c (78).' The other account I shall mention is from Camden, who, very probably, spoke from his own knowledge, he says the pretence was, the advising the Queen to seize the money that was going to the Low-Countries; but that the true reason was, that the great men who were concerned in this business looked upon him as a favourer of the house of Suffolk. These great men were the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmorland, Pembroke, Leicester, and others, and that at a secret council held by them, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton gave it as his advice, to clap the Secretary into the Tower (79), and when he was once in prison they should find matter enough against him; but that the Queen coming in suddenly upon them spoiled all their projects, and protected her Minister from their intended malice. The writer of his life makes this to have arisen from a seditious book that was published at that time, in which most of the Ministers, and many of the nobility were traduced; and because he had it very early in his closet his enemies would have suggested, that either by his direction, or at least with his privity, it was written, whereas in fact he procured the book only with an intent to answer it; upon this, he says, he was called before the Council, with an intention to commit him whatever defence he might make; but that the Secretary being informed of this wrote to the Queen, who thereupon sent orders that nothing should be done to him without her knowledge, which prevented his being sent to the Tower (80). As to the book, it is very probable, they knew more of it than he, for it was a libel penned by the Spanish Ambassador under the feigned name of Amadis Oriana, and contained abundance of scandalous reflections upon the Queen herself. It is most likely, that the Secretary escaped this dangerous contrivance, by discovering to the Queen what was at the bottom of it, and that was the proclaiming the Queen of Scots heir to the crown, which he well knew was a thing she could not bear (81). The writer of his life says, that he had another, and narrower escape soon after, for a person being hired to sit at the bottom of the stairs that led from the Queen's closet, and to stab him as he came down from thence, he had notice of it barely time enough to save himself, by going another way (82). Such were the perilous times in which this statesman lived, and such the desperate politicks of those who were his enemies.

(78) Extract of a Treatise written in Latin by John Philopatris.

(79) Camd. Annal. ubi supra.

(80) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(81) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 178.

(82) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*Q*] *Of his capital enemy as well as Cecil's*.] This Duke of Norfolk, then the only man of that quality in England, was a person as much admired for his virtues, and beloved for his amiable qualities, as respected for his high birth, and the great influence his rank, and large fortune, gave him (83). He was not, however, without his failings, and certainly he made but an indifferent judgment of men, who trusted Leicester and suspected Cecil, which he did to such a degree, that his marriage to the Queen of Scots being spoke of in the presence of the Secretary, the Duke bid him *go prattle that in the Queen's ears*; to which Sir William Cecil mildly answered, *That though he was no tale-bearer, yet he should be ready at any time to carry what might render him service, for whom he had as great a regard as for any nobleman in the kingdom* (84). The Duke, who was naturally a worthy and well-natured man, took this kindly, and explained himself freely, upon which Sir William Cecil advised him to open himself to the Queen, and he procured him an opportunity for that purpose, which if he had taken, Leicester's schemes had been overturned, and the Duke had very probably saved his own head, and that of the Queen of Scots (85). But he was fatally blinded, and betrayed by Leicester. Nor did his once getting out of the Tower, and procuring the Queen's pardon, in which Cecil had a great share, prevent his dipping again into the same dangerous practices, which in the end brought him to the scaffold in 1572 (86). In several papers written long after the Duke's death, the Lord Burleigh lamented his fate, and professed the sincerity of his affection towards him so far, as consisted with the care of the publick, and his duty to his sovereign (87).

[*R*] *Made dangerous enough in every particular*.] It has been said, and that from incontestable authorities, that in the suppressing of this rebellion Sir William Cecil exerted his abilities to the utmost, in three different methods, all of which were extremely well calculated for extinguishing this dangerous flame, and for securing the publick peace (88), *viz*. I. By procuring intelligence of the manner in which these northern Lords intended to proceed, and of the foreign aids they hoped for, whereby their own measures were baffled, and the arrival of foreign troops prevented, as also the Queen's forces easier raised, and better posted, than they could otherwise have been. II. By the publication of honest and pathetick writings, addressed to the Commons of England, wherein they were shewn the folly and danger of such wicked proceedings, the wretched characters those men had on whom they depended, and the miserable condition they would be in when their attempts should be overthrown, whereby numbers who were inclined to the party were restrained within the bounds of their duty, and

(83) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 540.

(84) Memoirs of the Administration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 50.

(85) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 540.

(86) Camden. Annal. p. 255.

(87) Particularly in his Discourse of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, under the title of *A Meditation*, &c.

(88) Camden, Strype, Stowe, Hollinshed, Rapin.

(c) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 406. Pat. 14 Eliz. p. 9. Fuller's Holy State, p. 256.

(d) Memoirs of the Administration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 55.

(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 221, 222.

(f) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 33.

(g) Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 715.

(h) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XVI. p. 716. Stowe's Annals, p. 672. Hollinshed's Chronicle, p. 1864.

(i) See this explained in the note.

(k) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. v.

(l) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 195.

(m) Strype's Annals. Life of Archbishop Parker. Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

(n) See the Letters to, and Answer by, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in the Appendixes to the several books cited in the foregoing note.

(o) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(p) Memoirs of the Administration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 69.

glorious an instance, not of his zeal and ability only, but of his success in her service, the Queen could not well avoid rewarding him how sparing soever she might be in conferring honours, and therefore in February 1571, she created him Baron of Burleigh, with the universal approbation of her subjects (c). At this time, as it appeared that he stood firm in the Queen's favour, of which none had interest enough to dispossess him, many who had been formerly either secretly or openly his enemies, shewed an earnest desire of being reconciled, and living for the future upon good terms with him, which, as he was a man of a benevolent disposition, and a great lover of peace, must have given him peculiar satisfaction (d). Amongst these was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, of all his adversaries, the Earl of Leicester excepted, the most able and the most active; but this step is said to have cost that gentleman dear, for he died not long after suddenly, and some say violently also (e). But notwithstanding this, our great Statesman was very far from being safe, since, within a very short time after his being raised to the title of Lord Burleigh, another conspiracy against his life was discovered by one of the accomplices, which made a very great noise, on account of the share that the Spanish Ambassador had in it, upon whom the two assassins, Barney and Mather, charged it at their execution (f). For this, and other offences, the said Ambassador was ordered to depart the kingdom. To comfort the Lord Burleigh under the sense he must have of his danger, as well as to reward him for his diligence and fidelity, the Queen, in the month of June 1572, made him Knight of the Garter (g); and in the month of September following, upon the death of the Marquis of Winchester, Lord High-Treasurer, Lord Burleigh was raised to that great office (h), which brought with it a new accession of cares, and an additional load of business, which however he went through with so much prudence and patience, as amazed that age, and will hardly be believed in this (i) [S]. If we should particularly take notice of all the great transactions in which he had a principal share, this article would swell into a History, but it is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that tho' few Princes shewed a greater jealousy than Queen Elizabeth did of her authority, yet there hardly ever was a Minister in this kingdom that had a larger share of power than the Lord Treasurer Burleigh (k). It was by his advice that all foreign affairs were transacted, except the sending over the Earl of Leicester into Holland, which was the pure effect of that Nobleman's own contrivance (l). In all affairs of the Church he was applied to as it's steady friend and constant protector, which was very probably the reason, that his competitor Leicester set himself at the head of the Puritans (m). As Chancellor of the university of Cambridge, the Lord Treasurer had a large province under his peculiar inspection, and the respect which he had for that learned body, shewed itself by a diligence in promoting their interests, composing their differences, and preferring their members in such a degree, that upon the perusal of the addresses made to him on this head only, one cannot help admiring, how he could find time to take such constant and particular notice of them as he did (n). Besides all this, the business of the Treasury was done with the utmost strictness and punctuality; the disbursements from thence were made with the greatest exactness, so that every body who had any thing to do with the Crown, was secure of justice, as well as obliged to do justice (o). His Lordship heard causes also in the Exchequer and in the Star-Chamber, assisted constantly at the Privy-Council, and in the time of Parliament managed the business of the Crown in the House of Peers (p). The discharge of such a variety of duties must have been very fatiguing, and yet they were much heightened by other difficulties he had to struggle with. The Popish and Spanish emissaries, but more especially the Jesuits, were his mortal enemies, and not contented with aspersing and defaming him at home, published voluminous libels abroad, of which he had constant intelligence, and to

and inclined rather to keep their lives and estates in peace, than to hazard both in other folks quarrels. These pieces are yet extant, and shew clearly what sort of writings are best suited to the minds of the English nation, as well as what may be expected from an honest explanation of measures well designed. III. The Secretary exerted a skill in politicks unknown to any other man or times. He laid hold of the information from various counties of strollers, vagabonds, and idle persons, and directing a private search on a day certain throughout the kingdom, he shut up some thousands of disorderly people, and thereby preserved the publick peace, and the prisoners themselves. It was by these wise, legal, and gentle methods, that he extricated the Queen and the nation, from the terrors of this publick calamity, which if it recommended him to his sovereign's favour, procured also the people's applause.

(89) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[S] *And will hardly be believed in this.*] We will state at once the facts themselves, and the evidence by which they are supported, and this by citing what is said by the writer of his life, who spoke only of what he saw and knew. This then is his account (89). 'The reputation of his justice, and of his integrity, 'drew upon him such a multitude of suits as was in'credible, except to us who saw it. For besides all 'business in Council, or other weighty causes, and 'such as were answered by word of mouth, there was 'not a day in Term wherein he received not threescore, 'fourscore, or a hundred petitions, which he com'monly read that night, and gave every man an an'swer the next morning as he went to the hall. 'Whence the excellence of his memory was greatly 'admired, for when any of these petitioners told him 'their names, or what countrymen they were, he 'presently entered into the merit of his request, and 'having discussed it gave him his answer. Nor was 'this his practice towards persons of condition only, 'but he would answer the poorest soul in the world by 'word of mouth: and when at any time he was forced 'to keep his chamber, or his bed, he took order that 'poor suitors should send in their petitions sealed. 'Upon every petition he caused his answer to be writ'ten on the backside, and subscribed it with his own 'name. Thus he held on his course like himself, 'prayed for by the poor, honoured by the rich, 'feared by the bad, and loved by the good. To his 'Prince, and country, loyal, and to the subjects most 'pleasing. For wondering at his great wisdom and 'and gravity, praising his justice, and integrity most 'men honoured him with the title of Father of the 'Commonwealth.'

[T] And

to which he never failed to give sober and suitable answers, and in them defended not only his own cause, but the causes of other Ministers, and of his Queen and country also (q) [T]. At Court likewise, he was for many years in a state of continual apprehension, having to do with men that stuck at nothing to serve their purposes, who as soon as one scheme was detected invented another, and when their old instruments were either punished, or deserted their service, always knew where to find out others (r). By their intrigues and opposition, the Treasurer found himself often in such perillous circumstances, that he had thoughts of resigning, and seeking in privacy and retirement that peace, which, from experience he learned, was incompatible with power. But the Queen hindered him from this, and was so far from listening to any proposals of that sort when he made them, that she was wont to treat them as the effects of low spirits and the spleen, upon which she sometimes wrote him letters (s) with great vivacity and freedom [U]. But his disquietudes were

(q) Of these there are many published by Strype and others; but there are many more in MS.

(r) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 201.

(s) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 166.

[T] *And of his Queen and country also.*] There never was a Minister, that with so much power as Lord Burleigh had, picqued himself so much upon acting always according to reason. We have already mentioned his declaring constantly in the Court of Wards, in the Court of Exchequer, and in the Star Chamber, the motives of his decrees; and whenever his publick actions were questioned, he was no less ready to justify himself in respect to them. In general, there came out nothing abroad, there was nothing translated sent over privately, and dispersed here at home, to the discredit of the Queen's government, or might contribute to heighten the spirit of disaffection amongst her subjects, but he presently wrote, or caused to be wrote, an answer to it, in which every point was distinctly considered, and either fully justified, or clearly refuted. Of these there are many extant in print, some known to be his, others not; but there are others which now remain only in manuscript, though I suppose that these were printed and dispersed, but being small pieces were very quickly lost, so that nothing but the originals remain. As for instance, upon the coming out of a large Latin libel abroad, the Lord Burleigh wrote a short, and clear answer to it, which I have now lying before me, and I take it to be the very libel from whence the reader has already seen some extracts. The title of his lordship's answer (90), for though the libel was printed whilst he was Secretary, yet it did not appear till he was Lord Treasurer, run in these words, 'Slanders and lies, maliciously, grosly, and impudently, vomited out, in certain traiterous books and pamphlets, concerning two counsellors, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Sir *William Cecil*, Principal Secretary of State to her Majesty.' He then states, in few words, the amount of what is asserted, under the title of objections; and that the reader may the better conceive the nature of his lordship's design, we will mention these objections in his own words. I. *That they are of base degree, and the first gentlemen of their genealogy.* In answer to this he remarks, on behalf of Sir William Cecil, that there were very few gentlemen capable of proving a better descent than he; for as he observes, when King Edward III. was in Scotland, there arose a dispute between Sir John Sitsilt and Sir William Fakenham about their arms, upon which a duel would have ensued, if the King had not forbid it, and left the decision to the Lord Mowbray, and another Lord; who, upon a fair hearing, certified under their hands, that Sir John Sitsilt was lineally descended from James Sitsilt, Baron of Beauport, who was slain at the siege of Wallingford castle, in the reign of King Stephen; that from this John Sitsilt, Sir William Cecil lineally descended, not indeed of the elder line, for the grandfather of the said Sir William was the younger brother of Richard Cecil of Alterennes in Hertfordshire, and fled to Henry VII in Brittany, when he was only Earl of Richmond, and for his service there was rewarded, by that prince, with certain lands in Lincolnshire, in fee-farm, which lands are now, by descent, in possession of Sir William Cecil. This David Cecil, his grandfather, married an heiress, and so did his son Richard, which lady, mother of Sir William Cecil, is living, and proofs are in the hands of the family of three hundred years old, not to mention the Welsh books, wherein they are recorded to be of the stock of the ancient Britons, so far is he from being the first gentleman of his family. II. *They abase the Nobility of this realm.* It is said in answer to this, that these two counsellors act in conjunction with many of the nobility, from whom, upon all occasions, they have received the highest assurances of friendship and good will, which would never have happened had this been true, that neither of these counsellors have, or ever sought to have Lands, Houses, or Goods, of any nobleman attainted; nor do they enjoy any of the offices by such formerly possessed. If any of the noblemen, who have brought themselves to disasters, who were formerly their friends, had followed their advice and counsels, they had undoubtedly avoided their ill fate, as some have confessed; and that those mentioned in the libel, and advised to be wary of these counsellors, have publickly declared, that they are ready to defend the integrity of the said two counsellors, to the Queen and state, with their tongues and swords, against whoever shall defame them. III. *They two attempt to alter the succession of the Crown, and to set up the house of Suffolk, with whom they are allied, and their children incorporated.* It is asserted, in disproof of this, that both these counsellors laboured heartily, and sincerely, to perswade her Majesty to marriage, that the dominions of her royal ancestors might descend to issue of her body; and that none were so much prejudiced by her Majesty's rejecting that advice, as these two counsellors. That as to the house of Suffolk, it is a strange reason given for their partiality, that they are allied to it, because no allowance is made for their alliance to the Duke of Norfolk, though the daughter of one of these counsellors married the cousin-german of this Duke, and the Duke left his son, the Earl of Surry, at the time of his decease, to the care of one of these counsellors. That in regard to the house of Suffolk, neither of them had interfered, for the preservation of the Earl of Hertford, or of the Lady Catherine, who was the immediate heir of that house; the former lying in prison many years, and the latter till she was released by death, the marriage between them dissolved by sentence, and the Earl himself fined twenty thousand pounds for his offence; from all which it is very clear, that either these counsellors have not that power which in this libel they are suggested to have, or else far from showing their attachment, they have given no great proofs of their goodwill to the house of Suffolk.

(90) Taken from a Copy of this Discourse, a MS.

[U] *With great vivacity and freedom.*] At such a distance of time as this it is almost impossible to guess, what were the particular causes that made the Lord Treasurer, at this time, so very uneasy; and yet, considering the vast number of histories, annals, memoirs, and political treatises, relating to that reign, this should seem but an indifferent excuse. We will therefore use our endeavours to give the reader some hints of what might probably create in the Lord Treasurer a design of retiring (91). In the first place, the Spanish and Popish faction clamoured against him loudly at home and abroad, representing him as the sole author of their persecution in England; and the Puritans also were very little satisfied, because of his great regard for the Bishops, his preserving the revenues, and supporting the authority of the Church upon all occasions. In the next place, there was a strong party against him in the Queen's council, who made false and malicious comments upon every thing he advanced, or approved, which party he began now to fear, more especially as the Earl of Leicester had set himself openly at their head; and lastly, he thought the Queen herself did not sustain him in things of very great importance, but on the contrary affected to stand neuter, and even to endure a behaviour which he thought injurious to her authority; and besides all this, we have some hints of other uneasinesses in the spring of 1583, for while he was railed at abroad as the enemy, his mistress sometimes affected to suspect him of a secret friendship for, and

(91) These particulars are collected by comparing Camden, Hollinshed, Stowe, and the private Memoirs and State Papers of that Reign.

were confined to his hours of privacy, he never suffered them to break in upon the publick business, nor is there a single mark of timidity visible in the long course of his administration. On the contrary, his counsels were remarkably vigorous, for he maturely weighed things before he came himself to any settled determination; but when that was once fixed he was against delays, and laboured for a brisk and speedy execution (*t*). He was no dissembler himself, and he hated those that were, as appears by the plainness with which he wrote his mind to the potent Earl of Leicester, when he thought he had evidence of his treating him in an unfriendly manner (*u*). Neither was he deterred from doing whatever he thought became him in his offices, by any consideration of the consequences, as is most evident from his conduct in the most critical service in which he ever engaged, *viz.* the trial, condemnation, and execution of the Queen of Scots. It is certain that this measure was very strongly promoted, if not originally proposed, by the Lord Treasurer (*w*), after the discovery of that called Babington's conspiracy; from a persuasion, that the Queen his mistress could never be safe in her person and government, while her competitor was living. It was from him that Popham, the Queen's Attorney-General, received his instructions, as to the method of forming the commission, and of drawing the indictment, as well as every other step that was of particular weight or moment in that whole transaction (*x*). He assisted also at her trial in quality of one of the Lords Commissioners (*y*); and it is plain enough from what passed upon that occasion, that the Queen of Scots looked upon him as one of the principal instruments of her destruction (*z*) [*W*]. There was a considerable interval between the time of passing the sentence and the putting it in execution, during which, several applications were made to Queen Elizabeth that the sentence might take effect; to which her Majesty, either through prudence, pity, or an affectation of clemency, seemed always very averse, and frequently intimated, that some other way should be taken for the security of her own person, than this, of publickly executing a Lady of her own blood, whom she had so often honoured with the appellation of sister (*a*). At

(*t*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 475.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 496.

(*w*) Camden's Annals, p. 485.

(*x*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 362, 363.

(*y*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145.

(*z*) Manner of proceeding against the Queen of Scots at Fotheringay-Castle, &c.

(*a*) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 143.

and intelligence with, the Queen of Scots (92); in the same manner as before she had hinted at his great affection for the Duke of Norfolk, and yet after that Nobleman was beheaded, placed that to his account, as we shall hereafter see she did the Queen of Scots; so that reflecting on the dangers and difficulties past, finding himself in present trouble, and foreseeing new perils that were to come, he sollicited his mistress for leave to resign in the month of April, upon which she wrote him the following letter, which it appears, by an endorsement in his own hand-writing, he received on the 8th of May (93). It is impossible to give any key to the particular expressions in it, or why she calls him Spirit, which in the manuscript is wrote Sprite; and I cannot help thinking, the Queen used it in the same sense as we do the word Ghost, alluding to the vulgar opinion, that there is no touching or striking a ghost; but this I leave to the reader's decision, when he has read the letter, which runs thus (94).

(92) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 383, 384, 385.

(93) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 166.

(94) Memoirs of the Administration of Lord Burleigh. See also another instance of this kind in note [Z].

'Sir Spirit,

'I Doubt I do nickname you: For those of your kind, they say, have no sense; but I have of late seen an *Ecce signum*, that if an ass kick you, you feel it soon. I will recant you from being Spirit if ever I perceive that you disdain not such a feeling. Serve God, fear the King, and be a good fellow to the rest. Let never care appear in you for such a rumour, but let them well know, that you rather desire the righting of such wrong, by making known their error, than you to be so silly a soul as to foreslow that you ought to do, or not freely deliver what you think meetest, and pass of no man so much as not to regard her trust, who putteth it in you.

'God bless you, and long may you last *omnino*.'

E. R.

[*W*] *As one of the principal instruments of her destruction.*] It will be requisite, in order to render what is said in the text absolutely perspicuous, to give here a succinct account of the principal steps taken in this mysterious affair. In the first place, after the general association for the defence of Queen Elizabeth's person, the same was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the 27th of that Queen's reign, *Anno Domini* 1585, intituled, *An Act for the security of the Queen's royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace.* By which Law her Majesty was enabled, in case any person pretending title to the Crown after her decease, should compass or imagine any thing to the hurt of her Majesty's person; or if any other should compass or imagine such a design, with the privity of a person so claiming, to issue a commission under her Great Seal, to the Lords of her Privy-Council, and other Lords of Parliament, to the number of twenty-four at least, who, with the assistance of the Judges, should have power to examine all the offences aforesaid, and circumstances thereof, and thereupon to give sentence, or judgment, as upon good proof to them should appear, and after such sentence and declaration thereof, published by proclamation under the Great Seal, all persons against whom such sentence should be given, were disabled for ever to have or claim the Crown; and thereupon her Highness's subjects may lawfully, by virtue of this act, and her Majesty's direction, pursue to death, by all possible means, every such wicked persons (95). On the 14th of Sept. 1586, Anthony Babington was condemned, and on the 20th of the same month executed for a conspiracy against the Queen, to which the Queen of Scots was supposed to be privy (96). In the month of October following, the Queen granted a commission for the trial of the Queen of Scots, directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Bromley, Knight, Chancellor of England, William Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer, &c (97). In pursuance of that statute, and on the 11th of October the Commissioners came to Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, before whom the Queen was brought, and a long charge exhibited against her, at which time the Lord Treasurer delivered himself in very strong terms, and particularly said, *Many things you have propounded time after time concerning your liberty, that they have failed of success is along of you or the Scots, and not of the Queen. For the Lords of Scotland actually refused to deliver the King as an hostage, and when the last treaty was held concerning your liberty,* Parry *was sent privately by* Morgan, *a dependant of your's, to murder the Queen.* At these words the Queen of Scots cried out, *Ah! you are my adversary.* To whom the Lord Treasurer answered, *Yea, I am adversary to Queen* Elizabeth's *adversaries.* At the same time the Lord Treasurer mentioned her intention to convey her title to the Spaniard, and then took occasion to shew, that the kingdom of England could not be conveyed (98). The Court was then prorogued to the twenty-fifth of October at the Star-chamber at Westminster, and on that day sentence was given against the Queen of Scots, agreeable to the statute beforementioned. Upon this, in the ensuing Parliament, applications were made to the Queen both by the Lords and Commons, that the sentence might be published and executed, which she declined; but afterwards, in the month of December, it was proclaimed by the Queen's orders as the Act of Parliament directed (99), and in the February following it was executed.

(95) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145.

(96) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 119.

(97) See the commission at large in Camden, and from him in the State Trials.

(98) Camd. Annal. p. 504.

(99) State Tryals, Vol. I.

[*X*] *And*

At last however, she, of her own motive, sent for Davison, who was Secretary of State, and directed him to prepare a warrant, which was to be carried to the Chancellor, that the mandate for her execution might pass the Great Seal (*b*). This was accordingly done; and she signed it, and Davison thereupon acquainted the Lords of the Privy-Council, of whom the Lord Treasurer was the chief, and by their direction it was sent to Fotheringay-castle, where the Queen was actually put to death (*c*), Feb. 8, 1586-7. It is impossible to say what were the real sentiments of Queen Elizabeth in reference to this affair, for when she first heard it she showed excessive concern, broke out into tears, put on mourning, and in her letters to King James, solemnly and positively denied her giving orders for his mother's execution, or that she had it at all in her intention (*d*); adding, however, that the thing was just, and that therefore if she had commanded, she would have avowed it. To give the greater colour of truth to what she affirmed, she directed Secretary Davison to be prosecuted, as he was, in the Star-Chamber (*e*); forbid Lord Burleigh's appearing in her presence; and behaved towards him in other respects with such severity, as seemed calculated to prove, that she was truly much offended at what he had done; nor was it without great difficulty, and many submissions, that he recovered her favour, and this very slowly, and as it were with reluctancy (*f*) [*X*]. After this storm was blown over, he had the same credit and power as ever, and was the person to whom almost all kind of intelligence was addressed, and by whom all matters of importance, of what nature soever, were commonly dispatched; and though his strength began to decline, and his constitution was greatly impaired by such a series of continual labours, yet he was to the full as careful and assiduous as ever, drawing most of the State-papers of importance with his own hand, and giving constant attendance both at the Council and in the Star-Chamber (*g*). All these high employments and arduous cares, did not, however, hinder him from entering with the utmost tenderness into the duties of private life, so that we find him deeply affected with the death of his mother, which happened March 10, 1587, upon which the Queen

(*b*) See Davison's Apology.

(*c*) Camden. Annal. p. 537.

(*d*) Hist. of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 335.

(*e*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(*f*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 374.

(*g*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*X*] *And as it were with reluctancy.*] In order to apprehend clearly what share the Lord Treasurer Burleigh had in this transaction, and what reason her Majesty might derive from thence to be offended with him, it will be necessary to look upon Secretary Davison's Apology, in which there is the best and most authentick account of this matter any where extant (100). 'The Queen (says he) after the departure of the French and Scotish Ambassadors, of her own motion, commanded me to deliver her the warrant, for executing the sentence against the Queen of Scots; when I had delivered it, she signed it readily with her own hand; when she had so done, she commanded it to be sealed with the Great Seal of England, and, in a jesting manner, said, Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick, although I fear he will die for sorrow when he hears it. She adding also the reasons of deferring it so long, namely, lest she might seem to have been violently or maliciously drawn thereto, whereas, in the mean time, she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover she blamed Powlet and Drury that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their pulses touching this matter. The next day, after it was under the Great Seal, she commanded me, by Killigrew, that it should not be done; and when I had informed her that it was done already, she found fault with such great haste, telling me, that in the judgment of some wise men another course might be taken. I answered, that that course was always best and safest which was most just. But fearing lest she would lay the fault upon me (as she had laid the putting of the Duke of Norfolk to death upon the Lord Burleigh) I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge myself any deeper in so great a business. He presently imparted it to the Lord Burleigh, and the Lord Burleigh to the rest of the Council, who all consented to have the execution hastened, and every one of them vowed to bear an equal share in the blame, and sent Beale away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when, by a dream which she told of the Queen of Scots death, I perceived that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her Whether she had changed her mind? she answered, No, but another course (said she) might have been devised; and withal she asked me, Whether I had received any answer from Powlet? whose letter, when I had shewed her (101), wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honour and justice, she, waxing angry, accused him and others (who had bound themselves by the association) of perjury, and breach of their vow, as those that had promised great matters for their Prince's safety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are (said she) who will do it for my sake. But I shewed her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would be; and withal, into how great danger she would bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself both danger and dishonour, not without censure of injustice; and if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men of great desert, and their whole posterity. And afterwards she gave me a light check, the same day that the Queen of Scots was executed, because she was not yet put to death.' It seems from hence, that the Lord Burleigh was to bear only his share of this offence, the whole load of which however devolved solely upon him. So that he was a fortnight restrained from Court and from the Queen's presence, notwithstanding that in that space he wrote several letters to the Queen, some parts of which have been published, and show them to be very submissive at least, if not something more (102). At last, upon his coming to Court, he was very strangely treated, so that he thought fit of himself to refrain coming to the Council-Table, and, to justify his behaviour in that point, he wrote a paper which he sent to the Vice-Chamberlain, dated March 15, beginning with these words (103): 'I am so wounded in the heart, with the late sharp and piercing speeches of her Majesty to myself, in the hearing of my Lord of Leicester and Mr Secretary Walsingham, expressing therewith her indignation, at such time as I was called to her presence for matters of the Low-Countries, myself giving no occasion by any speech of the matter of the Queen of Scots, until her Majesty did charge me therewith; as since regarding in great anguish of heart the weight of her Majesty's displeasure so settled and increased, as I then deeply conceived, and mine own humility not being able to abide the continuance of such her displeasure, I am therefore most careful how by any means possible I may shun all increase of the weight thereof; knowing it very true, that was said by the most wise King, *Indignatio Principis Mors est.* And though my conscience doth certainly bear witness with me in the sight of God, that I never had thought, nor did ever any act, with mind to offend her Majesty. But now finding this heavy burthen of her Majesty's displeasure in mine old years, so long faithfully, painfully, and dangerously spent only for her service, to be lately rather increased, since her Majesty's princely compassion permitted me to her presence, a few days past, I have great cause to fear, that this increase groweth more by means of some secret enemies to myself, than of any influence of her own princely nature.'

(100) Ap. Camd. Annal. p. 545.

(101) See both Walsingham's and Davison's Letter to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, and their Answer, in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle published by Thomas Hearne, Vol. II. p. 673.

(102) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 370.

(103) Strype's Appendix, p. 145.

[*Y*] *Some*

Queen sent to condole with him, but being at the same time mindful of her own affairs, advised him to seek relief from his melancholy, not by shutting himself up, but by engaging more earnestly in publick business (b). In the succeeding troublesome year, when the Spanish invasion threatened the kingdom with a dangerous war at home, the Lord Treasurer drew up those schemes for the defence of England, that were followed with so great success, and his eldest son Thomas, by his own choice, as well as his father's command, ventured his life freely in that fleet, which, under the command of the Lord High Admiral Howard, gloriously defeated that, which had been so falsely, as well as foolishly, stiled the Invincible Armada (i). It was not long after this, the Lord Treasurer met with the severest stroke in his family that he had ever yet felt, by the death of his beloved wife, April 4, 1589, after they had lived together in the sincerest harmony and affection for three and forty years (k). She is allowed to have been one of the most extraordinary women of her time, in point of piety, learning, and prudence, of which posterity has received many, and those too unexceptionable, testimonies, of which, in the note, some notice shall be taken (l) [Y]. The loss of her affected the Treasurer to a great degree, as appears plainly by many of his writings, and made a great alteration in his temper; so that, notwithstanding the death of some whom he took to be his adversaries, by which undoubtedly his authority was augmented, and the promotion of his son Robert who grew daily more and more into the Queen's favour, he became very thoughtful and melancholy, and, about two years after, was very earnest and sollicitous for leave to quit his employments, that he might spend the remainder of his days in quiet (m). But the Queen who saw no decay in his abilities, and who, though she willingly granted all the indulgencies possible to his infirmities, would by no means consent to that; on the contrary, as she had formerly rallied him out of a design of the same kind, so she had now recourse again to the like method, and by a paper written with great wit and spirit, diverted him absolutely from this serious purpose (n) [Z]. The remaining part of his life was spent in the discharge of his high and painful office, with all the care and diligence, all the study and application possible; nor do we find that he gave himself any relaxations, even in his last days, beyond what the weakness of his body, and the diseases he laboured under, absolutely

(b) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 488.

(i) Camden. Annal. p. 582.

(k) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 337.

(l) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(m) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 77.

(n) See this paper at large in the note.

[Y] *Some notice shall be taken.*] This Lady, who was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, died in the sixty-third year of her age, having been the faithful companion of her husband in all his fortunes, from the first rise of them in the reign of Henry VIII, to their completion under Queen Elizabeth (104). She was wonderfully learned, especially in the Greek tongue, as appears from the testimony of the Lord Burleigh himself, and of several other great men, and of which she left clear evidence, in a letter penned by her in that language to the university of Cambridge, upon her sending thither a Hebrew Bible, by way of present to the Library (105). She had read most of the Greek Fathers with great diligence and critical accuracy, and was one of the greatest patronesses of her time, maintaining for many years two scholars at St John's college in Cambridge, and before her death rendered this perpetual, by procuring lands to be bought in the name of the Dean of Westminster, and by him assigned to the college. She likewise gave the Haberdashers company in London, a sum to enable them to lend to six poor men twenty pounds a-piece every two years; and a charity of the like kind of twenty marks, to six poor people at Waltham and Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. Four times every year she relieved all the poor prisoners in London, and many other acts of benevolence she did, with as great secrecy as generosity; so that she seems to have well deserved all the praises that have been, by different writers, bestowed upon her memory (106).

[Z] *From this serious purpose.*] It would be a very difficult, perhaps an impracticable, task, should one endeavour to write a commentary capable of explaining the following singular piece, and therefore we shall leave it entirely to the contemplation of the reader; observing only, that it is a strong piece of irony throughout, in which the Queen seems to rally the pains taken by her Minister, in the more vigorous part of his life, to adorn and beautify his *villa* for the sake of recreation, and when older, and wanting that recreation most, wished to turn it into a gloomy retreat, where he might wear away his lonesome hours in brooding over his cares (107).

'ELIZABETHA *Anglorum, id est, a nitore Angelorum Regina formosissima & felicissima:* To the disconsolate and retired Spryte, the Heremite of Tybole, and to al oother disaffected fowles, claiming by, from, or under, the said Heremit, sendeth greeting: Whereas in our high Coourt of Chancerie it is given us to understand, that you Sir Heremite, the abandonate of nature's fair works, and servaunt to Heaven's woonders, have, for the space of two years and two moonthes, possessed yoorself of fair Tybollet, with her sweet rosary the same tyme, the recreation of our right trusty and right wel beloved Sir William Sitsilt, Knt. leaving to him the old rude repoze, wherein twice five years (at his cost) yoor contemplate life was releived, which place and fate inevitable hath brought greefs innumerable (for lover greef biddeth no compare), suffering yoor solitary eye to bring into hiz house desolation and moorning, joyes destroyers, and annoye frendes, whereby Paradice is grown wildernes, and for green grass are comen gray hearz, with cruel banishment from the frute of long laboure, the possession whereof he hath holden many yearz, the want of the mean profit thereof (health and gladness) having been greatly to his hindrance, which toucheth us much in the interest we have in his faithful servicez, besides the law of his looving neibours and frends infinite, as by the record of their countenaunce most plainly may appear.

'Wee, upon advised consideration, have commanded you Heremit to yoor old cave, too good for the forsaken, too bad for oour worthily belooved Coouncillour. And becauz we greatly tender yoour comfort, we have given poour to oour Chauncillour to make oout such and so many writs, as to him shal be thought good, to abjure desolations and mourning (the consumer of sweetness) to the frozen seas, and Deserts of Arabia Petrosa, upon pain of 500 despights to their terror and contempt of their torments, if they attempt any part of yoour hoous again: Enjoyning you to the enjoyment of yoour own hoous and delight, without memory of any mortal accident or wretched adversary.

'And for that you have been so good a servaunt to common tranquility, we command solace to give the ful and pacifick possession of al and every part thereof: Not departing until oour favour (that ever hath inclined to your meek nature) have assured you peace in the possession thereof. Wherein we command al causez within the prerogative of oour high favour to give you no interruption. And this under the paine aforesaid they shal not omit. *Teste meipsa apud Tyboles, 10mo die Maii Regni nostri* 33°.'

On the backside of this charter is Per Cancellor. Angl.

CHR. HATTON.

(105) Extract from Lord Burleigh's Latin inscription intended for his Lady's tomb.

(105) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 595, 597.

(106) Dedication of the History of France to one of her daughters, in which is a large character of this Lady.

(108) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 77.

[AA] Of

lutely required (o). In the year 1592, besides all the great pains he took in the Treasury and in the Privy-Council, he was also charged with the management of the Queen's concerns in the House of Peers, more especially with a view to obtain such a supply from Parliament, as her Majesty's occasions at that time necessarily required, in furtherance of which we have a copy of the speech he made in the Upper House, in which there is a very large, distinct, and curious detail, of the general state of affairs in Europe at that time, and which affords us a much better notion of the state of things at that season, than almost any of the Histories that are extant (p) [AA]. In the next year we find him extreamly occupied, as well in providing for the success of his Mistress's arms abroad, as for preserving the peace and tranquillity of the nation at home; in reference to which there are many papers of his still preserved, which, at the same time that they show he really occupied the post of Prime-Minister, and directed whatever was undertaken in almost every branch of the administration, demonstrate also, that he did this with equal diligence and exactness, considering every head by itself, setting down under it the several points to be provided for, and the means by which they might be provided (q). To him we find all degrees of people addressing themselves to the very last; the Bishops and Clergy, some for encouragement, some for protection, and many for preferment; the Puritans and Sectaries, for favourable treatment and compassion; many of the fugitives abroad for pardon, in consideration of the intelligence they gave him of the designs of the King of Spain, and of others the Queen's enemies; the Lieutenants of several counties for instructions and advice; the Lord High-Admiral for assistance and supplies; the great Sir

(o) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 484, 485. Osborne's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth.

(p) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 106.

(q) Collections from the MSS. of Lord Treasurer Burleigh.

[AA] *Of the histories that are extant.*] It cannot but afford some satisfaction to the modern reader, to see in what manner the great business of the State was transacted in those times, of the wisdom of which fame speaks so loudly. The speech mentioned in the text was delivered in that Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, which met November the 19th, 1552, and was dissolved April 10th. 1593 (105), and in all probability in the beginning of it. At the entrance of his speech the Lord High-Treasurer takes notice (106), of the many injuries, and acts of injustice, done by the King of Spain, and those acting under him, to the Queen his Sovereign, and her subjects, but not to fatigue their lordships with too long a detail, he is content to pass by all particulars preceding the year 1588, and alledges, that what he has to offer from that time is not at all to lead, or to direct their opinions, but purely to obtain the assistance of their counsels in aid of an old man broken with age, feeble with infirmities, and oppressed with a load of business; he then explains the nature of the King of Spain's designs, and of the wars into which he entered, which, he says, were not like those of former times, for strong fortresses, or for convenient provinces, but for whole kingdoms. That Philip II. had already usurped Portugal, and all the dominions of that crown, both in the East and West Indies. That by fomenting a barbarous and bloody rebellion in France, he had at this juncture a great part of that kingdom at his devotion, more especially the provinces of Brittany and Normandy, by which he was become a frontier enemy to all the West of England; and to all the South parts, such as the counties of Sussex, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight; and by his interest in St Maloes a very dangerous neighbour to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. That by this means he had a vast additional force arising from his power in France, of which he meant to make himself King, or to make his daughter Queen, and appoint her a husband to be his vassal. That these vast designs alone ought sufficiently to alarm the English nation, even if he had not discovered any formal intention to invade them. That however this was so far from being the case, that the chief aim of this ambitious Prince, for the two last years, was to prepare every thing necessary for such an invasion; in order to which he had built a great number of ships of war, of the size and strength of English ships, that they might be the fitter to navigate the narrow seas; that he had a strong fleet of gallies on the coast of Brittany, which he intended to send this summer to Newhaven; that for two years past he had bought and built many great ships in the East Countries, and that by the corruption of our faint and covetous neighbours in Holland, he had recovered, with silver hooks, mariners, ships, cordage, and provisions; that all these preparations must be necessarily against England, for having already the whole sea-coast of France at his devotion, he could have no need of a naval force to prosecute his designs against that kingdom. That a farther proof of his intention was, the inexpressible diligence he used to secure to himself a party in this kingdom to second his invasion; and he was sorry to say, this was not without effect. That however, there was yet behind a stronger and clearer proof, which was his intrigues in Scotland, into which he had promised to send twenty-five thousand men, upon a promise of some discontented Lords to join them with ten thousand; that of these thirty thousand were to march into England, and the five thousand Spaniards were to remain in that kingdom, to assist the Papists in deposing their King. That this information came from no ordinary hand, and was attended with the most extraordinary proofs, that King James himself was the discoverer, that he had seized the messenger, intrusted with the bonds of the Earls of Errol, Huntley, and Angus, to the King of Spain, for the performance of their engagements; that these Lords were fled into the Western Islands, in hopes of being supported there from Spain; that the King was gone in person in pursuit of them; and, that the very day before he marched with what forces he could raise, he had caused one Fentry, a man of good family, and great estate, to be hanged, for the share he had in this conspiracy. This very long speech he concluded with these words, 'Thus far have I observed my purpose, to shew the 'danger; and to give counsel to the remedy, *Hoc opus hic labor est*. And I would most gladly have some 'company, of whom I might have some light how to 'find out the darkness of the question: Wherein when 'time shall serve I will not be silent, but deliver mine 'own opinion, and reform it upon good ground.'

But this was not all that our statesman did upon this important occasion, for having taken so much pains to set before the house of Lords the true state of the nation in this perilous conjuncture, he was no less careful that the house of Commons should be acquainted therewith, and that all the circumstances and particulars of the account given there, should perfectly agree with what he had already set forth in the upper house. It was with this view that he drew up a paper, which is still remaining in his own hand-writing, consisting of fourteen separate heads, made up, for the most part, of matters of fact, and the substance of the intelligence which the Queen, the Privy-Council, and himself, had received. The meaning and intent of this paper, the reader will easily perceive by the title, which runs thus (107), *Instructions for the Speaker's speech: Drawn up in several articles by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, Feb. 13th 1592.* To render this note as compleat as it is possible, it may be proper to shew, what the effects were of all this diligence, and how these wise and wary methods conduced to the end proposed by them (108). To this there is nothing more requisite, than to inform the reader, that the Clergy in 1593 granted to the Queen two subsidies, of four shillings in the pound, to be paid in two years; and the Temporality three subsidies, and six fifteenths and tenths, by which seasonable supply her Majesty was enabled to defeat all the designs of her enemies, and to defray the expences of a war, both by sea and land, without having recourse again to her subjects for upwards of four years.

(105) Index Parliament. tempor. Eliz. Regin. p. 31.

(106) This Speech is amongst the Cecilian MSS. from whence it was printed in Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 107.

(107) Amongst the same MSS. and printed in the same Work, p. 124.

(108) History of Taxes, p. 257.

Sir Walter Ralegh in publick and private concerns, sometimes for favour, sometimes for justice; the principal officers in the Cadiz expedition, with accounts of it's execution and success; in a word, to him was addressed whatever regarded the State, and it appears by his indorsements upon some papers, and short marginal notes upon others, that nobody addressed him in vain, or without notice; so that it is not easy to conceive, how he could possibly find time to go through such a variety of extraordinary business, besides what belonged to his post at all, much less in the cautious and circumstantial manner he did; so that every thing that came before him seems to have been considered with as much leisure and attention, as if he had no other thing in view, agreeable to his own favourite and excellent maxim, *That the shortest way to do many things, was to do only one thing at once* (r). The last memorable act of his life, was to endeavour the giving a peace to his country, when reasonable terms might have been obtained from Spain. This was vehemently opposed by the Earl of Essex, who, as Camden says, having been bred to the sword, and gained some reputation by it, was unwilling to sheathe it. The arguments he made use of were, the implacable hatred of the Spaniards to the English, their being bigotted Papists, and a people naturally both obstinate and subtle; in speaking to these he delivered himself in such terms, that the Treasurer was moved to say, *He seemed intent upon nothing but blood and slaughter.* At the close of the debate Lord Burleigh pulled out a Prayer-Book, and without speaking pointed to the following words, *Men of blood shall not live out half their days* (s). This shews that our Statesman preserved his courage and integrity to the very verge of life, for at this time it was more dangerous to be a friend to peace at home, than to share in the war abroad. As this was his last effort in Council, so when confined to his bed by his last sickness, he settled a new treaty between the Queen and the States, whereby the nation was eased of an expence of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *per annum* (t). As to his end it was conformable to his life, easy, natural, in the midst of his family, full of years and of glory. In a word, he died possessed of the favour of his Prince, the love of the people, the respect even of his enemies. He had also, what he often sought to resign, the greatest and most honourable offices in the kingdom, besides a large estate, and dutiful and excellent children. Thus blessed with all that a man could desire, on the fourth of August 1598, about four in the the morning, in the presence of twenty children, friends, and servants, he yielded up the ghost with wonderful serenity, being upwards of seventy-seven years of age (u). It would be a very unnecessary, indeed a very needless attempt, should we proceed to swell this article with the character of this great person, which has been already drawn so fully; we will conclude therefore with a very few observations, that will enable us to give the reader some useful and curious particulars in the notes. His exterior form was very answerable to the disposition of his mind, and it might be truly said, that no man's temper suited better with the ease and gracefulness of his person than his did [BB]. In reference to his manner of living, it was suitable to the high rank he held, and the custom of the times in which he lived; for though he was a man distinguished both for his virtue and learning, as well as by his exemplary probity, yet he did not think that any of these, or all taken together, could justify a singular and reserved behaviour, or the passing through life in a manner altogether inconsistent with that, which others had led when in his station. It was from these reasons, and not from vanity or ostentation, that he kept up an extraordinary degree of splendor and

(r) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(s) Lloyd's States Worthies, p. 483. Life of William Lord Burleigh. Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 324.

(t) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(u) Camden. Annal. p. 773. Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 334. Stowe, Hollinshed, &c.

[BB] *Than his did.*] We learn from the author of his life, and from other contemporary writers (109), that though he was not remarkably tall, nor eminently handsome, yet his person was always agreeable, and became more and more so, as he grew in years, age becoming him better than youth. The hair of his head and beard grew perfectly white, and he preserved almost to his dying day a fine and florid complexion. His temper contributed much towards making him generally beloved, for he was always serene and chearful; so perfect a master of his looks and words, that what passed in his mind was never discoverable from either; patient in hearing, ready in answering, yet without any quickness, and in a stile suited to the understanding of him to whom he spoke. Idleness was his aversion; and though from twenty-five years of age, at which he was sworn a Privy-Counsellor, being then the youngest, as at his death the oldest in Europe, he laboured under a great weight of publick business; yet when he had any vacant moments he spent them not in trifles, or in pursuit of sensual pleasures, but in reading, meditating, or writing. He had a perfect knowledge, not only of foreign countries, but of foreign courts, knew the genius of every Prince in Europe, his counsellors and favourites. At home he kept exact lists of all the great officers, and particularly of the sages in the Law. He was acquainted with the course of every court of judicature in England, knew it's rise, jurisdiction, and proper sphere of action; within which he took care that it should act with vigour, and was no less careful that it should not exceed it's bounds. He wrote not only elegant Latin in prose, but also very good verse in that, and in the English language. He understood Greek as well as most men in that age; and was so learned in Divinity, that Divines of all perswasions were desirous of submitting to his judgment. His peculiar diversions were the study of the state of England, and the pedigrees of it's nobility and gentry; of these last he drew whole books with his own hand, so that he was better versed in descents, and families, than most of the Heralds; and would often surprize persons of distinction at his table, by appearing better acquainted with their manors, parks, woods, &c. than they were themselves. To this continual application, and to his genius, naturally comprehensive, was owing that fund of knowledge, which made him never at a loss in any company, or upon any subject. It was also owing to this that he spoke with such wonderful weight on all publick occasions, generally at the end of the debate, but without repetition of what was said before, stating the matter clearly, showing the convenience sought, the inconveniences feared; the means of attaining the former, and the methods by which the latter might be avoided, with a succinctness and accuracy which, perhaps, hardly ever fell to any other man's share. But what was still more surprizing, was the great facility with which he did this, for he required no preparation, no time for his most laboured speeches, nor ever turned a book for his most learned writings, but thought, and spoke, digested, and dictated, without any hesitation, with the greatest perspicuity of sentiment, and the utmost fulness of diction.

(109) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[CC] And

and magnificence in his houses, gardens, and every thing belonging to him [*CC*]. Yet he was in other respects a man of strict œconomy, and showed very plainly from his constant practice in private life, that he was very little attached to the pleasures of sense or show, but was wholly bent upon enjoyments of the mind, and preserving that peace which is the inseparable attendant of a clear conscience, and of a soul superior to ordinary gratifications [*DD*]. It was with great reason therefore, that Mr Camden concluded his character (*w*) with this observation, 'That he was one of those few who lived and died 'with equal glory. Such a man, as while others regard with admiration, I, after the 'antient manner, am rather inclined to contemplate with the sacred applause of silent 'veneration.'

[*CC*] *And every thing belonging to him.*] He had, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, four places of residence; his lodgings at court, his house in the Strand, his family seat at Burleigh, and his own favourite seat at Theobalds (109). At his house in London he had fourscore persons in family, exclusive of those who attended him at court. His expences there, as we have it from a person who lived many years in his family, were thirty pounds a week in his absence, and between forty and fifty when present. At Theobalds he had thirty persons in family; and besides a constant allowance in charity, he directed ten pounds a week to be laid out in keeping the poor at work in his gardens, *&c.* The expence of his stables were a thousand marks a year: So that as he had a great income, and left a good estate to his children, he was not afraid of keeping up also a port suited to his offices, though it provoked the envy of his enemies, and did, as it will always do, engage many mouths to murmur at him, because they were not fed by him. He carried things still farther: He kept a standing table for gentlemen, and two other tables for persons of meaner condition, which were always served alike, whether he were in town or out of town. About his person he had people of great distinction, in so much that our author tells us, that while in his service he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thousand pounds a year; and as many among his ordinary servants, who were worth from 1000 *l.* to 3, 5, 10, and 20,000. Twelve times he entertained the Queen at his house for several weeks together, at the expence of 2 or 3000 *l.* each time. Three fine houses he built, one in London, another at Burleigh, and the third at Theobalds: All of which were less remarkable for their largeness and magnificence, than for their neatness, and excellent contrivance. Yet with all this mighty expence, it was the opinion of competent judges, that an avaritious man would have made more of his offices in seven years, than he did in forty. At his death he left about 4000 *l.* a year in land, 11000 *l.* in money, and in valuable effects about 14000 *l.* I crave leave to add to this note, a few very curious particulars from a private letter of Lord Burleigh's to an intimate friend, written in the month of August 1585 (110), on account of some calumnies, that the person to whom this letter was addressed acquainted him, flew about, as to his power and fortune. 'They that say in a rash and malicious mockery, that England is become *Regnum Cecilianum*, may please their own cankered humour with such a device; but if my actions be considered, if there be any cause given by me of such a nickname, there may be found out in many other juster causes to attribute other names than mine. If my buildings create dislike in them, I confess my folly in the expences, because some of my houses are to come, if God so please, to them that shall not have land to maintain them; I mean my house at Theobalds, which was begun by me with a mean measure, but increas'd by occasion of her Majesty's often coming; whom to please, I never would omit to strain myself to more charges than is that of my building. And yet not without some special direction of her Majesty, upon fault found with the small measure of her chamber, which was in good measure for me, I was forced to enlarge a room for a larger chamber, which need not be envied of any for riches in it, more than the shew of old oaks, and such trees, with painted leaves and fruit. I thank God I owe nothing to these backbiters, though indeed much to many honest persons; whom I mind to pay without bribery or villainy. For my house in Westminster, I think it so old as it should not stir any, many having of later times built larger by far, both in city and country. And yet the building, alterations, and repairs thereof, cost me the sale of lands worth 100 *l.* a year in Staffordshire, that I had of good King Edward. My house of Burghley is of my mother's inheritance, who liveth, and is the owner thereof; and I but a farmer. And for the building there, I have set my walls upon the old foundation. Indeed I have made the rough stone walls to be of square, and yet one side remaineth as my father left it me. I trust my son shall be able to maintain it, considering there are in that shire a dozen larger houses of men under my degree.' In the postscript to this letter he adds, 'For myself, I have not made nor obtained any suit from her Majesty these ten years. In my whole time I have not, for these twenty-six years, been beneficed from her Majesty, so much as I was within four years of King Edward. I have sold as much land in value as ever I had of gift of her Majesty. I am at charges by attendance in court, and by keeping of my houshold, especially in Term times, by resort of suitors, at more than any counsellor in England. My fee, for the Treasureship, is no more than it hath been these thirty years. Whereas the Chancellor, and others, have been doubly augmented within these few years. And this I do affirm, that my fees of my Treasureship do not answer to my charge of my stable, I mean not my table. And in my houshold I do seldom feed less than an hundred persons. And for that purpose I buy in London my bread, my drink, my achates, my fewel. And in the country I buy my grain, my beef, my mutton, and all achates; and for my stable, I buy my hay for the greatest part; my oats, my straw totally. For my servants, I keep none to whom I pay not wages, and give liveries; which I know many do not.'

(109) Fuller's Holy State. Winstanley's Lives. Lloyd's State Worthies. Life of William Lord Burleigh. Memoirs of the Administration of Lord Burleigh.

(110) From a much more correct MS. than that used by Strype.

[*DD*] *And of a soul superior to ordinary gratifications.*] In regard to his private life, he was considered as the best parent of his time, for he had all his children, and their descendants, constantly at his table; and in their conversation lay the greatest pleasure of his life, more especially while his mother lived, who was able to see the fifth descent from herself, there being no degree of relation, or consanguinity, which at festival times were not to be found at Lord Burleigh's table (111). It was there that, laying aside all thoughts of business, he was so affable, easy, and merry, that he seemed never to have thought of any, and yet this was the only part of his life which was entirely free therefrom; and his frankness and familiarity brought such, and so many, persons of high rank to his house, as did him great credit and service. In respect to his friends, he was always easy, chearful, and kind; and whatever their condition was, he talked to them, as if they had been his equals in every respect; yet it is said, that he was held a better enemy than friend; and that this was so well known, that some opposed him from a view of interest. It is certain, that those who were most intimate with him, had no sort of influence over him, and did not care to ask him for any thing, because he did not readily grant, and was little pleased with such sort of suits. One reason of this was, that most of those whom he preferred became his enemies, because he would not gratify them in farther pretensions. His secrets he trusted with none, indulged a general conversation, and would not suffer affairs of state to be canvassed in mixed company, or when friends were met to divert themselves. With respect to his enemies, he never said any thing harsh of them, furthered on every occasion their reasonable requests, and was so far from seeking, that he neglected all opportunities of revenge, always professing, that he never went to bed out of charity with any man; and frequently saying, that patience, and a calm bearing of aspersions, and injuries, had wrought him more good than his own abilities. He was far, however, from being an ungrateful man, for without intreaty he would serve his friends as far as it was just; and for his servants, and those about him, he was very careful of their welfare, mostly at his own expence.

(111) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's State Worthies. Memoirs of the Administration of William Lord Burleigh.

'veneration.' We have so many accounts of the manner in which his funeral was performed, that they have created some doubts about where he lies interred. There is no doubt that a very solemn funeral was performed for him at Westminster, on the 29th of August 1598, after which we are told that his body was privately conveyed to Stamford, and placed in the vault under that magnificent tomb erected to his memory (*x*). Yet in the parish-register it is expresly said, that William Lord Burleigh was buried there (*y*), August 29, 1598, from whence one would imagine, that his body was not conveyed to Westminster at all, but rather sent immediately to Stamford. As in other things he was happier than most great Ministers, so particularly in this, that his descendants have continued, for a long series of years, in the quiet possession of high titles and large estates; and the female branches of this family have intermarried with the noblest houses in this island, which were blessings, that, of all others, this noble and venerable person most esteemed [*EE*]. Besides, his fame hath not only triumphed over the envy of his contemporaries, and the calumnies that were spread by his adversaries, who were also those of this nation, over all Europe, but lives fresh in the memory of good men, and is recorded with the highest strains of praise in the most authentick of our Histories; so that it may safely, and without the least exaggeration, be affirmed, that his fortune, in all respects, is the fairest reward that can be proposed, in order to move future Ministers to follow his example.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 737. Holland's *Herwologia Anglicana.*

(*y*) Register of St Martin's parish in Stamford.

expence. He never raised his own rents, or displaced his tenants; and as the rent was when he bought land, so it stood, in so much, that some enjoyed for twenty pounds a year, during his whole life, what might have been let for two hundred: Yet in his publick character he was very severe; and as he never meddled with the Queen's Treasure himself, so he would see that it was not embezzled by others; for it was his saying, that whoever cheated the Crown oppressed the people. In the midst of all his grandeur he was ever easy of access, free from pride, and alike complaisant to all degrees of people: For as he was grave in council, exact in courts of justice, familiar towards his friends, outwardly and inwardly fond of his children, so when he went into the country he would converse with all his servants as kindly as if he had been their equal; talk to country people in their own stile and manner, and would even condescend to sooth little children in their sports and plays; so gentle his temper, and so abundant his good-nature. At Theobalds he had fine gardens, which cost him a great deal of money, and which were laid out according to his own directions. He had a little mule, upon which he rode up and down the walks; sometimes he would look on those who were shooting with arrows, or playing with bowls; but as for himself, he never took any diversion, taking that word in it's usual sense. He had two or three friends, who were constantly at his table, because he liked their company; but in all his life he never had one favourite, or suffered any body to get an ascendant over him. His equipage, his great house-keeping, his numerous dependance, were the effects of his sense, and not at all of his passions, for he delighted little in any of them; and whenever he had any time to spare, he fled, as his expression was, to Theobalds, and buried himself in privacy.

[*E E*] *This noble and venerable person, most esteemed.*] We have already shewn, that he had by his first wife, Mary Cheke, daughter of Peter Cheke, Esq; and sister of Sir John Cheke, his eldest son Thomas, a nobleman of great courage, and of unblemished probity, who in the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was honoured with the Garter; in the third year of King James he was created Earl of Exeter, which was in those days thought a very extraordinary favour, since it was the first instance, where the title of a county-town, was given to one family, while the title of the county remained in another, as it then did, in Mountjoy Earl of Devonshire (112). His Lordship married first Dorothy, one of the daughters and coheiresses of John Lord Latimer, by whom he had issue five sons and eight daughters. His second wife was Frances, daughter to the Lord Chandois, by whom he had only one daughter, who died in her infancy. He died February 7th, 162½, and was buried in St John's chapel (113), in the collegiate church of St Peter at Westminster. By his second wife, Mildreda, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Giddy-Hall in Essex, the Lord Burleigh had issue one son and two daughters, *viz.* Robert, who succeeded him gradually in his employments, and of whom at large in the next article. Anne was married to Edward Earl of Oxford, who, when he could not prevail upon his father-in-law to save his friend, the Duke of Norfolk's life, told him in great wrath, *He would do all he could to ruin his daughter*, and he kept his word, for he deserted her bed, spent most of his own great estate, and by a series of ill usage broke her heart (114). Elizabeth, who married William Wentworth, Esq; Both these ladies his lordship out-lived, and by his will provided generously for the children of the former. As for the latter her husband died before her, and by him she had no issue (115). By his will the Lord Burleigh constituted Dr Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, his old faithful friend, and Thomas Bellot, his Steward, who had lived long in his family, his executors (116), and left them a very large sum of money to be distributed in charitable uses, which was most punctually and faithfully performed (117). By the care of these two diligent and faithful persons, his college at Stamford was duly settled; and many other things, according to that worthy person's desire, who was yet so far from affecting to appear charitable in his last moments, or to dispose of what he could no longer keep, that he left nothing to be done then which it was before in his power to do, for he raised the commons of the students at St John's College in Cambridge, a third in his life-time, as I have seen in a letter of his to his son, Sir Robert Cecil, wherein he mentions it as a reason, why the Queen should allow him more freely to intercede for that college. It was also by his procurement, that his kind master, King Edward VI. left also a legacy to that college, but whether it was complied with, or not, does not appear. By the fidelity also of his lordship's executors, his real and personal estate was preserved intire and untouched, though a very exact account of it was taken of it by Queen Elizabeth's order, who, very probably, might have a notion, that being so long in her service he died in her debt. In this respect she had been remarkably exact, or rather severe; she caused the Earl of Leicester's goods to be sold for the money due to her, though he had stood so high in her favour; she is said to have broke Chancellor Hatton's heart, by demanding of him suddenly an old debt; and though at the request of the Lord Treasurer she granted Sir John Perrot's estate, who died under sentence, to his son, yet after that son's death she resumed the forfeiture, though it was upon very good grounds believed, that old Sir John Perrot was her brother. But Lord Burleigh knew her disposition so well, that he took care to guard against it, by keeping the accounts in the Treasury in constant order, never paying any thing without her express warrant, and never touching a penny of publick money for his private use, during his whole administration, though it had been the custom of his predecessors to borrow money out of the Treasury, and pay it again. But he was too wise to follow any example of so dangerous a nature; and by this caution, and the great integrity of his executors, who were perfectly acquainted with his management, there was no room left so much as for a suspicion that any of the Queen's money was in his hands, and therefore the inspection into the estates and effects of which he died possessed, the record of which is still extant, turned only to the benefit of his heirs and his family, and to heighten that high reputation which for prudence and probity he had acquired while living; so that in private, as well as in publick life, after, as well as before his decease, all researches into his conduct brought nothing to light, but what added to the general esteem for his person, or to that veneration which was borne, and will be ever borne to his memory, so long as regard is paid to unspotted virtue, exalted abilities, and unparallelled application.

(112) Yorke's Union of Honor, p. 144.

(113) Antiquities of St Peter's Westminster, Vol. I. p. 169.

(114) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 199.

(115) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(116) Memoirs of William Lord Burleigh.

(117) Camden. Annal. p. 775.

CECIL, or CECYLL (ROBERT) the first Earl of Salisbury, and one of the ablest Statesmen in Europe, in the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth Century; was the son of William Lord Burleigh, by his second Lady, Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cook (*a*). He was born about the year 1550 [*A*], and being of a weakly constitution was tenderly brought up by his mother. Afterwards, he was educated by a careful and excellent Tutor, under whom he very much improved in every branch of Learning (*b*). For his further improvement, he was sent to St John's College Cambridge, the same in which his father the great Lord Burleigh had received his education. He there took, or had conferred upon him, the degree of Master of Arts: for he was incorporated in the same at Oxford, August 30, 1605 (*c*). But his greatest advantage, was, that he was a Courtier from his cradle; and being trained under his excellent father, became a very great proficient in the knowledge of all State-affairs. As he was the inheritor of the Lord Burghleigh's wisdom, so by degrees he succeeded him in his places and favour at Court. For, living in those times, when Queen Elizabeth had most need of the ablest persons, and being such an one himself, she employed him in affairs and negotiations of the highest consequence (*d*). Having conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, she sent him assistant to the Earl of Derby, Embassador to the King of France. At his return, she made him, in 1596, second Secretary of State with Sir Francis Walsingham; after whose decease he continued Principal, as long as he lived (*e*). Whilst he continued in that office, he was, as one expresses it (*f*), a Craftsmaster in foreign intelligence, which he had from all parts of the world; holding, at his own charge, a correspondence with all Embassadors, and neighbouring States (*g*): By which means he discovered Queen Elizabeth's enemies abroad, and private conspiracies at home. For this the Queen extremely valued him, and the Papists hated him as much [*B*]. He was one of the chief instruments in the disgrace and fall of Robert, Earl of Essex, who had all along opposed his promotion (*h*). In 1597, he was constituted Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (*i*), and was also Lord Privy-Seal (*k*). In 1598, he was one of the Commissioners (*l*) sent into France, to negotiate a peace between that Crown and Spain (*m*): and in 1599, succeeded his father, the Lord Burleigh, in the office of Master of the Wards [*C*]; for which he resigned a better place, that of Chancellor of the Duchy (*n*). He succeeded him also in the high post of Prime Minister, and from that time the publick affairs seem to have been entirely under his direction; which he conducted with a capacity worthy of his Prince and Country, and an integrity so firm and constant, as more than once exposed his life to the implacable malice of the Spaniards and Jesuits, as will presently appear. During the last years of the reign of his glorious Mistress, he supported her declining age with that vigour and prudence, as at once enabled her to assist her allies the States, when they were ingloriously abandoned by France, and to baffle a dangerous Rebellion in Ireland, fomented and cherished by a strong assistance from Spain (*o*). Tho' he was a faithful servant to his Mistress Queen Elizabeth, yet, like many others, he adored the rising Sun, and kept a correspondence with her Successor King James I (*p*). At one time, he was very near being discovered [*D*], but by uncommon presence of mind he avoided the danger (*q*). His private services to that Monarch, or else the interest of Sir George Hume (*r*), so effectually recommended him to King James, that he took him into the highest degree of favour [*E*], and continued him in his office of Prime-Minister

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 407, and Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, edit. 1732, in Life of William Lord Burleigh, Vol. I. B. i. p. 7.

(*b*) See Ten Precepts, which William Lord Burghley gave to his second son Robert Cecil, in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, edit. 1732, B. i. p. 7.

(*c*) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 171.

(*d*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, edit. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 78, 79. and Aulicus Coquinariæ, edit. 1650, 8*vo*, p. 50.

(*e*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, ibid. and Camden's Ann. of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1596.

(*f*) Naunton, ubi supra.

(*g*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 59.

(*h*) See Camden's Annals as above, under the years 1596, 1597, &c.

(*i*) Ibid. under the year 1597. Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. I. p. 41.

(*k*) Desiderata Curiosa, published by Fr. Peck, Vol. I. Book ii. p. 1, edit. 1732.

(*l*) The others were, Sir Tho. Wilks, and John Herbert, Esq; Master of Requests.

(*m*) Camden's Annals, as above, under the year 1598, and Wood, edit. 1721, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 106.

(*n*) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, p. 41.

(*o*) Memorials, &c. as above, Preface to Vol. I.

(*p*) See Life of King James, by W. Sanderson, p. 258, edit. 1656, fol.

(*q*) Life and Reign of King James I. by A. Wilson, in Complete Hist. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 662.

(*r*) Weldon's Court and Character of King James, Lond. 1650, p. 10.

[*A*] *He was born about the year* 1550.] We have not been able to discover any where the exact time of his birth; but have reason to conjecture it was about the year specified here. For his father married Mildred Cooke, December 21, 1546: Robert was the second child by her, and therefore born about 1549, or 1550 (1). He was one of the young Nobility, that went on board the English fleet against the Spanish Armada (†): and was one of the Representatives in Parliament for the county of Hertford, 34 and 39 Elizabethæ (‖).

[*B*] *The Papists hated him.*] And vented their malice against him in several libels, both printed and manuscript: reflecting in them, very grosly, upon his birth and honour; and threatning to murder him. He returned an answer to some of them, both in English and Latin, intitled, *Adversus Perduelles*; wherein he declares, That he despised all their threats, for the service of so good a cause he was engaged in; namely, that of his Religion and Country (2).

[*C*] *He succeeded his father ——— in the office of Master of the Wards.*] In which he was so restrained by new Orders, that he was a Ward himself; as he expresses it (3).

[*D*] *At one time he was very near being discovered.*] For, as the Queen was taking the air upon Blackheath near Greenwich, a Post riding by, her Majesty enquired from whence it came; and being told, 'From Scotland,' she stopped her coach to receive the packet. Sir Robert Cecil, who was in the coach with her, fearful lest some of his secret conveyances should be discovered; having a ready wit, calls for a knife suddenly to open it, that delays and puts-off might not beget suspicion. When he came to cut it open, he told the Queen, It looked and smelt very ill, coming out of many nasty budgets; so that it was proper to open and air it before she saw what it contained. Now, the Queen having an extreme aversion to ill-scents, that sudden thought of the Secretary's hindred her from smelling out his under-hand contrivances (4). After the Queen's deceafe, it was he who first publickly read her Will, and proclaimed King James (5).

[*E*] *His private services, ——— or else the interest of Sir George Hume (afterwards Earl of Dunbar) recommended him to King James.*] One author, if he deserves credit (6), relates the following story. 'Sir George Hume being the only man that was the guider of the King, and his affairs, all the wiser sort of English made their addresses unto him; amongst those Sir Robert Cecill, a very wise man, but much hated in England, by reason of the fresh bleeding of that universally beloved Earle of Essex, and for that was clouded also in the King's favour. He came to Yorke, but lay close, unseene, or scarce known to be in the city, untill he knew what entertainment he should receive from the King; for he was in his owne, and all men's opinions, so under the hatches, as not ever to appear above-board againe (nor did any of the counter-faction to Essex, besides himselfe, ever attaine to the King's favour;) but those friends raised by his wit, and purse, did so co-operate (of 'which

(1) Life of William Cecil Lord Burghley, as above, p. 7.

(†) See Ar. Collins's Peerage under the title of Earl of Exeter.

(‖) Sir H. Chauncy's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 17.

(2) Aulicus Coquin. p. 52; and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. Vol. II. p. 192, 293.

(3) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 41.

(4) Wilson, as above.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Weldon, Court and Character of King James, p. 10, 11.

(s) Preface to Vol. I. of Memorials, &c. as above.

(t) Memorials, &c. in Preface, as above.

Minister (s). And tho', in that reign, the publick affairs were not carried on with the same spirit as in the last, the fault cannot with justice be charged on this great Minister, but on the King; who, being of a fearful and unenterprizing temper, was resolved to have peace with all the world, and especially with Spain, at any rate (t). But, notwithstanding Sir Robert Cecil was far from approving in his heart the measures taken for obtaining that inglorious peace, yet he so far ingratiated himself with his Sovereign, that he was raised by him to great honours. For, on the 13th of May 1603, he was created Baron of Essenden in Rutlandshire; on the 20th of August 1604, Viscount Cranborne in Dorsetshire (being the first of that degree that ever used a Coronet;) and, on the 4th of May 1605, Earl of the city of Salisbury [F] (u). August 30, 1605, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, as he stood at Cambridge (w). And also was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge (x), and May 20, 1605, installed Knight of the Garter (y). He shewed himself all along a true servant to his Prince, but without neglecting at the same time the real Interest and Advantage of his Country: As an instance of which, he never heartily espoused the Spanish Interest; tho' it was the only one countenanced by King James; and some of our Courtiers, by encouraging it, got immense riches [G]. The Court of Spain were so sensible of his little inclination, or rather extreme aversion, to them [H], that they endeavoured to alienate the King his Master's favour from him, by means of the Queen (z); and it was moved there in Council, to send complaints to England of his malignant humour, or enmity, to the Spanish nation: upon which, if he did not alter his conduct, then a shorter course should be taken with him; that is, they would destroy him (a). Afterwards, they came to have great hopes of him, and resolved to omit no means to gain him over to their side (b). But when all the Popish designs happened to be blasted by the discovery of the Gunpowder-plot; a plot in the discovery whereof this Lord was very active; so enraged thereupon was the body of the Roman Catholicks, that some of them formed a combination against him (c). That however taking no effect, they attempted to ruin him in the King's favour, by reporting, he had a pension of forty thousand Crowns from the States of the United Provinces, for being their special favourer, friend, supporter, and patron (d). Moreover, they branded him with the appellation of a Puritan [I], a name very odious to King James (e). Finally, they plotted to murder him, by a musket-shot, out of the Savoy, or some other house near, as he should be going by water to Court (f). But all their wicked machinations proved unsuccessful [K]. In the Parliament which met at Westminster, November 9, 1605, he got much reputation, love, and honour, for the zeal he then expressed for the Protestant Religion (g). In the year 1606, he entertained King James, and the King of Denmark who was then in England,

(u) Pat. 1 Jac. p. 14; Pat. 2 Jac. p. 12; and Pat. 3 Jac. p. 12. See also Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 407: Rase Brooke's Catalog. in the *Earls of Salisbury*.

(w) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 171.

(x) Dugdale, ibid.

(y) List of the Knights of the Garter, in Ashmole; and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1606.

(z) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 159.

(a) Ibid. p. 130.

(b) Ibid. p. 159.

(c) Ibid. p. 170, 171, 172, 193, 202, 203.

(d) Ibid. p. 229, 440.

(e) Ibid. p. 464.

(f) Ibid. p. 230, 236.

(g) Ibid. p. 216, 219.

'which Sir Roger Aston, that plaine man was principal, for which he lost not his labour) that Sir Geo. Hume, and Sir Robert Cecill had many secret meetings, and did so comply, that Sir Robert Cecill, to the admiration of all, did appeare, and come out of his chamber like a giant, to run his race for honour, and fortune; and who in such dearness and privacy with the King, as Sir Robert Cecill: as if he had been his faithful servant many years before.' But Dr. Goodman, author of *Aulicus Coquinariæ* (7), thinks, That Sir Robert Cecill's merit; his perpetual correspondence by emissaries of his own into Scotland; and the great want King James had of his advice and directions, how to render himself most acceptable to his new subjects; were recommendation enough with that Monarch, without any need of Sir George Hume's interest or interposition.

(7) Page 51.

[F] *Earl of the city of Salisbury.*] He, and his elder brother, Thomas, Earl of Exeter, were both created Earls in one day; but Sir Robert was created first, and by that means had the precedence: which, it seems, occasioned for some time great uneasiness between those two noble families.

[G] *Some of our Courtiers, by encouraging it, got immense riches.*] We are told (8), 'That there was not one Courtier of note, who tasted not of Spain's bounty, either in gold or jewels; and among them, not any in so large a proportion as the Countess of Suffolk, who shared in her Lord's interest, being then a potent man, and in that interest which she had, in being mistress to that little great Secretary (§) (little in body and stature, but great in wit and policy) the sole manager of state-affairs.'

(8) Weldon, ubi supra, p. 27.

(§) The Earl of Salisbury.

[H] *The Court of Spain were sensible of his little inclination, or rather aversion, to them.*] He received intimations of it, from Sir Charles Cornwallis, Embassador in Spain; who thus writes to him: '—— Great doubt they [the Spaniards] make of your Lordship's disposition towards them: but, I have so well resolved them, as they seem to shew more confidence; yet more they desire, if by any means they might obtain it. I tell them, that the best advice is, *Ama & amaberis:* I assure them such to be your Lordship's noble disposition, as where you find a soundness in good will to the King and your Country, you need not be sollicited for your affection (9) —— And elsewhere —— This State, though admiring your worthe, and setting the true esteem upon your abilities, yet rests settled in a prejudicate opinion of your affection *to them*. For myne own parte, —— I have travelled to myne uttermost to persuade them the truthe, *viz.* That your onely Blancke is the honor and safety of your King and Country, not passion or partial inclination (10).'

(9) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 119.

(10) Ibid. p. 316. See also Vol. III. p. 43.

[I] *They branded him with the appellation of a Puritan.*] But Sir Charles Cornwallis fully resolved them to the contrary, 'Giving them (to use his own words to his Lordship) to understand your noble temper and integritye in all your actions: —— ending with these words, That God having blessed you with so great wisdom, soe highe a place in your Prince's favours, and so happy an estate; might alsoe, being a meane of a peace to the universall Church, lay a perpetuall foundation to your House and Fame (11).' The answer his Lordship made with regard to these and the like calumnies, was every way worthy of his noble mind. 'I have learned to despise the malicious stinge of evill tongues, which hate me for my Religion, and my Countrye (12).'

(11) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 464.

(12) Ibid. p. 293.

[K] *All their wicked machinations proved unsuccessful.*] They had not made an end, even in the year 1609. For in June that year, Sir Ch. Cornwallis advised his Lordship, 'That four Jesuites lately sent into England, had in charge for one of their especial Commissions, to acquaint themselves with some neere attendants to my Lords of Canterbury and Salisbury; and whatsoever it should cost to drawe them by poyson or other private meanes or practice to make an end of those two Lords, as the greatest obstacles and enemies to the holy Catholique Cause in England (13).'

(13) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 43, 48, 49.

[L] Got

England, four days together, at his seat at Theobalds (h). Upon the death of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord High-Treasurer of England, in April 1608, he succeeded him in that most eminent office, on the 4th of May (i): and the choice the King made of him for that place was universally applauded; a great reformation being expected from him in the Exchequer (k): which he accordingly effected. And finding it almost totally exhausted, he devised these several means to replenish it with money, namely, by causing the Royal Manors to be surveyed, which before were but very imperfectly known: by reviving the custody of Crown lands, by commissions of Asserts: by taking care to have the King's woods and timber viewed, numbred, marked, and valued: by having an exact survey made of the Copy-hold lands held of the Crown, which he ordered to be printed: by compounding with the Copy-holder of inheritance, and the possessors of wastes and Commons originally appertaining to the King: by appointing Commissioners, to gather in the fines arising from penal laws, and such as accrued from the King's manors; and also to survey the estates that were extended, or seized, for debts to the Crown: by improving the customs, from eighty-six thousand, to one hundred and twenty thousand, and afterwards to an hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds *per ann.* by bargaining, for the New-River water to be conveyed to London, which brought a great yearly revenue: by surrendring up his patent of Master of the Wards to the King, for his benefit and advantage (l): and likewise by Privy-Seals; and by selling some of the Crown-Lands (m). While he thus studied his Master's advantage, he did not, at the same time, neglect his own; but got a considerable estate for himself [L], and exchanged his seat of Theobalds with the King, for the noble manor of Hatfield in Hertfordshire (n). However, this just commendation is due to him, That he consulted in general the interest of the nation, more than most Prime Ministers, before or since him, have done. For, he always encouraged industry and manufactures: as the home-making of Allom; salt by the Sun; busses for fishing; salt upon salt, by new fires and inventions; copper and copperas of iron and steel; that the subjects at home might be kept on work, and the small treasure of the nation hindred from going abroad. He likewise took great care of improving Ireland; by plantations there, and transplantations of the natives, to advance the customs, and to abate the charges of the garrisons: and introduced an universal course of law and justice, in the most barbarous and remote parts of that nation (o). In 1609, he asserted the prerogative of the Crown of England in restraining foreigners from fishing upon our coasts (p). The same year, he made a remarkable speech in Parliament, wherein he demanded a yearly revenue of two hundred thousand pounds for his Majesty [M]. The House of Commons desiring to know, before they made any answer to that demand, what return the King would make them for the same? were checked for it by the Lord Treasurer, as guilty of want of respect (q). This Lord's extreme and indefetigable application to business threw him at length into a consumption of the lungs. After having for some time been in a declining condition, he was attacked, in the beginning of the year 1612, with a tertian ague, which turned to a complication of dropsy and scurvy (r). Being advised to go to the Bath, for the recovery of his health, he set out for that place the 27th of April, and continued there till the

(h) Edm. Howe's Continuation of Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 885.

(i) Pat. 6 Jacobi, p. 30.

(k) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 399.

(l) Aulicus Coquin. p. 55—61.

(m) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 239, 301, 309.

(n) Weldon, as above.

(o) Aulicus Coquin. p. 59, 60.

(p) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 49, 50.

(q) Ibid. p. 123, 125.

(r) Ibid. p. 332, 338, 363. Aulicus Coq. p. 62.

[L] *Got a considerable estate for himself.*] We are told (14), that he fleeted off the cream of the King's manors in many counties, not any two lying in any one county; and made choice of most in the remotest counties: moreover (15), that he had one trick to get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the shell, yet cast all the envy on them. He would make them buy books of Fee-farms, some one hundred pounds *per annum*, some one hundred marks, and then would compound with them for a thousand pounds; which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them pass without any controul or charge, and one thousand pounds appeared to them that never saw ten pounds before, an inexhaustible treasure: then would he fill up this book with, such prime land, as should be worth ten or twenty thousand pounds, which was easy for him to do, being Treasurer. By this means his Lordship inriched himself infinitely, yet cast the envy on the Scots, in whose names these books appeared, and are still upon record to all posterity; though they had but part of the wax, and the Earl of Salisbury the honey. The same author observes further (16), That the advantage the Lord Treasurer had, in exchanging Theobalds with the King, was as great, as if he had sold his Majesty Theobalds for fifty years purchase. And also, that he had reserved to himself and his posterity the being perpetual keepers of the house and parks adjacent. Finally, that, to satisfy his revenge upon some neighbour gentlemen, that formerly would not sell him some convenient parcels of land bordering on Theobalds, he put the King on enlarging the Park, walling and storing it with red Deer.

(14) Weldon, as above, p. 51.

(15) Ibid. p. 60.

(16) Ib. p. 51, 52.

[M] *He made a speech in Parliament, wherein he demanded a yearly revenue of* 200,000 l. *for his Majesty.*] Amongst other reasons and inducements which he used then, he alledged this; That at the time of his coming into the office of High-Treasurer, he found the King indebted thirteen hundred thousand pounds, whereof part grew in the late Queen's time, for supplying of the wars of Ireland under the Earls of Essex and Devonshire, and the rest since the King's coming to the crown; specifying particularly the manner and occasions of the expence. That since the said time there had been nine hundred thousand pounds of the said debts acquitted, so that there remained yet four hundred thousand pounds to discharge. He shewed moreover, that the ordinary expence of the King amounted to eighty one thousand pounds yearly more than his whole revenue, besides the incidents of extraordinaries; which he said there is no man but in the supputation of his private accounts did commonly find to amount to the fourth part of his ordinary charges. So that both for the discharging of the remainder of the King's debts, and the due supplying hereafter of his expences (whereof he did not omit to represent the new increase coming upon him by the installation and emancipating of the Prince) his conclusion and demand was, That the House would yield to a yearly and perpetual Grant, and that without necessity of new consents and assemblies, of two hundred thousand pounds for a subvention to his Majesty's charges. And the better to incline and encourage the House to the granting this high and extraordinary demand, he willed every one of them to bring and proffer freely any such griefs as they had, and promised in the King's name, that his Majesty would redress the same, and give them all satisfaction therein, as far as should lye in his power (17).

(17) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 4r.

[N] The

the 21st of May following (s). The King visited him before his departure (t), and expressed the utmost value for him [N]. But the Bath not doing him the service that was expected, he set out again for London on the 21st of May: however he did not live to reach that city; for he died, in Mr Daniel's house at St Margaret's in Marleburgh [O], on Sunday the 24th of May 1612 (u). His body being enbalmed was brought to Hatfield in Hertfordshire, where it was magnificently buried (w): and a sumptuous monument was some time after erected to his memory [P]. By his Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke Lord Cobham, he had William, who succeeded him in his honours and dignities; and a daughter named Frances, married to Henry Lord Clifford, son and heir apparent to Francis, Earl of Cumberland (x). As to Robert Earl of Salisbury's person, and character: for the first he was not much beholding to nature, for he was very much crooked. But he had a good face, which indeed was the best part of his outside. What he wanted in shape, was amply made up in prudence, and exquisite good sense; in which respect he was his father's own son. For, as one expresses it (y), upon his little crooked body he carried a head, and a head-piece of a vast content. And therein it seems nature was so diligent to compleat one and the best part about him; as that, besides the perfection of his memory, she took care also of his senses, and gave him very quick and sharp eyes. In his temper, he was of a sweet disposition, full of mildness, courtesy, honest mirth, bounty, kindness, and gratitude (z): but, in what he found to touch the honour and interest of his Sovereign, it was his custom to speak roundly and plainly (a). In his political capacity, he was the most sufficient and able Counsellor that ever King was served with (b): of noble endowments of mind, of a great genius, and perfectly acquainted with the state and interest of this nation (c): a person of great dexterity, sincerity, and judgment, in the dispatch of publick affairs (d). This is abundantly evident not only from his whole conduct, but also from his many Letters to our Embassadors abroad [Q]; in which he expresses himself like a person of great abilities, and like an honest man, and a good Christian. But since, as all other officers of State, he hath had a double character, it will therefore be proper to see what hath been said to his disadvantage. He is charged by some (e), with having done ill offices to this nation, in discovering the nature of the people; and showing the King the way, how to enhance his prerogative so above the laws, that he might inslave the nation: which, though it took well then, yet hath been of sad and dangerous consequence in after-times. For, first, he caused a whole cart-load of Parliament-precedents, that spake the subjects liberty to be burnt (f). Next, he raised two hundred thousand pounds for making two hundred Baronets; telling the King, 'He should find his English subjects like asses, on whom he might 'lay any burden, and should need neither bit nor bridle, but their asses ears.' And when the King said, 'It would discontent the generality of the gentry;' he replied, 'Tush, 'Sir,

(s) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 367. Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. I. edit. 1732, B. vi. p. 9, &c.

(t) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 62.

(u) Ibid. and Memorials, &c. and Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, &c. as above.

(w) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 63. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 408.

(x) Dugdale, ibid.

(y) Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia, &c. p. 78, 80.

(z) From the Lord Treasurer Dorset's Character of him, in Collins's Peerage, 8*vo*, 1734, Vol. II. P. i. p. 79.

(a) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 440.

(b) Ibid. p. 74.

(c) Rapin's Hist. of Engl. edit. 8*vo*, 1729, Vol. IX. p. 239, 310.

(d) Collins's Peerage, ubi supra, p. 78.

(e) Weldon, as above, p. 11, 12.

(f) Dr Goodman observes, That no man can be so sottish as to believe this, who knows how strictly the Records are kept by sworn officers. Aulicus Coquin. p. 53.

[N] *The King visited him before his departure, &c.*] His Majesty visited him twice, soon after the beginning of his illness, and gave charge to the Physicians upon their heads to be careful of him; and commanded all men for four days to forbear speaking to him upon any business (18). Immediately before his departure, his Majesty visited him again at Salisbury-house, and with tears, at parting, protested to the Lords attending, his great loss of the wisest counsellor and best servant, that any Prince in Christendom could parallel (19). And when a report came from Bath, of his being likely to recover, the King sent purposely the Lord Hay to him, with a token, which was, a fair diamond, set, or rather hung, square in a gold ring without a foil, and this message, 'That the favour and affection he bore him, was, and 'should be ever, as the form and matter of that Ring, 'endless, pure, and most perfect.' From the Queen he received by the same hand another gracious message, and a token; and at the same time the like remembrance from the Prince delivered by Sir John Hollis: All which were comforts and confirmations of his never otherwise than most faithful and best deserving service (20). And this by the by seems to be a sufficient confutation of the story told by Sir Anthony Weldon (21), That the Duke of Bouillon, who was then in England, about the overture of that unfortunate match between the Palsgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, had so done the Lord Treasurer's errand, and discovered his juggling; that it is most certain, he had been stript of all his great places, if he had lived to return to Court.

[O] *He died at Mr Daniel's house at St Margaret's in Marleburgh.*] Some authors of very slender credit, and much given to detraction, give the following account of his death. That he died of the Herodian disease [vermin]; and, for all his great honours and possessions, and stately houses, found no place but the top of a mole-hill (22), near Marleborough, to end his miserable life; so that it might be said of him, and truly, he died of a most loathsome disease, without house, without pity, without the favour of that master that had raised him to so high an estate (23). —— The other writer here referred to (24), speaks thus — 'Nor 'was his death, by prejudice, looked upon as Herod's, 'nor the place it attacked him on, *viz.* Sarisbury-'plaine in his Coach, nor Po his physician then pre-'sent (a mere empirick, and celebrated for no skill 'but in the cure of the ——) small inducement to the 'reports which followed: —— Moreover, his body 'burst the lead it was wrapped in, with so much noise 'and stench as affrighted the by-standers; which his 'calumniators esteemed an effect of God's vengeance.' But, besides that these accounts vary in several material circumstances from the text above, which is taken from very authentick writers; it is certain, there is not the least hint of what is asserted by these two scandalous authors, in the relation of this Lord's last moments, minutely given in a letter by his domestick Chaplain Dr Bowles (25); and by Mr Fynett, who was one of his constant attendants (26). One author suspects (27), that his Lordship died not without suspicion of poison from Sir Robert Carr.

[P] *A monument was some time after erected to his memory.*] It is in a Chapel, built by this Lord, on the North side of the Chancel. The monument, is, a table of black marble, with his Lordship's effigies in white marble, lying upon it with his staff. This is supported by the four cardinal virtues, in virgin-habits, on their knees, carved in white marble, each with her proper emblem. Underneath is another table of black marble, upon which lies the skeleton of the Earl curiously carved (28).

[Q] *His many letters to our Embassadors abroad.*] There are great numbers of them in the three volumes of *Memorials of State*, published by Edmund Sawyer, Esq; in three volumes, fol. Lond. 1725. There is also one letter of his to his father, printed in the *Cabala*, or Mysteries of State, &c. Lond. 1663, fol. pag. 133.

(18) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 338.

(19) Aulicus Coquin. p. 62.

(20) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 368.

(21) Court and Character of King James, edit. 1650. 8*vo*, p. 13.

(22) The ground of this aspersion is, That the day before his death, swooning in the way, he was taken out of his litter and laid into his coach. Naunton, p. 84.

(23) Weldon, ubi supra, p. 13, 14.

(24) Osborne, as above, p. 86, 87.

(25) See Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. I. B. vi. p. 9, &c.

(26) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 367, 368.

(27) First 14 years of King James, edit. 1651, 4*to*, p. 11.

(28) History of History of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, fol. Lond. 1728, p. 213.

[R] He

'Sir, you want the money that will do you good, the honour will do them very little.' And by these courses he raised himself, friends, and family, to offices, honours, and great possessions. He is also accused (g), of having sold great quantities of Crown-timber. But, the person who brings this accusation, does in a great measure discharge the Lord Treasurer from it; by observing, that millions of oaks were felled and sold at vile prices, not only during the life of the Earl of Salisbury, but all the reign of King James. He is likewise blamed, for having raised money by several means which were looked upon as oppressive: But in reality the blame of this must be laid upon the extravagance, and, in consequence of that, upon the indigence, of his master King James. Whenever he had an opportunity, he endeavoured to curb his Majesty's extreme profuseness [R]. His greatest blemish, was, the being a promoter of the unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh's fall (h). And, before that, his sharp proceedings against the Earl of Essex; and his inclosures of Hatfield-chace; had created such a hatred for him in the generality, that the black cloud of detraction fell upon all he said or did: to which the misfortunes accompanying him from his birth did not add a little. Upon all these accounts he hath been reviled and libelled. But, how many soever his faults were, he is universally allowed, even by his enemies, to have been of an incomparable prudence: and is highly extolled for other excellencies by his friends [S]. 'Coming so near such an unadvised scatterer as King James, he might have enriched his family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt, leaving much to the gleaning of his servants.' What was said of Gregory the Great in another case, was not improperly applicable to him, 'That he was the first ill Treasurer, and the last good, since Queen Elizabeth's days;' he not standing charged with any grosser bribery or corruption, than what lay inclusive under the ceremony of new-years-gifts, or his own, or servants, sharing with such as by importunity, rather than merit, had obtained Debentures out of the Exchequer (i). In a word, by the confession of all parties, he had great parts, was very wise, full of honour and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of virtue, and able parts in others, so as they did not aspire too high in places, or look too narrowly into his actions (k). Besides his book against the Papists, and his letters and dispatches, already mentioned; he was author of several speeches in Parliament (l), and of some notes on Dr John Dee's Discourse about the reformation of the Calendar (m).

(g) Traditional Memoyres, &c. as above, by F. Osborne, p. 92.

(h) Arth. Wilson's Life and Reign of King James, in Complete Hist. Vol. II. edit. 1706, p. 662.

(i) Fr. Osborne, as above, p. 90, 91.

(k) Weldon, as above, p. 14.

(l) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 159, 194.

(m) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. edit. 1725, p. 355.

[R] *He endeavoured to curb his Majesty's extreme profuseness.*] Particularly once, the King having given a peremptory warrant to Sir Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset, for twenty thousand pounds (29); the Lord Treasurer (who, in his exquisite prudence, found that not only the Exchequer, but the Indies themselves would want fluency to feed so immense a prodigality, and not without reason apprehending, that the King was ignorant of the value of the gift he had made to his favourite) caused the sum abovementioned, all in silver, to be laid upon the ground (30), in a room through which his Majesty was to pass, being invited to dinner at *Salisbury-house*. The King amazed at the quantity, and probably having never seen the like before, asked the Treasurer, 'Whose money it was?' He replied, 'Your Majesty's, before you gave it away.' Whereupon the King fell into a passion, and protested he was abused, never intending such a gift: and casting himself upon the heap, scrabled out the quantity of two or three hundred pounds, and swore Carr should have no more. However it being the King's minion, Cecil durst not provoke him farther, than by permitting him only to have the half of that sum (31).

(29) Wilson says, it was only 5000*l.* Life of King James, in Complete History, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 688.

(30) According to R. Coke, the money was laid upon four tables, in a gallery thro' which the King was to pass, 5000*l.* upon each table; and the King suffered Carr to have but 5000*l.* of it. *Detection, &c.* edit. 1719, Vol. I. p. 65, 66.

(31) Fr. Osborne, as above, p. 84, 85.

[S] *And is highly extolled for other excellencies by his friends.*] Sir Charles Cornwallis writes to his Lordship from Spain in the following words. —— 'Well may your Lordship's hearte be comforted in this, That the infallible testymonies you have given of your love to truthe and temper, your watchfull eye over the Master you serve, and your incessant cares and travailes for the safety of your countrye, cannot but breed you favour with God, love and respect with the King, and make you deare to as many of your countrye as have eyther eyes or judgment to discerne your true and rare deservings (32).' And in another place (33), —— 'That my Lord of Salisburye was so compleate and perfect a servante and lover of his King and countrye, as there were no meanes upon earth to draw him to enclyne to any the least poynte that should not soundly agree with their honnor and security.'

(32) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 316.

(33) Ibid. p. 319.

CHALONER (Sir THOMAS) a gallant Soldier, an able Statesman, and a very learned Writer in the XVIth century. He was descended from a good family in Wales, and born at London about the year 1515 (a). His quick parts discovered themselves even in his infancy, so that his family, to promote that passionate desire of knowledge for which he was so early distinguished, sent him to the university of Cambridge, where he remained some years, and obtained great credit, as well by the pregnancy of his wit as his constant and diligent application, but more especially by his happy turn for Latin Poetry, in which he exceeded most of his contemporaries (b). Upon his removing from college he came up to Court, and being taken notice of there for his extraordinary abilities and excellent behaviour, which recommended him to the esteem of the best, and the friendship of the greatest, men, about it, he was soon sent abroad into Germany with Sir Henry Knevet, as the custom was in the reign of Henry VIII, when young men of great hopes were frequently employed in the service of Ambassadors, that they might at once improve and polish themselves by travel, and gain some experience in business (c). He was so well received at the Court of the Emperor Charles V, and so highly pleased with the noble and generous spirit of that great Monarch, that he attended him in his journies, and also in his wars, particularly in that fatal expedition against Algiers, which cost the lives of so many brave men, and was very near cutting short the thread of Mr Chaloner's, for in that great tempest by which the Emperor's fleet was shattered on the coast of Barbary in 1541, the vessel on board of which he was suffered shipwreck, and Mr Chaloner having quite wearied and exhausted himself

(a) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 108.

(b) See this matter explained in note [A].

(c) Strype's Memorials. Lloyd's Worthies. Herbert's Hist. of the Reign of Henry VIII.

himself by swimming, and that too in the dark, at length beat his head against a cable, of which laying hold with his teeth, he was providentially drawn up into the ship to which it belonged, though with the loss of some of them (d). He returned soon after into England, and as a reward of his learning and services, was promoted to the office of First Clerk of the Council, in which post he served during the remainder of that reign (e). In the beginning of the next he came into great favour with the Duke of Somerset, whom he attended into Scotland, and was in the battle of Musslebeurgh, where he distinguished himself so remarkably in the presence of the Duke, that he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood 28 Sept. 1547, and after his return to Court, the Duchess of Somerset presented him with a rich jewel (f). The first cloud that darkened his patron's fortune, proved fatal to Sir Thomas Chaloner's pretensions, for being a man of a warm and open temper, and conceiving the obligation he was under to the Duke as a tie that hindered his making court to his adversary, a stop was put to his preferment, and a vigilant eye kept upon his actions; but his loyalty to his Prince, and his exact discharge of his duty, secured him from any farther danger, so that he had leisure to apply himself to his studies, and to cultivate his acquaintance with the worthiest men of that Court, particularly Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Coke, Sir Thomas Smith, and more especially Sir William Cecil, with whom he always lived in the strictest intimacy (g). Under the reign of Queen Mary he passed his time, tho' safely, yet very unpleasantly, for being a zealous Protestant, he could not practise any part of that complaisance which procured some of his friends an easier life. He interested himself extreamly in the affair of Sir John Cheke, and did him all the service he was able, both before and after his confinement. This had like to have brought Sir Thomas himself into trouble, if the civilities he had shewn in King Edward's reign, when they were in a state of humiliation, to some of those who had the greatest power under Queen Mary, had not moved them, from a principle of gratitude, to protect him. Indeed it appears from his own writings, that as he was very honest in his own friendships, so he was particularly happy in them, and as he was never wanting to his friends when he had power, he never felt the want of them when he had it not, and, which he esteemed the greatest blessing of his life, he lived to return those kindnesses to some who had been useful to him in that dangerous season (h) [A]. Upon the demise of Queen Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, he appeared at Court with his former lustre, and it must afford us a very high opinion of his character as well as his capacity, that he was the first Ambassador named by that wise Princess, and that also to the first Prince in Europe, Ferdinand I. Emperor of Germany (i). In this negotiation, which was of equal importance and delicacy, he acquitted himself with great reputation, and not only did all that was expected

(d) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(e) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 108.

(f) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 564.

(g) As appears from several Letters and Papers amongst the Cecilian MSS.

(h) Remarks upon the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 95.

(i) Camden. Annal. p. 21.

[A] *Who had been useful to him in that dangerous season.*] It is a very great pity, that more care has not been taken to preserve the personal and literary History of this truly great man, the rather because such diligence seemed to be in a peculiar manner due to his memory, on account of that constant respect he shewed for the characters of others, whether distinguished by their extraordinary merit towards the publick, or recommended by the more immediate connection of private friendship (1), so that a certain writer, in his short character of him, had reason to say, that 'a true friend was the best picture of this gentleman's mind, since this love knew no bounds, could not be diverted by any danger, or divorced even by death itself.' Of this he gave variety of instances, by the tribute he paid to the fame of those he either esteemed or loved, that were far enough from being happy in their fortunes; but, because we have not much room to spare, and therefore cannot dwell upon a variety of instances, we will content ourselves with the mention only of one, as being of all others the most proper for our purpose. He wrote then a long and beautiful poem upon the tragical death of that most excellent person, the Lady Jane Gray, in which are contained a multitude of curious and instructive passages, so that it is very hard to say, whether it is more valuable for the matter or manner of it's composition. But surely it is a noble testimony of the virtue and honesty, and at the same time of the tenderness of it's author's disposition (2). He opens it with a most admirable description of the elegant form of this fair victim to the ambition of others; and having painted in the brightest colours the beauties of her person, he celebrates her great learning and wisdom, which, considering she was scarce eighteen when she died, nothing but the unimpeached sincerity of the author could induce us to credit; he observes, that besides her mother-tongue, she was not superficially, but perfectly well skilled in seven languages, *viz.* Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabick, Italian, and French. She wrote a very fine hand, and with incomparable facility upon all subjects, possessing the Philosophy of Plato perfectly, and having a happy tincture of the eloquence of Demosthenes. Her natural abilities were very great, and they were heightened by an application so assiduous, that, her sex and quality considered, we may safely say was unequalled. She played admirably on several instruments of musick, and, if we may add to such accomplishments one that may seem trivial, she was excellent at her needle. Yet with all these rare endowments, all these high and extraordinary qualities, she was of a mild, an humble, and a modest spirit, and never discovered any thing of the height and grandeur of her mind, but in the last act of her life, a fearless and noble, though at the same time a pious and a Christian-like, contempt of death. Our author very justly observes, that, considering all that had the colour of crime in her conduct was cast upon her by others, it gave no great idea of the Queen's justice, that sparing some who were deeply guilty, she suffered the full weight of punishment to fall upon this Innocent. To this, in a high strain of poetick justice, he attributes the shortness and the uneasiness of Queen Mary's reign, her long and languishing sickness, her disturbed government, and her distraction of mind, occasioned chiefly by shedding this poor Lady's blood. He likewise takes in the chief authors of this dire counsel, and shows, that notwithstanding their seeming escape in this world, they were nevertheless severely and justly punished, few of them surviving long, and most of them undergoing more painful deaths than they had inflicted upon her; one sinking under the pressure of a dropsy, another brought to his end by the excruciating torments of the stone, a third by the slow progress of an incurable consumption, and others by diseases equally cruel in their kind, and fatal in their events. A great part of this admirable Latin poem has been re-published as an Appendix to the History of that reign under which this unfortunate Lady suffered, and it is really a great pity that it has not been translated, for the information as well as satisfaction of the English reader, very few things of the kind deserving it so well (3).

(1) This is meant of the large Collection of Elogies, Epigrams, and Epitaphs, in Latin Verse, written by our author in honour of the worthiest persons of his time.

(2) In lib. suo cui tit. est *De illustrium quorundam Encomiis & Epitaphis nonnullis, &c.* Lond. 1579, p. 296.

(3) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 93, and the Poem, at least the best part of it, in the Appendix, No. IX.

[B] Which

pected from him but much more, which his Mistress very gratefully acknowledged (k) [B]. After his return from this embassy, he was very soon thought of for another, which was that of Spain, and though it is certain the Queen could not give a stronger proof than this of her confidence in his abilities, yet he was very far from thinking that it was any mark of her kindness, more especially considering the terms upon which she then stood with King Philip, and the usage his predecessor Chamberlain had met with at that Court (l). But he knew the Queen would be obeyed, and therefore undertook the business with the best grace he could, and embarked for Spain in 1561. On his first arrival he met with such a piece of rudeness, as made him weary of the country before he was well in it. This was the searching of all his trunks and cabinets, of which he complained loudly; for having been treated at the Court of the Emperor with the utmost respect, he could not bear such an act of insolence, which he thought equally injurious to himself as a gentleman, and to his character as a publick Minister (m). His complaints however were fruitless, for at that time there is great probability that his Catholick Majesty was not over desirous of having an English Minister, and more especially one of Sir Thomas's disposition, at his Court, and therefore gave him no satisfaction. Upon this Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote home, set out the affront that he had received in the strongest terms possible, and was very earnest to be re-called; but the Queen his Mistress contented herself with letting him know, that it was the duty of every person who bore a publick character, to bear with patience what happened to them, provided no personal indignity was offered to the Prince from whom they came (n). Yet for all this, the searching Sir Thomas Chaloner's trunks, was, many years afterwards, put into that publick Charge which the Queen exhibited against his Catholick Majesty, of injuries done to her before she intermeddled with the affairs of the Low Countries (o). But notwithstanding this he kept up his spirit, and shewed the Spanish Ministers, and even that haughty Monarch himself, that the Queen could not have entrusted her affairs in better hands than his. There were some persons of very good families in England, who, for the sake of their religion,

(k) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 75.

(l) Camden. Annal. p. 85.

(m) A short Account of the Injuries done her Majesty by the King of Spain, MS. amongst the Collections of Lord Burleigh.

(n) Camden. Annal. p. 85.

(o) As appears from several papers amongst the MSS. of Lord Burleigh.

[B] *Which his Mistress very gratefully acknowledged.*] It was very natural, as well as necessary, at the beginning of a new reign, and especially in the circumstances the Queen was in at the entrance of her's, to think of preserving a good correspondence with all the Princes of Europe, but more especially with the Emperor, for various reasons; she therefore charged Sir Thomas Chaloner with a letter to him, the substance (4) of which was to the following effect: 'That her sister was dead, and that through the goodness of God, and in virtue of her own hereditary right and the peoples consent, she was now invested in the succession, and that she desired nothing more than the preservation and improvement of that antient friendship, which had been so long kept up between the Crown of England and the House of Austria.' The great service that he did in this embassy, was to divide the views of the Emperor and King Philip, by hinting the possibility of a marriage between the Archduke of Austria and Queen Elizabeth, which at that juncture was a very great and important service, since there was nothing the Queen wanted so much as to gain time, and to prevent the Popish powers from associating against her before she was well fixed upon the throne, or the kingdom thoroughly settled. How dexterously he managed this, and how well he secured the confidence of the Emperor and his Ministers, will best appear from the following passage in an author who took what he wrote from the papers of the great Lord Burleigh (5). 'George van Helfenstein, Baron of Gundelfingen, was in England with the Queen, soon after her first coming to the Crown, in quality of Agent or Embassador from the Emperor. Then there happened communication between him and Sir Thomas Chaloner about the Queen's marriage, which Chaloner and all good men then had their thoughts much bent upon. They talked together of the Emperor's son, the Arch-duke of Austria. And now Van Helfenstein being departed and at Brussels, wrote, Mar. 21, 1558, to Chaloner, and sent him the picture of that Duke, which he might shew as he should think most convenient. This representation of him shewed him to be a most comely person, but his mind and inward abilities exceeded his person,' as the noble German told Chaloner in his letter. 'That if the most virtuous and gallant endowments of his soul were known as well to him as they were to himself and others, he would soon acknowlege, they did by many degrees surpass the beauty of his body. But that picture receiving some damage by the waggon in which it was brought, he promised to send Chaloner another of the Duke's whole body, and of his brother also; wishing that he might have a sight of them both alive, without the help of paint and colour. He told him all the report at Brussels was, that the King of Spain was to marry the Queen, although, as he subjoined, men of great authority, when he was in England, seemed to misdoubt it. But he prayed Chaloner, out of their great friendship, to give some account of that whole matter. For that indeed was the very reason, why the Emperor, who intended to offer to the Queen either of his sons, did forbear at present to do it, because he would not any ways disoblige one so nearly related. But if the King's suit succeeded not, he then requested his friend, the said Sir Thomas Chaloner, to give him with all secrecy an account of it, and then would the Emperor put in strongly for one of his sons; and so he did afterwards.' But this was not all. He so well understood the Queen's mind, the advantages that might be gained by managing and keeping up this treaty, of which there was not the least shadow of success or reality, for the Queen disliked the person of this German Prince as much as she slighted his pretensions, that when he had made as much of it as was possible in one shape, he very artfully shifted the scene, and made no less of it in another. We will give this part of the story in the words of the learned Camden, who had his information from the same source as Mr Strype; that is, from the memoirs and papers of the Lord Treasurer: 'The King of Spain having cast off all pretensions to Elizabeth, and being upon his marriage with the French King's daughter, was not however a little perplexed about England, which he had no mind to see united to the Crown of France. And the better to retain the honour of so considerable a kingdom in his own family, he perswaded the Emperor Ferdinand, his uncle, to offer one of his sons in marriage to Queen Elizabeth; which he did, by letters full of respect, and pressed the affair very closely by Gaspar Preinor, Free-Baron in Stibing; and the King of Spain himself offers her Majesty his best and heartiest offices to bring it about, whilst she, in return, has both her ships and ports at his service, to facilitate his intended voyage into Spain; and pays him other services and compliments, by the hands of Sir Thomas Chaloner.' This introduced our statesman to an acquaintance with the Spanish Ministry, and his having succeeded so happily in negotiating with both branches of the house of Austria upon so tender a point, looked like a demonstration, that nothing could be too hard for him, and brought upon him his Spanish journey.

(4) Camden. Annal. p. 21.

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 95, 96.

[C] To

religion, and no doubt out of regard to the interest to which they had devoted themselves, desired to have leave from Queen Elizabeth to reside in the Low-Countries or elsewhere, and King Philip and his Ministers made it a point to support their suit. Upon this, when a Conference was held with Sir Thomas Chaloner, he answered very roundly, that the thing in itself was of very little importance, since it was no great matter where the persons who made this request spent the remainder of their days, but that considering the rank and condition of the Princes interested in this business, it was neither fit for the one to ask, nor for the other to grant (*p*). It appeared that he spoke the sense of his Court, for Queen Elizabeth would never be brought to hearken to the proposal. In other respects however he was very grateful and agreeable to the principal persons of the Spanish Court, who could not help admiring his talents as a Minister, his bravery as a Soldier, with which in former times they were well acquainted, his general learning and admirable skill in Latin poetry, of which he gave them many proofs in several elegant performances, written during his stay in their country (*q*). It was here, at a time when, as himself says in the Preface, he spent *the* winter *in a* stove, *and the* summer *in a* barn, that he composed his great work of *The Right Ordering of the* ENGLISH REPUBLICK, and thus endeavoured to sooth his cares, and dispel his melancholy, by his conversations with the Muses. But though these might in some measure alleviate his chagrin, yet they were far enough from expelling it, so that by degrees it broke his constitution, and he fell into a very grievous fit of sickness, which brought him so low that his Physicians despaired of his life (*r*). In this condition he addressed his Sovereign in an elegy after the manner of Ovid, setting forth his earnest desire to quit Spain and return to his native country, before care and sickness forced him upon a longer journey (*s*). The Queen granted his petition, and having named Dr Man his successor in his negotiation, at length gave him leave to return home from an embassy, in which he had so long sacrificed his private quiet to the publick conveniency (*t*) [*C*]. He accordingly returned to London in the latter end of the year 1564, and published the first five books of his large work beforementioned, which he dedicated to his good friend Sir William Cecil, but the remaining five books were not published as I apprehend in his life-time, which I gather from what Camden has left us concerning this worthy person, who particularly mentions this great work, and speaks of it as containing five books and no more (*u*). He resided in a fair large house of his own building in Clerkenwell-Close, over-against the decayed nunnery, and a very industrious person has preserved from oblivion an elegant fancy of his, which was penciled on the frontispiece of his dwelling (*w*) [*D*]. Whether it was the disease he contracted in Spain that hung about

(*p*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 131. Lloyd's Worthies.

(*q*) Miscellanea Chaloneri, p. 334, 342, 348.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, ubi supra.

(*s*) Miscellanea Chaloner. p. 291.

(*t*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 566.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(*w*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 430.

[*C*] *To the publick conveniency.*] It is very certain, that a man could hardly pass his days less at ease than Sir Thomas Chaloner did, while he continued in Spain. He had been in that country many years before, and disliked it, so that he went thither with the utmost regret (6). The insult offered to him on his first arrival, gave him great displeasure, which was far from being removed by the Queen's giving him to understand, that there he was to stay. He very well knew, that the Bishop of Aquila, the Spanish Ambassador at London, was daily drawing upon himself deserved ill usage for his intrigues with the Papists and Malecontents, and he found by experience, that much of the ill treatment this ecclesiastick suffered was revenged upon him (7). When the Queen sent forces over to assist the Protestants in France, Sir Thomas Chaloner was ordered to give that matter the best face it could receive at the Court of Spain; which he did, but King Philip answered him plainly, that if the Queen, his mistress, meant no more, than to keep Havre de Grace till Calais was restored, he was content; but that, if under colour of opposing the Guises, and providing for her own safety, she meant to begin a religious war, and to become the head of a Protestant League, he should find himself obliged to defend the old religion, and to take part with the monarch of France (8). But all this time, the great and important business of the trade between England and the Low-Countries remained suspended; nor could any method that hitherto had been contrived, engage the governors of the Low-Countries to re-call the prohibition of English commodities, though several attempts had been made for that purpose, by particular applications to those who had authority there; but Sir Thomas Chaloner perceiving that his Catholick Majesty's favourite, the famous Roderick Gomez, was at the head of a faction directly opposite to that of the Duke of Alva, he very artfully procured some of the correspondents of the latter in Spain, to represent to him, that the enmity expressed by Gomez towards the English, did not at all arise, as he gave out, from their being hereticks, and having views different from those of his master, but from an apprehension, that if the intercourse between England and the Low-Countries were revived, it would produce a brisk circulation of money throughout all the cities in those provinces, and thereby facilitate his motions, which he desired to retard. The Duke of Alva having considered this, soon saw, or thought he saw, sufficient evidence to prove it, and thereupon changed the whole of his conduct, discoursing often of the old friendship subsisting between the house of Burgundy and the Kings of England, affecting a particular regard for the nation, and at length opening a free trade provisionally, till contrary orders should be received from Spain (9). These, and other things of a like nature and importance, employed the thoughts, and exercised the industry, of our able and indefatigable Minister, while he remained in Spain, and therefore it is an idle and ridiculous suggestion of a certain writer, that he made it his business to amuse King Philip with the hopes of marrying Queen Elizabeth (10), which, as we have shewn, was a thing given up on both sides, and impracticable, before he was sent to Spain. But when men write from fancy, and without respect to authorities, they easily fall into such mistakes as these.

(6) This appears by his pathetick Poem addressed to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain leave for his return.

(7) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 395.

(8) Camden. Annal. p. 97.

(9) This appears from the Burleighian MSS. compared with the Historians of those times. Camden. Annal. p. 107.

(10) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 565.

[*D*] *On the frontispiece of his dwelling.*] The priory of Clerkenwell belonged to Nuns, who from their habit were called Black Nuns, and was founded by one Jordan Briset: it was a very fair and handsome house, and had revenues to the amount of near three hundred pounds a year at the time of the dissolution (11). I cannot find that Sir Thomas Chaloner had any grant, either of the lands belonging to this nunnery, or to the adjacent hospital, of the order of St John of Jerusalem, and therefore, I presume, he had a lease from the Cavendish family, who were in possession of the scite of the dissolved nunnery, upon which he erected this new house, directly opposite to the ruins of the old building, to which the inscription he placed thereon manifestly referred. His lines were these:

Casta fides superest, velatæ tecta sorores
Ista relegatæ, deseruere licet:
Nam venerandus Hymen, hic vota jugalia servat;
Vestalemque focem mente fovere studet.

(11) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 430.

In

about him, or that after living so long in a warm country, his body was less able to endure the inclemency of our moister air, so it was, that on the seventh day of October 1565, he yielded to nature (*x*), to the regret of the best and greatest men of his time. His body was soon after buried in the cathedral church of St Paul with great funeral solemnity, Sir William Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State, assisting (*y*) thereat as chief mourner, who also honoured his memory with a very fine copy of Latin verses, in which he observes, that the most lively imagination, the most solid judgment, the quickest parts, and the most unblemished probity, which are commonly the lot of different men, and when so dispersed frequently create great characters, were, which very rarely happens, all united in Sir Thomas Chaloner, justly therefore reputed one of the greatest men of his time (*z*). But this was not all; he encouraged Mr William Malim, formerly Fellow of King's-college in Cambridge, and then Master of St Paul's school (*a*); to collect and publish a correct edition of our author's poetical Works; which he accordingly did, and addressed it in an epistle from St Paul's school, dated 1 August 1579, to that noble person now become Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treasurer of England, &c. But of this and his other works, the reader will receive some farther account in the notes [*E*]. Sir Thomas Chaloner married Ethelreda, daughter of Edward Frodsham of Elton in the County Palatine of Chester, Esq (*b*); by whom he had issue his only son Thomas, of whom briefly in the next article. This Lady, not long after Sir Thomas's decease, married Sir * * * Brockett, notwithstanding which the Lord Burleigh continued his kindness to her, out of respect to that friendship which he had for her first husband (*c*). We cannot conclude this short Life of so worthy a man better, than by adding his epitaph, written by one of the best Latin Poets of that age, Dr Walter Haddon, Master of Requests to Queen Elizabeth (*d*).

(*x*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 149.

(*y*) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(*z*) See this copy of verses, prefixed to Sir Thomas Chaloner's book.

(*a*) From a MS. note in Sir Thomas Chaloner's book, written by Bishop Carleton.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*c*) As appears from Mr Tho. Chaloner's Epistle Dedicatory, prefixed to his father's book.

(*d*) Miscellanea Chaloner. p. 379.

Natura Thomas Chalonerus, & arte valebat;
Utilis & patriæ vir fuit illæ suæ.
Publica cum magna suscepit munera laude;
Laude pari libros scripserat ille domi.
Sic patriæ vixit magno, dum vixit, honore;
Sic patriæ magno concidit ille malo.

In English thus:

Their house no more, the veil-clad virgins grace,
Yet faith unspotted, still maintains her place:
For sacred Hymen's rites, like honours claim;
And his bright torch illumes the vestal flame.

To him also is ascribed the following line, under a sun-dial, at the entrance into the nunnery.

Non aliter pereo species quam futilis umbræ.

The fleeting shade describes it's day and mine;
For life and light by the same steps decline.

[*E*] *Some farther account in the notes.*] He begun very early to employ his pen for the service of the publick; and indeed there is scarce an author who has written in our language, to whom we may justly ascribe a larger degree of this noble disposition, than to Sir Thomas Chaloner, who from first to last employed his abilities, either in serving his country, or in celebrating the praises of those who had served it, that this might prove an encouragement to others. All that can now be discovered of his writings are these, *viz.*

I. *A little Dictionary for children.* This is mentioned by the industrious *Bale* (12), and seems to have been the first thing our author published. In his preface to it he shows the utility of such a work, and from thence infers, that no learned man need be ashamed of undertaking it, because employing learning for the promoting of learning, is discharging the duty of a man of letters; and whatever is a man's duty must be honourable.

II. *The Office of servants.* Translated from the Latin of Gilbert Cognatus, London, 1543, 8°. This book he dedicated to his honourable patron Sir Henry Knevet (13), whom he attended in his Embassy to the Emperor Charles V. and whose death he afterwards celebrated, which is preserved amongst the rest of his poems of the same nature (14).

III. Moriæ Encomium, *i. e. The Praise of Folly.* Translated from Erasmus, and printed at London, 1549, in 4° (15). It is not impossible that he may be the author also of some other translations, or little treatises relating to morals, but of these we find no account, nor at this distance of time has tradition transmitted to us the titles of any of his pieces.

(12) De Scriptor. p. 108.

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 149.

(14) Miscellanea, p. 377.

(15) He was a disciple and friend to it's famous author.

IV. In laudem Henrici octavi, Regis Angliæ, præstantissimi carmen panegyricum. i. e. *In praise of Henry VIII. the most worthy King of England, a Panegyrick.* This poem was addressed to Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign (16), but was not published till many years after the author's decease, by the care of the same worthy person who was the editor of the rest of his poetical works.

(16) It stands between the large Poem, *de Repub. Anglor. instauranda*, and his *Miscellanea.*

V. De Rep. Anglorum instauranda, libri decem. i. e. *Of the reforming or restoring the English Republick, in ten books,* Lond. 1579, 4°. This edition is most correctly and elegantly printed by the famous Thomas Vautroller. There is prefixed to it the Lord Treasurer Burleigh's poem on the work, and it's author, with other commendatory verses. We are told by the editor, that he was encouraged to the undertaking by the Lord Burleigh, who was very desirous that this noble work, of his deceased friend, might appear in a manner suitable to it's worth, and to the high respect he bore his memory. We have already told the reader, when and how it was composed, but it may not be amiss to add, Sir Thomas Chaloner's account in his own words, by which it appears, that it was begun on Christmas-Day 1562, and finished the 21st of July 1564, which he remembered, in the first leaf of the manuscript, in the following terms.

'Deo auspice, Thomas Chalonerus, Londinensis, 'Equestris, ordinis vir, serenissimæ Angliæ &c. Reginæ 'Elizabethæ, ad potentissimum Hispaniarum Regem 'Philippum legatus, animi recreandi, cum otio abun-'daret, causa, libros hosce decem de Repub. Anglo-'rum instauranda incepit 25 die Decembris, Anno Do-'mini 1562, perfecit vero 21 die Julii 1564, quum 'horis tantum successivis, idque fere ante lucanis, ad 'componenda carmina se conferret. Atque hunc arche-'typum manu propria conscripsit.'

VI. *De illustrium quorundam encomiis miscellanea cum epigrammatis ac epitaphiis nonnullis.* This collection of panegyricks, epigrams, and epitaphs, is printed with the book beforementioned, and contains many testimonies of his loyalty and friendship, as well as of his great genius and extensive learning. We have already mentioned several of the pieces that are inserted in this collection,

In

In English thus:

Nature and art in CHALONER combin'd,
And for his country form'd the Patriot's mind.
With praise deserv'd his publick posts he fill'd;
And equal fame his learned labours yield.
While yet he liv'd, he liv'd his country's pride,
And first his country injur'd when he dy'd.

collection, and shall only take notice here, amongst others, that he has celebrated the memory of his friend, Sir John Cheeke, of his old patrons Sir Thomas Parrye, and Lord Paget; of Dr Thomas Phayer, a learned Physician, and some foreigners. Thus we have endeavoured to recover, as far as it was in our power, the memory of so great a man from oblivion, who, in the judgment of his contemporaries, joined to the quickest wit, and the most solid learning, the politest manners, and the most inflexible probity. As to religion, he was a zealous Protestant, which, as he never dissembled in the days of Queen Mary, so in the dawn of Queen Elizabeth's government, he very earnestly pressed the publick owning of the Reformation, as a thing safest, as well as most honourable for the State (17); and the same principles he constantly and warmly recommended in all his writings. E

(17) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 535.

CHALONER (Sir THOMAS) the younger, the son of the former by his wife Ethelreda, daughter of Mr Frodsham of Elton in Cheshire (*a*). He was born some time in the year 1559 (*b*), and being very young at the time of his father's decease, and his mother soon after marrying a second husband, he owed his education chiefly to the care and protection of the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, by whom he was first put under the care of Dr Malim Master of St Paul's school, and afterwards removed to Magdalen-college in Oxford, where he closely pursued his studies at such times as his father's poetical works were published, and as a proof of his veneration for his father's friend, and gratitude for the many kindnesses himself had received, he prefixed a dedication to this work to his patron the Lord Burleigh (*c*). He left the college before he took any degree, but not before he had acquired a great reputation for parts and learning. He had, like his father, a great talent for poetry, which he wrote with much facility both in English and in Latin, and it is said that he had a particular inclination for Pastoral (*d*), but it does not appear that he published any thing of this, or indeed of any kind before he left England, which, from a comparison of circumstances, seems to have been about the year 1580. He visited several parts of Europe, but made the longest stay in Italy, where he addicted himself to the conversation of the gravest and wisest men in that country, and being naturally of a very serious temper, agreed with them so well, that they very readily imparted to him their most important discoveries in Natural Philosophy, for which he had always a great affection, studied it with much diligence, and, by the quickness of his apprehension, wonderful penetration, and great solidity of judgment, gained a very deep insight into the operations of nature (*e*), which he continually augmented by a variety of experiments. At his return home, which was some time before 1584, he appeared very much at Court, and was esteemed and caressed by the greatest men there, as well on account of his great learning as his polite behaviour. About this time he married his first wife, who was the daughter of his father's old friend Sir William Fleetwood Recorder of London, by whom he had several children (*f*). In the year 1591 he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, as well in regard to his own personal merit as the great services of his father (*g*), and some years after, the first alum mines that were ever known to be in this kingdom, were discovered, by his great sagacity, not far from Gisborough in Yorkshire, where he had a very fair estate. It was with infinite difficulty and trouble, attended with a very large expence, that these mines were so wrought, as to become valuable, and then, by some extraordinary stretch of Law, he was deprived of them; of all these circumstances, so far as we have been able to inform ourselves, the reader will have an account in the notes (*h*) [*A*]. In the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Thomas

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*b*) This date I have met with in some MS. notes upon Wood, but cannot tell whether it may be safely relied on, though it seems to agree very well with the events of his life.

(*c*) This Dedication is dated 1 Aug. 1579.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*e*) Camden. Brit. in Brigant.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*g*) List of Knights made in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

(*h*) Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 162.

[*A*] *Will have an account in the notes.*] We propose to give the reader here a succinct account of this gentleman's great abilities, as a naturalist, his happy discovery of the art of making alum from the stone, and the consequences of that discovery, of which hitherto there is no connected relation any where to be met with. It is very certain, that in his travels he addicted himself very much to philosophical enquiries, and that with the noblest view of rendering them beneficial to mankind; of which he gave a specimen in a small work of his, the only one, I believe, he ever published, bearing the following title:

The virtue of Nitre, *wherein is declared the sundry cures by the same effected.* Lond. 1584. 4°. In which he discourses largely of the nature, production, and uses of nitre; and discovers a very singular acquaintance with minerals, and their component parts, from whence he deduces all their natural properties, and shows, how they may be applied medicinally by the assistance of the Chymists.

This discovers the temper and disposition of our author's mind, always attentive, always meditating, and always contriving, to carry that knowledge he acquired by attention and meditation into practice. Amongst the other places he had visited in Italy, he spent some time at Puzzoli, or, as some write it, Puteoli (1), where he saw after what manner they made alum, and to how great an account it turned. On the Solfatara near that place they collect a kind of saltish flour or dust that covers the surface in the summer-time; this, when thus collected, they throw into large vessels full of water, which are set in the earth, and being placed over certain subterraneous spiracles, the water being evaporated by the heat, the alum is left behind. How well he observed the nature of the soil, and it's effects upon the vegetables produced in the neighbourhood, will

(1) Misson's Voyages and Travels, Vol. I. p. 433.

Thomas Chaloner made a journey into Scotland, whether out of curiosity, with a view to preferment, or by the direction of Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, who was his great friend, is not now to be discovered; but this is very certain, that he soon grew into such credit with King James, that the most considerable persons in England addressed themselves to him for his favour and recommendation. Amongst the rest, Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Chancellor, wrote him a very warm letter, which is still extant, which he sent him by his friend Mr Mathews, who was also charged with another to the King, a copy of which was sent to Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Mr Mathews was directed to deliver him the original if he would undertake to present it (*i*). He accompanied the King in his journey to England, and by his extensive learning, pleasant conversation, and admirable address, fixed himself so effectually in that Monarch's good graces, that as one of the highest marks he could give him of his kindness and confidence, he thought fit to intrust him with the care of Prince Henry's education, August 17, 1603 (*k*) [*B*]. He enjoyed this honour under several denominations during the life-time of that excellent Prince,

(*i*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 557. Collection of Letters by Sir Tobie Matthews, p. 16.

(*k*) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 23, m. 10.

will best appear from the learned Camden's account of the discovery (2), made by him in England, which we shall give in that great man's own words, in as much as they afford at the same time the clearest relation, and carry with them the most inconteſtable authority.

(2) Camden's Britannia, p.766.

'Four miles from the mouth of the Tees stands 'Gisborough, upon a rising ground, at present a small 'town. While it was in it's prime it was very much 'graced by a beautiful and rich monastery, built about 'the year 1119 by Robert de Brus, lord of the town. 'It has been the common burial place for all the nobi-'lity of these parts, and has produced Walter de He-'mingford, no unlearned Historian. The place is 'really fine, and may, for pleasantness, a curious va-'riety, and the natural advantages of it, compare 'with Puteoli in Italy; and then for a healthful and 'agreeable situation, it certainly far surpasses it. The 'coldness of the air, which the sea occasions, is quali-'fied and broken by the hills between; the soil is 'fruitful, and produces grass and fine flowers a great 'part of the year; it richly abounds with veins of 'metal and alum earth of several colours, (but especi-'ally with those of ocher and murray) from which 'they now begin to extract the best sort of alum and 'copperas in great plenty. This was first discovered 'a few years since by the admirable sagacity of that 'learned Naturalist Sir Thomas Chaloner, Knight (to 'whose tuition his present Majesty has committed the 'delight and glory of Britain, his son Prince Henry) 'by observing, that the leaves of trees were of a more 'weakly sort of green here than in other places; that 'the oaks shot forth their roots very broad, but not 'deep, and that these had much strength but little sap 'in them; that the soil was a white clay speckled 'with several colours, namely, white, yellowish, and 'blue, that it never froze, and, that in a pretty clear 'night it shin'd and sparkled like glass upon the road 'side. Next Ounesbery Topping, a steep mountain, 'and all over green, riseth so high, that it appears at 'a great distance, and it is the land-mark that directs 'sailors, and a prognostick to the neighbours here-'abouts; for when it's top begins to be darkened 'with clouds, rain generally follows. Near the top of 'it a fountain issues from a great stone, very good for 'sore eyes; and from hence the valleys round it, the 'grassy hills, green meadows, rich pastures, fruitful 'corn fields, fishy rivers, and the creeky mouth of the 'Tees, low and open shores, yet free from innunda-'tion, and the sea with the ships in it, render the pro-'spect very delicate.'

The time when this discovery was made is not fixed in this account, but from a comparison of circumstances it appears to have been about 1600, or perhaps a little earlier (3). But the invention, and the perfection of this art, were at some distance, and very considerable sums of money were spent before the project was brought to bear, which, probably, was owing to the difference of climates, and that different manner of working, which this rendered necessary; but at length by the bringing over privately Lambert Russell, a Walloon, and two other workmen, employed in this business at Rochelle in France, the matter was compleated, but very little to the profit of the proprietors, since upon this it was adjudged to be a mine royal, and so came into the hands of the Crown (4). It was then granted to Sir Paul Pindar, under the following rent, *viz.* twelve thousand five hundred pounds a year to the King, one thousand six hundred and forty pounds a year to the Earl of Mulgrave, and six hundred pounds a year to Sir William Pennyman. But notwithstanding these high rents, and that not less than eight hundred persons were employed in the manufacture at a time, the farm of the alum mines produced a vast profit to Sir Paul Pindar, who kept up the commodity at the rate of twenty-six pounds a ton (5). The Long-Parliament voted this a monopoly, and restored the alum works to their original proprietors. About the time of the Restoration we find there were five works carried on, *viz.* one at Sands-End, another at Ash-Holme, both belonging to the Earl of Mulgrave; a third at Slapy-Wash, then belonging to the Darcies, formerly to the Pennymans; the fourth at Dunsly, which was Mr Fairfax's; the last at Whitby, belonging to Sir Hugh Cholmley. By thus opening different works, and that emulation that it naturally occasioned, the commodity sunk in value, for the proprietors under sold one another, till the price of alum was brought down to thirteen pounds a ton (6). In the end, the last of these works, by the conveniency of it's situation, triumphed over the rest, so that the original mines at Gisborough fell into disuse, but the present consumption of alum is at least as great, if not greater, than ever (7). It is considered as a drug, and from it's astringent quality is much used in physick, and enters into the composition of various medicines; but the great vent of it arises from it's prodigious utility in fixing colours, and in preparing stuffs for dying, which makes it a valuable commodity to Clothiers, Glovers, Dyers, and many other artificers (8). The Roman alum is looked upon as rather better than ours, but ours much exceeds other alums, and more especially that of Sweden, which of late years great pains has been taken to improve, and some persons (9), as I have been informed, were not many years ago sent over hither on purpose to look into the management of our alum works, and if possible to steal the secret.

(3) It was certainly in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, but it was not inserted in the Britannia till the last edition.

(4) Hist. of the Reign of Charles I. p. 339.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 186.

(6) Case of the Alum Works in Yorkshire.

(7) Ray's Collection of English Words not generally used, p. 144, 145.

(8) Dictionaire de Commerce.

(9) They were recommended by the Archbishop of Upsal to a Clergyman from whose mouth I had it.

[*B*] *Of Prince Henry's education, August 17th, 1603.*] In most of our historians Sir Thomas Chaloner is generally called Prince Henry's tutor, but that is a very improper appellation, for one who was absolutely intrusted with the care of that young Prince's education, and of his houshold, so that he was rather his governor, though it does not appear that he ever had this title. But that he was by no means his tutor, is evident from Mr Newton's holding that office for several years, who was afterwards Dean of Durham, though a layman, and created a Baronet (10), and then John Wilkinson, Master of Arts (11), and others, though Sir Thomas Chaloner remained in his charge all the while; and it was out of respect to him, that when Prince Henry was matriculated at Oxford, he chose to enter as a member of Magdalen-College. To put this matter out of dispute, we shall give the reader a clause out of the patent, by which Sir Thomas held his office (12), which will fully explain it's nature.

'For the good proof we have long had of your sin-'gular affection to our person, and for the trust we 'repose in you, as well in regard of your zeal to reli-'gion, as also for your discretion, we have made 'choice of you to have the principal charge and custo-'dy, as well of the person of our said son, as also the 'oversight of all his houshold and family attending 'him, who being to us so dear a jewel as he is, the 'charge is likewise of great weight and care to you. 'Wherefore we have thought good to accompany so 'great a burthen with sufficient authority to you, for 'the execution and discharge thereof, and do there-'fore direct these our letters patents to you, under our

'Great

(10) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 271.

(11) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 127.

(12) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XVI. p. 545.

Prince, whom he attended in 1605 to Oxford, and upon that occasion was honoured with the degree of Master of Arts, as many other persons of distinction were (*l*). I cannot find that he had any grants of lands, or gifts in money, from the Crown, in consideration of his services, though Sir Adam Newton, who was Preceptor to Prince Henry, appears, from a list that I have seen, to have received at several times the sum of four thousand pounds by way of free gift (*m*). Sir Thomas Chaloner had likewise very great interest with Queen Anne, and appears to have been employed by her in her private affairs, and in the settlement of that small estate which she enjoyed (*n*). What relation he had to the Court after the death of his gracious Master Prince Henry, does no where appear, but it is not at all likely that he was laid aside (*o*). He married some years before his death his second wife Judith, daughter to Mr William Blount of London, and by this lady also he had children, to whom, if my author does not mislead me (*p*), he left a considerable estate, which he had at Steeple-Claydon in the county of Buckingham. All we know of him farther is, that he died on the 17th of November 1615, and was buried in the parish-church of Chiswick in the county of Middlesex. His eldest son William Chaloner, Esq; was, by letters patents dated July 20, in the 18th of King James I, *A. D.* 1620, created a Baronet, by the title of William Chaloner of Gisborough in the county of York, Esq (*q*); which title I find was extinct in 1681 (*r*). Yet the posterity of some of the younger brothers of this Baronet are still remaining in that county, and are possessed of the family estate at Gisborough (*s*), as the reader will be informed in the notes [*C*]. It was judged necessary to give as full and distinct an account of this worthy person as possible, because few or none, either of our Historians or Biographers, Anthony Wood (*t*) excepted, have taken any notice of him, though he was so considerable a benefactor to this nation, by discovering the alum mines, which have produced vast sums of money, and still continue to be wrought with very great profit, though, as I am informed, this family have long since lost the benefit of them (*u*). We shall have a better notion of this matter, I mean the advantage which this nation has gained by making and vending alum, if we reflect, that in the first place it is a commodity of great use in various manufactures, so that we must have had it from abroad whatever it cost, and therefore all that is consumed at home, is so much clear gains to this nation as the value of it amounts to. On the other hand, the quality of our alum putting it in our power to set a very high price upon it, this was also very beneficial to the nation, inasmuch as every ounce of it exported, added so much as it was worth to the general ballance of our trade, whence it appears, that we both saved and got by this discovery. But then, thirdly, the reader will be told in the notes, how great a number of persons have been at one time employed in these works (*w*), which will enable us to form some sort of estimate, of the many families that in so long a tract of time have been maintained, and some of them enriched, by the same means. Taking therefore all things together, it must appear highly just to celebrate the memory of every man who is thus useful to his country, and it would have been no disgrace to our Historians, if, in this respect, they had followed the example of honest John Stowe, and his Continuator Edward Howes, who have very carefully collected, and very faithfully set down, many instances of the like nature (*x*), and have also given a very particular account of this discovery, tho' it does not altogether agree with what is met with in other authors, for it seems to make King James an encourager of this work, and mentions his prohibiting the importation of alum from abroad, that it might turn to better account in the hands of Sir Thomas Chaloner and his associates (*y*).

(*l*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. p. 173.

(*m*) Abstract of King James's Revenue, p. 18, 19, 26.

(*n*) Letters and Memorials of State, collected out of the papers belonging to the Sidney Family, Vol. II. p. 307.

(*o*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 87.

(*p*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*q*) English Baronetage, Vol. V. p. 271.

(*r*) Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets, as they stood July 4, 1681, p. 89.

(*s*) From the information of a Reverend Clergyman in that county.

(*t*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*u*) From private information.

(*w*) Fuller's Worthies, in Yorkshire.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 1038.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 895, 896.

'Great Seal of England, whereby we do give you power and authority for the better execution of this charge committed to you, to command, rule, and direct, as well all persons, which shall be of ordinary attendance about our son the Prince, in his house, in all things that may concern the safety of his person, or the observation of good rule in his house, as also all Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Headboroughs, Constables, &c.'

[*C*] *Will be informed in the notes.*] We have already spoken in the text of Sir Thomas Chaloner's eldest son, Sir William Chaloner of Gisborough, in the county of York, and therefore here we are to speak of his younger children only. His second son Edward was educated in the same college where his father had been formerly bred at Oxford, and entering into holy orders became Doctor in Divinity, Principal of St Alban's Hall, Chaplain to King Charles the First, and one of the most eminent preachers of his time, though he died at the age of thirty-four, being carried off by the plague that then raged at Oxford, July 26th, 1625 (13).

Thomas Chaloner was younger brother to Edward, but whether the next to him we cannot determine; he was also sent to Oxford, and spent some time there at Exeter College, after which he went abroad, and having travelled through France and Italy, returned home a very well-accomplished gentleman, being much distinguished for the vivacity of his wit, and his extensive knowledge in all kind of polite literature; but having contracted a prejudice to the royal family, on the score of the alum mines, of which his father had been deprived, he struck in with the malecontents, and being elected member for Aldborough in the county of York, became an active member of the Long-Parliament (14). He sat as one of the King's judges, and was elected one of the members of the Council of State. Upon a prospect of the King's return he printed a paper, entitled, *A Speech, containing a Plea for Monarchy* (15), in which he hinted at some limitations and restrictions. He soon after thought fit to retire to Holland, in which he acted prudently, for he was excepted (16) out of the Act of Oblivion, and very soon after died at Middleburg in Zealand.

James Chaloner, younger brother to Thomas, was a Commoner of Brazen-Nose-College in Oxford, and afterwards studied in the Inns of Court. He was a man of great learning, and distinguished himself as an Antiquary, as also by writing the History of the Isle of Man, a manuscript copy of which was in the valuable Museum of Mr Thoresby of Leeds, but it has been also printed (17). He was likewise a member of the Long-Parliament, deep in the transactions of these times, and one of the King's judges, for which, at the Restoration, he was excepted from the benefit of his estate, but his life spared; and this distinction seems to have been owing to his not having signed the warrant for the King's murder, which his brother Thomas did (18). He married Ursula, daughter of Sir William Fairfax, of Steeton in the county of York, and dying in the year 1661, was succeeded in his estate by his only son Edmund (19). E

(13) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 181.

(14) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 264.

(15) Printed in 4to at London, 1659.

(16) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 43.

(17) Thoresby's Antiq. of Leeds, p. 525.

(18) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 1042.

(19) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 252.

CHAMBER or CHAMBRE (JOHN) a learned Physician in the XVIth century, noted chiefly for being one of the founders of the College of Physicians London (*a*), was educated in Merton-college in Oxford, of which he was Fellow (*b*). He took his degree of Master of Arts about the year 1502; after which travelling into Italy, he studied Physick at Padua, and there took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty. After his return, he became Physician to King Henry VIII; and, with Thomas Linacre, Fernandes de Victoria, Nicolas Halsewell, John Fraunces, and Robert Yaxley, Doctors of Physick, founded the College of Physicians [*A*]. Being in Holy Orders, he became, in 1510, Canon of Windsor, and in 1524 Archdeacon of Bedford, and was likewise Prebendary of Comb and Harnham in the cathedral church of Sarum (*c*). In 1525 he was elected Warden of Merton-college (*d*); and, about the same time, was made Dean of the Royal Chapel and College adjoining to Westminster-Hall, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Stephen (*e*). He built to it a very curious cloyster (*f*), and gave the Canons of that Chapel some lands, which he saw, upon the dissolution of the monasteries, taken into the King's hands. Afterwards he was made Treasurer of Wells cathedral, beneficed in Somersetshire and Yorkshire, and probably had other dignities and preferments (*g*). October 29, 1531, he was incorporated Doctor of Physick at Oxford (*h*). In May 1543 he resigned his Treasurership of Wells; and his Wardenship of Merton-college in 1545. He died in 1549 (*i*). He never published any thing.

(*a*) Wood, Fast. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 50. Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Vol. I. p. 132, of Book i.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 86. He says elsewhere that it was in 1526, Fasti, ubi supra.

(*e*) Now, the House of Commons.

(*f*) The Charge of which amounted to eleven thousand marks. Stowe's Survey of London, &c. with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Book vi. p. 54, Vol. II.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*h*) Wood, Fasti, ubi supra.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

[*A*] *Founded the College of Physicians.*] Henry the VIIIth's charter, for the foundation of this College, bears date at Westminster September 23, 1518, and is said to have been obtained at the request of Dr John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Fernandez de Victoria, his Physicians; and of Nicolas Halsewell, John Fraunces, and Robert Yaxley of the same Faculty: but especially through the intercession and interest of Cardinal Wolsey. The first College of this Society was in Knights Riders-street, being the gift of Dr Linacre. Afterwards they removed to Amen-corner, where they bought an house and ground; But the house being burnt down in 1666, the Fellows purchased with their own money a large piece of ground in Warwick-lane, whereon they erected the present College. The number of Fellows at first was but thirty. King Charles II, at their request, augmented the number to forty. And King James II, in their new charter, was pleased to increase the number to eighty, and not to exceed. To the College belongs at present, a President, four Censors, and twelve Electors (1). C

(1) Stow's Survey of London with Strype's Additions, Lond. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 130, 131.

CHAMBERLAYNE (EDWARD) author of *The Present State of England*, was descended from an eminent and ancient family [*A*], and born at Odington in Gloucestershire on the 13th of December 1616 (*a*). He had his first education at Gloucester (*b*): and in Michaelmas-term 1634 became a Commoner of St Edmund-Hall in Oxford (*c*). On the 20th of April 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*); and that of Master in 1641, and was appointed Rhetorick Reader of the university for part of that and the year following (*e*). During the Civil Wars, he travelled into France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, the Low-Countries, Denmark, and Sweden (*f*). In 1658 he married Susannah, only daughter of Richard Clifford, Esq; descended from the ancient and noble family of the Cliffords, Lords of Frampton in the county of Gloucester (*g*). After the Restoration of King Charles II he became Fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1669 Secretary to Charles Earl of Carlisle, when he was sent to Stockholm, to carry the Order of the Garter to the King of Sweden. In January 1670 he had the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law conferred on him at Cambridge; and on the 22d of June 1672, was incorporated in the same at Oxford (*h*). About the year 1679 he was appointed Tutor to Henry Duke of Grafton, one of the natural sons of King Charles II. Afterwards, he became Instructor in the English tongue to Prince George of Denmark (*i*). In the latter part of his life he lived at Chelsey near London; where he died in the year 1703. He was buried in a vault in the church-yard of that parish, where a monument was soon after erected to his memory [*B*]. He was a learned and

(*a*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 355. and Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1130.

(*b*) From his epitaph, which see below.

(*c*) Athen. ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 275.

(*e*) Athenæ, as above.

(*f*) From his epitaph.

(*g*) From her epitaph.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. as above; and Fasti, Vol. II. col. 189.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

[*A*] *Descended from an eminent and ancient family.*] His father, Thomas Chamberlayne, Esq; was son of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, Knt, some time Embassador in Flanders, where he married a Lady of the house of Nassau. The family derive their descent from the Counts, or at least Barons, of Tanquerville in Normandy. And John Count of Tankerville being made Chamberlain to the King of England above four hundred years ago, his descendants thence took the sirname of *Chamberlayne*. They branched out into the several houses of Sherborne-castle in Oxfordshire lately extinct, and of Prestbury, Maugerbury, and Odington in Gloucestershire; from the latter of which, Edward, whom we are speaking of, was descended (1).

[*B*] *A monument was soon after erected to his memory.*] On which the inscription is as follows:

Posteritati Sacrum.

More majorum, extra urbis pomoeria, juxta viam publicam, in Tumulo editiore, hèic prope inhumari voluit Edwardus Chamberlayne, Anglus, Christocola, L. D. Ex antiqua Comitis Tanquervillæ prosapiâ Normanicâ oriundus, Odingtoniæ natus, 1616. Glocestriæ Grammaticâ, Oxonii Jurisprudentiâ, Londini Humanitate imbutus fuit. Per Galliam, Hispaniam, Italiam, Hungariam, Bohemiam, utramque Germaniam, Daniam, & Sueciam migravit. Susannam Clifford equestri familiâ prognatam in matrimonium duxit 1658. Novem liberos genuit, sex libros composuit: Tandem 1703 in terram oblivionis demigravit. Benefaciendi Universis, etiam & Posteris, adeo studiosus fuit, ut secum condi jusserat (*) *libros aliquot suos cera obvolutos, feræ forsan posteritati aliquando profuturos. Abi Viator fac simile. Deus te servet incolumem. Hoc Monumentum, non impunè temerandum, in honoris juxta ac moeroris testamentum* (†), *poni curavit Gualterus Harris M. D. Amicus amico.* What is historical in this epitaph is included in the text, and for that reason we have not thought necessary to translate it. Only we shall take notice of one remarkable particular mentioned therein; namely 'That he [Dr Chamberlayne] was so very desirous of doing good to all, and even to posterity, that he ordered some books of his own composition covered over with wax, to be buried with him, which may possibly be of use to future ages (2).'

(1) Wood, Ath. as above; and The Present State of England, by J. Chamberlayne, Esq; P. i. B. iii. ch. iii. under the title *Surnames.*

(*) So 'tis in our copy, instead of *jusserit.*

(†) Forsan, *testimonium.*

(2) *Monumenta Anglicana*, by J. Le Neve, from 1700 to 1715. 8vo, p. 65.

and ingenious man, and wrote several useful books [C]. His wife, mentioned above, died soon after him, on the 17th of December 1703, and was buried in the same vault with him (k). By her he had nine children.

(k) From her epitaph.

[C] *And wrote several useful books.*] Namely these; I. 'The present War parallel'd: or, a Brief Relation 'of the five years Civil Wars of Henry III, King of 'England, with the Event and Issue of that unnatural War, and by what Course the Kingdom was 'then settled again; extracted out of the most authentick Historians and Records,' in five sheets *4to*, Lond. 1647. It was reprinted in the year 1660, under this title, 'The late war parallel'd: or a 'Brief Relation, *&c*'. *8vo*. II. England's Wants: 'or several Proposals probably beneficial for England, 'offered to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament.'. Lond. 1667, *4to*. III. 'The converted 'Presbyterian, or the Church of England justified in 'some practices, *&c*. Lond. 1668. IV. '*Angliæ Notitia*: or, The Present State of England; with 'divers Reflections upon the ancient State thereof.' Lond. 1668, *8vo*. The Second Part was published at London, 1671, *&c*. *8vo*. And both together were several times reprinted during the author's life, with additions and amendments. It was translated into Latin by Thomas Wood (3); and into French by some other hand. The author's son, John Chamberlayne, Esq; continued it, and made very large additions and improvements thereto; so that it is the best book of the kind extant. The 36th edition was lately published. One Guy Miege published another in imitation of it; but it is a very indifferent and faulty performance. V. 'An Academy or College, wherein 'young Ladies and gentlewomen may, at a very moderate expence, be educated in the true Protestant 'Religion, and in all virtuous qualities that may adorn 'that sex, *&c*.' Lond. 1671, *4to*, two sheets. VI. 'A Dialogue between an Englishman and a 'Dutchman concerning the last Dutch War.' Lond. 1672, *4to*. He also writ some other things, to which he did not set his name. And translated out of Italian, Spanish, and Portugueze, into English, 1. 'The 'Rise and Fall of Count Olivares the Favourite of 'Spain. 2. The unparallel'd Imposture of Mich. de 'Molina, executed at Madrid, *an*. 1641. 3. The 'Right and Title of the present King of Portugal, 'Don John the Fourth.' These three translations were printed at London, 1653, *4to* (4). C

(3) See Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 995.

(4) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 1129.

CHAMBERLAYNE (JOHN) son of the former, was a learned and worthy person. He was admitted into Trinity-college in Oxford in 1685: but it doth not appear he took any degree (a). He translated I. from French and Spanish, 'The manner 'of making Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate.' Lond. 1685, *8vo*. II. From Italian into English, 'A Treasure of Health,' Lond. 1686, *8vo*, written by Castor Durant de Gualdo, Physician and citizen of Rome (b). III. 'The Arguments of the Books and 'Chapters of the Old and New Testament, with practical Observations. Written originally in French, by the Reverend Mr Ostervald, Professor of Divinity, and one of 'the Ministers of the Church at Neufchatel in Swisserland: And by him presented to 'the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.' 3 Vols *8vo*, Lond. 1716, *&c*. Mr Chamberlayne was a Member of that Society. IV. The Lives of the French Philosophers [or Members of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris] translated from the French of M. de Fontenelle. Republished since, in 1721, under the title of, Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, epitomized, with the Lives of the late Members of that Society, *8vo*. V. 'The Religious [or Christian] Philosopher: or, the right use 'of Contemplating the Works of the Creator, *&c*.' translated from the original Dutch of Dr Nieuwentyt, in 3 Vols *8vo*, adorned with cuts, Lond. 1718, *&c*. reprinted several times since in *8vo*, and once in *4to*. VI. 'The History of the Reformation in and about 'the Low-Countries, translated from the Low Dutch of Gerrard Brandt, in four Vols fol. 'Lond. 1721, *&c*.' VII. The Lord's Prayer in 100 Languages, *8vo*. VIII. 'Dissertations Historical, Critical, Theological, and Moral, on the most memorable Events of 'the Old and New Testaments: wherein the Spirit of the Sacred Writings is shewn, 'their Authority confirmed, and the Sentiments of the Primitive Fathers, as well as the 'modern Criticks, with regard to the difficult passages therein, considered and compared. 'Vol. I. comprising the Events related in the Books of Moses. To which are added 'Chronological Tables, fixing the Date of each Event, and connecting the several Dissertations together.' Fol. 1723. He likewise was Fellow of the Royal Society, and communicated three pieces, which are inserted in *The Philosophical Transactions*. One, concerning the Effects of Thunder and Lightning at Sampford-Courtney in Devonshire, Octob. 7, 1711 (c). The second, is an account of the funk-islands in the Humber, recovered from the sea (d). And the third, contains remarks on the Plague at Copenhagen in 1711 (e). It was said of him that he understood sixteen languages; but it is certain, that he was master of the Greek, Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, Portugueze, and Italian. Though he was well qualified for employment, he had none, but that of Gentleman-Usher to George Prince of Denmark. After a useful and well-spent life he died in the year 1724. He was a very pious and good man, and earnest in promoting the advancement of religion, and the interest of true Christianity: for which purpose, he kept a large correspondence abroad. C

(a) See Wood Fasti, Vol. II. and Catalogue of Graduates.

(b) Wood, Ath. as above.

(c) No. 336, p. 528, and in Mr Henry Jones's Abridgment, Vol. IV. P. ii. p. 131.

(d) No. 361, p. 1114, and Abridgment, as above, p. 251.

(e) No. 337, p. 279, and Abridgment, as above, Vol. V. P. i. p. 380.

CHAPPEL

CHAPPEL (William) Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, in the kingdom of Ireland, a most learned, pious, and eloquent Prelate in the last century. He was descended, as himself tells us, from parents that were but in narrow circumstances, born at Lexington in Nottinghamshire, December 10, 1682, and was very near dying of the small-pox when in the second year of his age (a). He was afterwards sent to Mansfield in the same county to a grammar-school, where he was very early taken notice of for his singular gravity, the meekness of his temper, and his close application to his studies (b). This induced his family, though their circumstances were but indifferent, to send him as they did to the university of Cambridge, where he was entered of Christ's-college at the age of seventeen (c). His modesty, diligence, and capacity, gained him a great interest in his college, so that after having taken two degrees, he was, in the year 1607, at a time when he did not well know what course to steer, elected Fellow, as we learn from himself, in a stile equally humble and elegant (d), which was perhaps peculiar to our author [A]. When he had acquired this preferment he seems to have been fully satisfied, and applied himself with great diligence to the education of youth, for which he was particularly fitted, by the uniting in his disposition two very different qualities, sweetness of temper and severity of manners; so that it is allowed there was no tutor in the university in those days, that either bred more, or more famous pupils than he did (e). He was also very remarkable for his great abilities as a disputant, which gained him much reputation, and in respect to which there happened a singular accident, with which the reader cannot but be well pleased to have an account (f) [B]. In this situation of life he would in all probability have passed his time in ease and quiet (g), if he had not been attacked by the malicious calumnies of some, who envied him the great reputation in which he stood with the most considerable persons in the university, and this had such an effect upon his spirit that it broke and afflicted him exceedingly (h). When things were in this situation he received an unexpected offer from Dr Laud, then Bishop of London, of the deanery of Cashel in Ireland, which was become void by the promotion of Dean Jones to the bishoprick of Killaloe (i). It seems this promotion was not altogether agreeable to Mr Chappel, he had no inclination to go to Ireland, and was not at all ambitious of dignity in the Church; however, after consulting his relations, he determined to accept the offer, went over to Ireland accordingly, and was installed Dean of Cashel by virtue of the King's Mandate, August 20, 1633 (k). He had not been long in Ireland, before his kind patron who sent him thither found out a new and more suitable employment for him, for Dr Robert Usher, who was Provost of Trinity-college at Dublin, being promoted to the See of Kildare, Dr Laud, now become Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the university of Dublin, was desirous of putting it under the care of Dean Chappel, which, however, he would willingly have declined (l). In order to this he returned to England in May 1634, and laboured as much as man could do, to be excused from undertaking this new charge, the burthen of which he apprehended too heavy for his shoulders, but it was in vain; a resolution had been taken to give a new form to the university, and he was looked upon as the properest person to settle the establishment that was proposed (m). Upon this he went down to Cambridge and resigned his fellowship, which to him, as himself expresses it, was the sweetest of earthly preferments, after he had held it for twenty-seven years (n). He also visited his native country, and took his last leave of his

(a) Vita Gulielmi Chappel Episcopi Corcagiensis & Rossensis a seipso conscripta.

(b) Taken from some manuscript notes on the Life of Bishop Chappel.

(c) Fuller's Worthies, in Nottinghamshire, p. 317. Vita Gulielmi Chappel, &c.

(d) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge. Vita Gulielmi Chappel, &c.

(e) Fuller's Worthies, in Nottinghamshire, p. 317.

(f) Dr Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(g) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(h) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(i) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566.

(k) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(l) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566.

(m) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 329.

(n) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

[A] *Which was perhaps peculiar to our author.*] This life of Bishop Chappel, written by himself in Latin, and, as it plainly appears, as an exercise of penitence, thanksgiving, and devotion, has been now twice printed; first, from a manuscript in the hands of Sir Philip Sydenham, Bart. by the industrious Mr Hearne (1), and a second time by the reverend Mr Peck, from a manuscript which is still preserved in Trinity-Hall, Cambridge (2). In this life he has set down the principal steps of his fortunes and misfortunes, with short and significant reflections and meditations; as for instance, in reference to his going to the University, his studying there, and his being elected fellow of his college, he writes thus (3):

Septendecim annos natus eo Cantabrigiam,
Pembrokiam parens, avunculus domum
Christi elegit, Christoque duce figo hic pedem.
Christus tuetur, & scholarem me facit.
Binos gradus suscipio. Verum quid agerem
Incertus hæsi: monet abire tenuitas
Parentum; at idem Christus hic spem mihi facit
Sodalitii, & anno sequenti perfecit.

Mihi fausta Julii dies penultima
Aperuit angustum hunc locum pauperculo;
Non clave munerum aut potentum litteris,
Sed (gratia Christi) statutorum via.
Ætatis annus hic erat vigesimus
Et quintus, annusque Domini Jesu mei
Post mille sextiesque centum septimus.
Ex illo, iis quæ ad utramque vitam sunt opus
Circumfluo, qua officia, qua beneficia.

(1) Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii Collectanea, Vol. V. p. 261.

(2) Desiderata Curiosa, lib. xi. p. 1.

(3) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

[B] *To have an account.*] In the spring of the year 1624 King James visited the University of Cambridge, lodged in Trinity-College, and was entertained with a Philosophical Act, and other academical performances (4). At these exercises Dr Roberts of Trinity-College was respondent at St Mary's, and Mr Chappel pushed him so hard, that feeling himself unable to sustain the controversy he fainted. Upon this King James, who valued himself much upon his capacity in such matters, undertook to maintain the theses, but with no better fortune than the doctor, for Chappel was so much too hard for him at these logical weapons, that his Majesty openly professed he was glad that a man of great talents was so good a subject. Many years after this Sir William St Leger riding to Cork with the Popish titular Dean of that city, it fell out that Mr Chappel, then Dean of Cashel, and Provost of Dublin, accidentally overtook them, upon which Sir William, who was then President of Munster, proposed, that the two Deans should dispute, which, though Mr Chappel was not forward to accept, yet he did not any ways decline. But the Popish Dean, with equal dexterity and address, extricated himself from this dilemma, by saying, *Excuse me, Sir, I don't care to dispute with a man who is wont to kill his respondent* (5).

(4) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 164.

(5) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

[C] *Will*

his antient and pious mother. In the month of August he returned to Ireland, and was elected Provost of Dublin, and had the care of it committed to him, though he was not sworn into that office until June 5, 1637 (o), the reason of which the reader will be told in the notes [C]. He applied himself to his new charge with that zeal and diligence, for which he was always distinguished in every office that he filled; he was perfectly learned in Casuistical Divinity, had a clear understanding, sound judgment, and was universally applauded for his discretion. His temper for government was suitable to his knowledge, in which he was highly eminent, as appeared in the mildness and regularity of his administration, and in the most perfect obedience of the scholars to the rules and statutes of the house (p). That he might mix something of the pleasant with the profitable, and that young minds might not be oppressed with the unrelaxed severity of their studies, he instituted amongst the juniors a Roman Commonwealth, which continued during the Christmas vacation, and in which they had their Dictators, Consuls, and Censors, and other officers of the Roman State, in great splendour (q). While he was thus worthily and usefully employed, his patrons, the Lord Wentworth and the Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the promotion of Dr Richard Boyle to the archbishoprick of Tuam, advanced Dean Chappel to the bishopricks of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, and he was accordingly consecrated November 11, 1638, in St Patrick's at Dublin, though he had done all he could to decline this preferment (r). The King commanded that he should still continue in his Provostship, which for some time he did, and at last resigned it July 20, 1640, before which time he was very earnest in endeavouring to obtain a small bishoprick in England, that he might return to his native country and die in peace (s). His endeavours however were fruitless, and he was left in Ireland to feel all the fury of that storm which he had long foreseen. He was attacked in the House of Commons with great bitterness and resentment, by those who were not so much enemies to him as to the great men by whom he was preferred (t). This obliged him to come to Dublin from Cork, and he was compelled to put in sureties for his appearance. In the month of June 1641, articles of impeachment were exhibited against him to the House of Peers, consisting of fourteen, though the substance of them was reduced to two, the first perjury, on a supposed breach of his oath as Provost; the second malice towards the Irish, founded on the discontinuing, during the time he was Provost, of an Irish lecture (u). These articles were pressed by a very severe speech made by one Mr Robert Bisse, a famous Lawyer of those times, to which the Bishop made a reply, which however did not give satisfaction. The Lord Primate Usher, and Dr Anthony Martin Bishop of Meath, were the fiercest of his adversaries, and the prosecution against him was driven on with unexampled violence. The true cause of all this fury, was the vigour and activity he had shewn, in enforcing uniformity and strict Church discipline in the college, in opposition to the schism and fanaticism of those times (w). He was in his whole conduct one of the evenest and most constant men that ever lived, and yet, such was the temper of the age in which he flourished, that he lay under a continual load of calumny. At Cambridge he was thought a Puritan from the strictness of his morals; in Ireland they represented him as a Papist, from the fervency of his devotion, and his great exactness with respect to the ceremonies of the Church (x). While he laboured under so many and so great troubles, he was exposed to still greater, by the breaking out of the most execrable rebellion in the latter end of that year. He was under a kind of confinement at Dublin, on account of the impeachment which was still depending, but at length, after much application, and with no small difficulty, he was allowed to embark for England, that from thence he might return to Cork, which from Dublin,

(o) Dr Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(p) Sir James Ware's Works, p. 567.

(q) Idem, ibid.

(r) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607. Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 249.

(s) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(t) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(u) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(w) Sir James Ware's Works, p. 567.

(x) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

[C] *Will be told in the notes.*] There were at this time considerable heats among the clergy in Ireland, many of them being inclined to those that were then stiled Puritan opinions, which the Lord Deputy Wentworth, and his great friend Laud, wished to see rooted out, as appears very plainly from their letters (6). Amongst other methods taken for this purpose, one that was judged very necessary was, the introduction of a new charter into Trinity-College; and the history of this matter we will give in the words of a very intelligent and very impartial author (7). 'By the first 'charter, granted to the University in March 1591, 'the election of a Provost was placed in the Fellows, 'and so continued, until the vacancy made by the 'promotion of Dr Usher, as aforesaid. Archbishop 'Laud, who was then Chancellor of the University, 'thought proper to introduce a new set of statutes, 'which vested the nomination of the Provost in the 'Crown. This project took some time in ripening; 'for the concurrence of the Fellows to this change was 'necessary, and they were induced to consent to a sur'render of their old charter, upon making them te'nants for life in their offices under the new statutes, 'whereas before they held their fellowships but for se'ven years, from the time they commenced master of 'arts; and so to gain estates for life in a small share of 'the government to themselves, and their successors, 'they parted with a more absolute authority, which 'was temporary, and submitted to a more unlimited 'power in their superior. For these new statutes 'were not so indulgent to the Fellows, and placed a 'more sovereign authority in the Provosts, than they 'were entrusted with by the old charter, from whence 'hath flowed the negative voice of the Provosts in the 'election of Fellows, and other very ample powers. 'While this project was moulding, and bringing to 'perfection, it was thought necessary to keep the 'place unfilled, that the scheme might be at once car'ried into execution by the King's nomination, and in 'the mean time Dean Chappel was placed over the 'college, although without the title of Provost.' A certain author, who does not seem to be at all partial in favour of our Dean, after giving a succinct relation of his becoming Provost of Trinity-College, and his behaviour in that office, concludes his account thus (8). 'Yet certainly the exercises of the University were 'never stricter looked to, or discipline (if it were not 'too ceremonious) better observed than in his time; 'only the lecture for teaching Irish (whether through 'indulgence merely, or enjoyned by statute, I am un'certain) was, after his admission, wholly waved.'

(6) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 329.

(7) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566, 567.

(8) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

[D] We

Dublin, as things then stood, he could not safely do (y). He embarked accordingly on the 26th of December 1641, and the next day landed at Milford-haven, after a double escape, as himself phrases it, from the Irish wolves, and from the Irish seas (z). He went from Milford-haven to Pembroke, and from Pembroke to Tenby, a little miserable place, where, being detained for some time by the inclemency of the weather, an ill-natured fellow gave an information against him to the Mayor, who committed him to goal upon the 25th of January, for coming over from Ireland without licence (a). In this sad condition he continued seven weeks, till Sir Hugh Owen, who was a Member of Parliament, coming to his seat in that neighbourhood, caused him to be set at liberty, upon his giving bond in a thousand pounds for his appearance, and on the sixteenth March he was discharged and set out for Bristol (b); where, upon his arrival, he had another unwelcome piece of news, which was that the ship, on board of which were a great part of his effects, embarked by a friend of his at Cork for England, was lost near Minehead, and therein, amongst other things, perished his choice collection of books (c). What small matters could be saved were sent to Chester, from whence, though they had fallen into bad hands, he safely received them, by the kind interposition and great diligence used by his friends. After such a series of misfortunes as served only to endear to him his religion and his country, he withdrew to his native soil, and spun out there the remainder of his life in a contemplative and pious, but withal not idle, retirement (d). He resigned his soul to his Creator at Derby, where he had some time resided, upon Whitsunday 1649 (e). In the last seven years of his life he had struggled with many and great difficulties, and for some time, probably at the beginning of that period, he derived his subsistence from the charitable contributions of others. At the time of his decease however, he was either in possession of some fortune, or had a reasonable expectation that it might be recovered, since he directed by his Will, that his estate, such as it was, should be divided between his family and the poor, for as he lived so he died, a good man and a good Christian (f). As for his works, and more especially as to the notion that has prevailed with some people, of his being the concealed author of that excellent treatise *The Whole Duty of Man*, we shall give the reader all the lights we are able in the notes (g) [D]. Some years after his deceased, a monument

(y) Vit. Gulielmi Chappel. Fuller's Worthies in Nottinghamshire, p. 317.

(z) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(a) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 567.

(b) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(c) Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 567.

(d) See the concluding verses of his life cited in note [D].

(e) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(f) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 568. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Loyal Sufferers, p. 607. Fuller's Worthies in Nottinghamshire, p. 317.

(g) See Mr Beaupre Bell's Letter cited in note [D].

[D] *We are able in the notes.*] There is no reason to wonder, that a person of Bishop Chappel's pious and primitive disposition, should, however well qualified in respect to parts and learning, decline the publication of his works in his life-time, more especially when we consider the misfortunes he had run through, and the ill usage he had met with from different parts. Accordingly we find, that in his whole life he published but one book, and that in Latin, about a year before his death; and perhaps he was induced to this, from his having formerly communicated it to his intimate friends, or possibly to his pupils, so that it would have been impossible for him to have concealed his being the author of it, had he been ever so desirous of doing it. The title of this work was,

I. *Methodus Concionandi*; London, 1648. 8°. that is, *The method of preaching*. Which for it's usefulness was also translated into English. Our author, it seems, was not at all of Alstedius's opinion, who judged, that the concealing the method used in preaching best secured the hearer's attention. Bishop Chappel founded his theory on his practice, and being convinced by experience, that the way he used had the greatest effect upon a general audience, he, for that reason, recommended it to others. It was his manner to raise doctrinal propositions from the words of his text, which he powerfully confirmed and enforced. And when a point of controversy started, he did not endeavour to shew his eloquence on both sides of the question, but his abilities in establishing the truth, beyond all opposition or doubt——A certain author speaks of this prelate and his book in the following terms (9). 'Bishop Chappel was a man of a very strict method, being an incomparable logician, and of a very strict life, being an excellent man; famous for his many and eminent pupils, more for the eminent preachers made so by his admirable method, for the theory and praxis upon 2 Tim. iii. 16. for the practice of preaching. So good a disputant, as to be able to maintain any thing, but so honest a man that he was willing to maintain only, as he would call them, sober truths. Harrassed between the rebellions in Ireland and England, where it was imputed to Bishop Laud as a crime, that he preferred Bishop Chappel; and to him, that he was preferred by him, being thought a Puritan before his preferment, and a Papist afterwards, though he was the same godly and orthodox man always.'

(9) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

II. *The use of Holy Scripture*. Lond. 1653. 8°. printed after his decease.

III. *The true method of Preaching*. Lond. 1656. This is no other than the English translation of his first mentioned work.

There are some variations in the two copies that have been published, of the manuscript he left behind him of his own life in Latin. The reverend Mr Peck adds, by way of note, upon his edition, the following extract of a Letter from Mr Beaupre Bell (10). ''Tis certain *The whole Duty of Man* was written by one who suffered by the troubles in Ireland, and some lines in this piece, give great grounds to conjecture that Bishop Chappel was the author, 3 March 1734.' It would have been more satisfactory if this gentleman had been pleased to point out the passages in the book he mentions, and those in the life of Bishop Chappel, which induced him to be of that opinion; but, as he has not, it may be the more excusable to add a very few remarks upon this subject.

(10) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. lxi. p. 7.

At the close of Mr Peck's edition of Bishop Chappel's Latin life there are two lines, which are wanting in the edition published by Mr Hearne, and which are a direct proof, that this pious Prelate passed the last seven years of his life in revising his writings, the lines are these (11).

(11) Ibid. p. 8.

Reviso, quæ ante scripseram. Et septennium
Attexo, quod tunc fluxerat, prioribus.

The *Whole Duty of Man* was published in 1657, or rather, I think, in 1658, but it appears plainly from Dr Hammond's letter to Mr Garthwaite the bookseller prefixed to it, that it had been ready for the press some time before, and from various passages in the book, as well as from the prayer at the end of it, it is very plain that it was written before the death of King Charles the First. So that in this respect it might very well be written by Bishop Chappel. There is another circumstance, much more favourable than this, to the opinion of his being the author of it, and that is the method of the book, which is perfectly agreeable to our Prelate's manner of writing. I may also add the fervency of the ejaculations, more especially in the prayers for *the Church*, and for *the peace of the Church*, which are very suitable to the strong and lively strokes in his little work upon his own life. That if he had been the author of that, and other works, he might have desired to conceal it, very clearly appears from the inscription on his monument, drawn up by Archbishop Sterne (12).

(12) See that inscription in note [E].

ment was erected to his memory in the parish church of Bilstorp in Nottinghamshire, where he was buried by the pious care of Dr Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York; and because there is something very singular, and very well deserving the reader's notice in the inscription upon that monument, we judged it necessary to insert it at the bottom of the page (b) [E]. It is hoped that the pains taken here to do justice to so learned, so pious, and so worthy a Prelate, whose virtues and whose sufferings were alike extraordinary, will give peculiar satisfaction to the publick; for to write the lives of men highly eminent, and whose great and good actions have been justly celebrated, is a task rather pleasant than hard; but to collect the scattered remembrances of such as wished to live concealed, and were content to be great and good in secret, is a labour equally difficult and laudable; as it can have no other intention than that of doing them justice, and contributing to the information of the world, in matters that might otherwise be for ever overspread with oblivion, into which it has been observed that the weightiest things most easily sink, while the lightest, for that very reason, swim upon the surface, and escape the deluge.

(b) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. I. l. xi. p. 8.

On the other hand, as a work of his was actually published with his name after his death, and his method of preaching translated and sent abroad in English the very year before the Whole Duty of Man was published, it is not easy to see the reason, why, if he had written the Whole Duty of Man, it should have been suppressed in the title page, because it would have added credit to the work, and done him no hurt. Some people have attributed *the Whole Duty of Man* to Mr Abraham Woodhead (13), and others to Mr Obadiah Walker (14), both of whom became Papists; but most apparent it is, that book was written by a true and sincere member of the Church of England, and one who held that to be the Catholick Church. It has been very positively said, that Lady Packington (15) was the author, and that the manuscript of it in her own hand-writing, is in the possession of the family, which, one may presume, is the authority relied on to justify the placing this as an indubitable fact in a monumental inscription to her memory. It is indeed very remarkable, that Dr Hammond, in his letter to Mr Garthwaite, has not a single pronoun that determines the word author either to the masculine or feminine gender; but then, it seems, that either he did not, or would not, seem to know, who was the author, though, if it was the Lady Packington, he could hardly be ignorant of it, in as much as he lived long, and at last died at her house.

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 617.

(14) Ibid. col. 936.

(15) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 398, 402.

[E] *At the bottom of the page.*] It is no small honour to the memory of this good man, that so excellent a Prelate as Bishop Sterne, showed so great affection for his remains; and it gives us also an opportunity of seeing his character drawn at large by the pen, or at least by the direction, of so great a person, and so true a judge of mankind. After mentioning those particulars of his life, which have been more fully insisted upon in this article, he proceeds thus, 'The excellent 'graces which (if any other did) he received in a 'plentiful measure from God, he administered, with a 'singular fidelity and success, to his glory, and to the 'publick emolument of the Church. He was a strenuous assertor of justice, wisdom, and divine grace. 'By his love to God, and charity to men, as well 'friends as enemies, according to the law and example 'of Christ, he became to us both an example and law; 'he gave up his temporal goods, partly for Christ, 'partly to Christ, as to be hid from the world was always his greatest desire, so he never was able to compass it, nor can he now. In his sixty-seventh year 'he calmly surrendered his soul to his Saviour on 'Whitsunday 1649, and is here deposited, near his 'venerable mother, expecting our Lord Christ, whom 'he enjoys. He had a younger brother (while he 'lived) named John Chappel, who was also a very 'eminent divine, and born for the pulpit. But he 'went to Heaven before him, and his remains are buried in the church of Mansfield Woodhouse.' *Charismata, quæ (si quis alius) plurima atque eximia à Domino acceperat, singulari tum fide tum felicitate, ad ejus gloriam publicumque ecclesiæ commodum administravit. Sapientiæ, justitiæ, gratiæ divinæ, strenuus assertor. Charitate in Deum ac hominem, amicos atque inimicos, ad Christi legem, & exemplum factus nobis exemplum & lex. Bona temporalia, partim pro Christo, partim Christo reliquit, &c.* E

CHARLETON (WALTER) a very learned Physician and copious writer, from the midle of the last, to the beginning of the present century, was descended from a very antient and worthy family of that name in the West of England, and the son of the Reverend Walter Charleton, M. A. some time Vicar of Ilminster, and afterwards Rector of Shepton Mallet in the county of Somerset (a). He was born at Shepton Mallet in the parsonage house of his father, February 2, 1619 (b), and received the first rudiments of learning, not in a country grammar-school, but by the care and industry of his parent, who was a man of extensive capacity, though but indifferently furnished with the goods of fortune. He made it his business however to qualify his son Walter for the university, and when he found him fit for it, which was about the age of sixteen, he sent him to Oxford, where he was entered of Magdalen-hall (c) in Lent term 1635. It was no small happiness for him, that he became the pupil of the famous Dr John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, under whom he made a progress in Logick and Philosophy very far superior to any thing that could be expected from one of his years (d). His parts were very brisk and lively, but he was rather more conspicuous on the score of his application, and of his extensive capacity, which enabled him to form very just notions of the connection that subsists between the Sciences, and encouraged him to aim at making himself an universal scholar (e). As his circumstances would not allow him to pursue Science at large, but on the contrary obliged him to think of some particular profession, which might be useful to him in his subsistence, as well as contribute to his reputation in passing through life; he addicted himself very early to Physick (f), and in a short time made as great a progress therein as he had done in his former studies. The breaking out of the Civil War, as it brought the Royal Presence to Oxford, was, in that respect, favourable to Mr Charleton, who had in himself so much real merit, and knew so well how to display it, that by the favour of the King he had the degree of Doctor of Physick conferred upon him in February 1642 (g), and was soon after made one of the Physicians in Ordinary to his

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(b) MS. notes relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(c) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(d) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(e) MS. notes relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(f) Taken from his own writings, and particularly his Dedication of *The Darkness of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature*, to Sir Francis Prujean.

(g) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

his Majesty; at which time he was looked upon as a very extraordinary genius, and, as such, became very early the object of that envy and resentment of which he could never get the better as long as he lived (*b*) [*A*]. Upon the declension of the royal cause he came up to London, was admitted of the College of Physicians, came into considerable practice, and lived in much esteem with the ablest and most learned men of the profession, such as the celebrated Sir Francis Prujean, the learned and penetrating Sir George Ent, the glory of that college and the honour of this nation, Dr William Harvey, and others, by whom he was much assisted, and towards whom he behaved with the utmost gratitude and respect (*i*). In the space of ten years before the Restoration, he wrote and published several very ingenious and learned treatises, as well on physical as other subjects, by which he gained great reputation, and very deservedly, considering the times in which they were written, and that many of those discoveries were then in their infancy, which have been since prosecuted with the most happy effect. By these books his name became known abroad as well as at home, and though they are now less regarded than perhaps they deserve, yet they were then received with almost universal approbation (*k*) [*B*]. He became,

(*b*) MS. notes of the Life of Dr Charleton.

(*i*) This is collected from his Dedications to those excellent persons.

(*k*) Morhoff's Polyhist. Tom. I. 5, 5.

[*A*] *As long as he lived.*] If we consider the state of learning at this time, in the University of Oxford, and what a number of men of more than ordinary capacities there were in every faculty, one must be sufficiently convinced that the gentleman, who is the subject of the present article, must have distinguished himself in a very surprizing manner to obtain the honour of a Doctor's degree in Physick at the age of twenty-two (1), as is very justly observed in his commendation by Anthony Wood, who affirms, that he received this honour, as well by the favour of the King, as from the grace of the University of Oxford; adding, that he was beyond all doubt a very learned man, and one, who made a shining figure in his profession. *Vir proculdubio doctus, & in sua facultate clarus* (2). He thought fit afterwards to alter this character a little, and to represent poor Dr Charleton as a man exceedingly learned in his own opinion (3). But, as is observed in the text, this spirit of envy began to shew itself early against Dr Charleton, so that after the decease of his royal Master he would have found his admission into the College of Physicians, a thing of very great difficulty, if he had not been supported by some of the principal members of that learned body, more especially Dr Prujean, who was then President, and who, with as great a reputation as most, raised a greater estate than any physician of his own time. To this worthy man he not only stood indebted for this favour, but for many others, which we learn from himself, such as defending his character, when attacked by such as disliked his civil and religious principles, for the Doctor professed himself a Royalist, and a Churchman, when there was neither King nor Church, which, no doubt, increased the number, and at the same time added to the boldness of such as envied, and would willingly have run down his abilities. The same kind person revised, corrected, and improved, his writings, and this Dr Charleton openly as well as gratefully acknowledges, which, by the way, is no great sign of his entertaining so high an opinion of his own learning. Besides all this, he likewise owed his life to Dr Prujean, who recovered him from an epidemic Dysentery, by which he was brought to death's door in the year 1650, which he acknowledged in this epigram (4).

(1) MS. Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(2) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(4) In the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to The Darkness of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature.

Auxiliis Prujan, anima hæc moribunda revixit;
Ut vigil infusâ Pallade, flamma solet.

Snatched from the Grave *by* Prujan's *help I* live,
As wasting lamps *by* oil *supply'd* revive.

We may from hence collect the reasons why this gentleman stood exposed to so many assaults, and yet while his health, vigour, and friends lasted, got the better of them all. He came into the world early, and with vast expectations, this naturally excited envy. He was for many years of a declining party, which opened the mouths of the malicious. He was very fond of Chemistry, and a friend to the new discoveries in Physick, which of course exposed him to the resentment of those who laboured to decry and explode both. It must however be allowed, that he had his failings, and indeed, who has them not? He was a bold and lively writer, and supported his sentiments with a flow of spirit, and of language that had a great air of confidence; and in his English writings especially, his stile was a little crabbed, too much loaded with hard words, and now and then interspersed with new terms of his own devising. From all this we find him very kindly defended by Dr Clement Barksdale, in a copy of verses prefixed to one of Dr Charleton's books, from which, tho' none of the best, I will venture to quote a few lines (5).

(5) These are also prefixed to the book last cited.

'Tis fit that censure wait on all that's done;
' *Wits are made great by emulation.*
Some places are obscure. *The book's not good,*
By every vulgar head is understood.
What you don't understand, read o'er again;
Compare, confer, and meditate. 'Tis plain.
Th' English is Latin. *Know, that the English tongue*
Hath from each language consummation:
And he that will our learnedst writers scan,
Must be both Latinist and Grecian.
The stile's too high. *Fear not the critick's rod;*
' *High phrase is born of your high thoughts of God.*
Forward, dear brother: " Gifts *for use are lent:*
' *To do most good brings in the most content.*
Your physick has done miracles: But sure,
Th' atheist convert *is thy* noblest cure.

[*B*] *With almost universal approbation.*] In this note we shall give an account of the works published by our author before the Restoration, some of which it is very possible were written at the request of Booksellers, more especially the translations; and the rest by the perswasion of his friends for particular purposes, of several of which we shall be able to give some account.

I. *A* Ternary *of* Paradoxes, (1.) *Of the* magnetic cure *of* wounds. (2.) Nativity *of* Tartar *in* wine. *And,* (3.) *The* image *of* God *in* man. Lond. 1650. 4°. Written in Latin by John Baptist Van Helmont.

II. The *Errors* of *Physicians* concerning *Defluxions*, called *Deliramenta Catarrhi*. Lond. 1650. 4°. Written by Van Helmont, and printed with a ternary of paradoxes.

III. *Spiritus* Gorgonicus *vi sua saxipara exutus, sive de causis signis & sanatione lithiaseos diatriba.* Ludg. Bat. 1650. in 8°. that is, ' The Gorgonic spirit deprived of it's stone-producing power, or a discourse of the causes, symptoms, and cure of the stone.' This book is generally known by the shorter title of *Diatriba de Lithiasi*; or, ' a Discourse upon the Stone.' There are in this book of our author's, and indeed in almost every piece he wrote, many singular, curious, and judicious observations, and as such they have been transcribed, though sometimes without the least mention of this gentleman's name, by other writers of considerable figure, both at home and abroad, which was a fault never committed by Dr Charleton, who was very careful in bestowing on every man his due praises, and by constantly owning to whom he was obliged, drew upon himself the unkind and unjust censure, of compiling his books from those of other men; but it would have saved abundance of controversy amongst the members of the republick of letters, if great authors had never suffered themselves to be misled by this false shame, of being thought compilers, which Dr Charleton very justly despised.

IV. The

as a certain writer tells us, Physician in Ordinary to King Charles II, while in exile (*l*), and, as it was very reasonable, retained that honour after the King's return; and upon the founding of the Royal Society, became one of the first Members (*m*) of that most learned and illustrious body. Amongst others his kind patrons and intimate friends, was that worthy Royalist, and generous Nobleman, William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, whose Life Dr Charleton translated into Latin in a very clear and elegant style (*n*). He was also well acquainted with, and a sincere friend to, the famous Philosopher of Malmsbury Thomas Hobbes (*o*), which, together with his avowed respect for the Epicurean Philosophy, drew some suspicions upon him in regard to his religion, notwithstanding the pains he had taken to distinguish between the religious and philosophical opinions of that famous Greek, in his own writings against infidelity. Yet how much soever he might suffer by these calumnies in the opinions of some, this made no impression upon his spirit, but he continued with the same vigour and diligence to prosecute his studies, and to oblige the Republick of Letters with new productions, which were generally well received, and some of them have been often re-printed (*p*) [C]. He had the misfortune to draw upon himself a new load of envy, by venturing to differ in opinion from the celebrated Inigo Jones, who, for the satisfaction of his Royal Master, had written a discourse upon Stonehenge, in which he attributed that celebrated pile to the Romans, and asserted it to be no other, than a temple dedicated by them to the god *CŒLUS* or *CŒLUM* (*q*), which opinion of his Dr Charleton could not confide in, but thought rather that this antiquity belonged to later and

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(*m*) See the List of Members at the end of Bishop Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society.

(*n*) Published at London, in fol. 1668.

(*o*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 186.

(*p*) See this fully justified in note [C].

(*q*) The most noble Antiquity of Britain vulgarly called Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, restored, Lond. 1655, fol.

IV. *The Darkness of* Atheism *dispelled by the* Light *of* Nature. *A Physico-Theological Treatise, written by* Walter Charleton, *Doctor in Physick, and Physician to the late King.* Lond. 1652. 4°. To this work there is prefixed a Dedication in Latin to Dr Francis Prujean, dated the 1st of August 1651, though in the printed copies it is, by mistake, 1641. There is as much learning, and reading, in this book, as, perhaps, in any of it's size in our language; and those parts of it that seem to fall most within the compass of a Physician's knowledge, are treated with the utmost skill and exactness, more especially that famous question, whether the term of man's life be mutable or fixed. Upon this occasion he tells us a very remarkable story of a godly Physician in the Parliament's army, who being a rigid Fatalist, gave out his prescriptions by lot, and so left his patients to take their chance, though he took his fees (6), which is a proof, that absurd opinions in Divinity may have dreadful effects on mens practice.

(6) Darkness of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature, p. 251.

V. *The Ephesian and Cimmerian Matrons, two remarkable Examples of the Power of Love and Wit.* Lond. 1653. and again in 1658. 8°.

VI. Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charltoniana. *Or a Fabrick of natural Science erected upon the most antient hypothesis of Atoms.* Lond. 1654. fol.

VII. *Epicurus his Morals.* Lond. 1655. 4°. This work of his is divided into thirty-one chapters, and in these he fully treats all the principles of the Epicurean Philosophy, digested under their proper heads, tending to prove, that, considering the state of the heathen world, the morals of Epicurus was as good as any, as in a former work he had shewn, that his philosophick opinions were the best of any, or at least capable of being explained in such a manner, as that they might become so in the hands of a modern philosopher (7). To this book there is prefixed a succinct apology for Epicurus, which I make no scruple of asserting to be the most sensible, as well as the most learned and curious, that is any where extant, and very far exceeding some that have been writ in other languages, and while this is forgot, are in the present possession of the world's applause.

(7) It may not be amiss to observe, that this work was translated into several modern languages.

VIII. *The Immortality of the human Soul demonstrated by reasons natural.* Lond. 1657. 4°.

IX. 'Oeconomia Animalis novis in Medicina hypo-'thesibus superstructa & mechanicè explicata. Autore 'Gualtero Charleton, M. D. & Caroli Magnæ Britan-'niæ Regis olim Medico.' Lond. 1659. 12mo. Id. Amstelodami, 1659. in 12mo. Id. Lugd. Bat. 1678. in 12mo. Id. Hagæ Comit. 1681. in 12mo. that is, *The* Animal Oeconomy *according to the new Discoveries in Physick, as also mechanically explained.* It appears clearly by an epistle addressed to Dr Ent, and prefixed to this book, that it was written at least six if not seven years before it was published, for that epistle is dated June 12th, 1653, and the author speaks as if he had wrote the book near a year before. The design of that epistle is to acquaint the reader, that this learned person, who was justly esteemed one of the ablest Physician of his age, had perused and approved it. It is dedicated to Thomas Viscount Falconbridge, the author's great patron, and seems to have been written at his request. The Dedication is dated March 25th, 1659, that is, according to the English computation, and supposing that to be the first day of the year. The title of this book sufficiently shews the design of it, and whoever considers the distribution of the chapters will very easily conceive, that it was from it, a modern writer of the first rank amongst our neighbours, took his plan of a work of the same kind, and published very nearly under the same title. To the last edition of our author's work in Holland is joined Dr William Cole's Dissertation upon Animal Secretion.

X. *The natural History of Nutrition, Life, and voluntary Motion; containing all the new Discoveries of Anatomists,* &c. Lond. 1658. 4to.

XI. Exercitationes Physico-Anatomicæ de Oeconomia Animali. Lond. 1659. 8°. That is, *Physico-Anatomical Dissertations upon the Animal Oeconomy.* Printed afterwards several times beyond the seas.

[C] *Have been often reprinted.*] About the time of the Restoration, in order to dispose the people, not only to a quiet submission, and acquiescence under the Royal Authority, but also to excite a spirit of loyalty, and sincere affection for that monarch (8), he undertook, from the knowledge he had of him in his youth, and the near access he had at this time to his person, to send abroad a picture of him, drawn by his pen, which he accordingly did under the following title.

(8) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 674.

XII. *A Character of his most sacred Majesty* Charles the Second, *King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. *Written by* Dr Charleton, *Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty.* Lond. 1660. in one sheet in quarto. printed again in 1662.

XIII. 'Exercitationes Pathologicæ, in quibus morbo-'rum pene omnium natura, generatio, & causæ, ex no-'vis Anatomicorum inventis sedulo inquiruntur.' Lond. 1660, printed there again in 1661. 4to. that is, *Pathological Dissertations, in which the nature, generation, and causes of almost all diseases are most diligently set forth.* This book has been also very deservedly commended, and admired, as an excellent introduction to the study of Physick. The reader will easily discern the relation that our author's works have to each other; and how, after having first explained the philosophy of atoms, in a sober and solid manner, so as to render it fit to give his reader a clear notion of the mechanical superstructures he meant to raise upon it, he proceeded next to the animal oeconomy, and having considered the human body as a curious, and wonderful machine, suited to various purposes, by a vast variety of contrivances, which, by the help of the new discoveries, he explained in the best manner possible at that time, goes on from thence to the view of this curious machine, when disturbed, and out of order, shows how, and whence, those disorders arise, the signs with which they are attended, by which they may be known, and when known, by what methods they may be removed. After rendering these services to Physick he stopped a little, and turned his thoughts, as the reader will see in the next note, to other subjects, which he handled with equal learning and ingenuity.

[*D*] *Lessen*

and more barbarous times. Upon this it is said that he transmitted Jones's book, which was not published till after it's author's death, to Olaus Wormius, or caused it to be transmitted to that learned Danish Antiquary, who thereupon wrote him several letters tending to fortify him in his own sentiment, by proving that this work ought rather to be attributed to his countrymen the Danes (r). With the assistance of these materials Dr Charleton undertook to set this matter in a clear light, and in a treatise wrote expresly upon that subject, offered many strong arguments to shew, that this could not be a Roman temple, and several plausible reasons why it ought rather to be considered as a Danish monument (s). This book of his, though in itself very learned, and enriched with a great variety of curious observations, was but indifferently received by the many, and though approved was but coldly defended by the few, which however does not at all lessen it's merit with posterity [D]. To this book there was an angry answer written by Mr Jones's (t) son-in-law, who

(r) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(s) See this farther explained in the note [D].

(t) A Vindication of Stonehenge restored, London, 1665, fol.

[D] *Lessen it's merit with posterity.*] As the whole of this work of our author is very curious and learned, and as it will afford us an opportunity of giving a succinct account of the several opinions that have been maintained, and the principal treatises that have been wrote, in relation to Stone-Henge, the most famous antiquity in our country, it will be first of all requisite to give the title of our author's work at large, which runs thus:

XIV. Chorea Gigantum: *Or, The most famous Antiquity of* Great Britain, Stone-Henge, *standing on* Salisbury Plain, *restored to the* Danes. *By* Walter Charleton, M. D. *and Physician in ordinary to his Majesty.* Lond. 1663. 4to.

This book was dedicated to his Royal Master, and in the Dedication there is contained a very memorable piece of History. 'I have had the honour to hear, from that oracle of truth and wisdom, your Majesty's own mouth, you were pleased to visit that monument, and for many hours together entertain yourself, with the delightful view thereof, when, after the defeat of your loyal army at Worcester, Almighty God, in infinite mercy to your three kingdoms, miraculously delivered you out of the bloody jaws of those monsters of sin and cruelty.' In respect to the different opinions that have been advanced as to this famous monument, we are first to consider the *matter* of which it is composed, and next the *manner*, in which it was erected. As to the former it is agreed, that there are three rows of great stones, some of which are twenty-eight feet high, and seven broad, that stand almost in the form of a crown; and over some of them other stones are laid, with tenons and mortises. But then it is enquired, whether these stones be natural or factitious? Dr Childrey holds the first (9), as also, that they actually grew in this place; and he thinks the argument brought to prove the contrary, from the want of stones, either little or big, in that neighbourhood, makes rather for his opinion, because nature could not provide herself of lapidifick matter otherwise, than by robbing the adjacent parts to compose these huge stones. He thinks it also no small confirmation of this notion, that upon the Downs about Marlborough, not above twenty miles from Stone-Henge, there are found abundance of such great stones, commonly called by the country people the Grey Weathers; and at Aubery, in an orchard, there are half a dozen, or half a score stones little inferior in size to those of Stone-Henge, some standing upright, and some lying flat upon the ground, and the country thereabouts affording scarce a stone beside. On the other hand, Mr Camden (10), and many other sensible people, have thought them artificial, composed of stone-dust, or sand, held together by some petrifying juice. They were led to this opinion by observing, that in this country there are no such stones, indeed hardly any stones; and next, that the size of these stones render it very improbable that they were brought thither by land-carriage; to which they add, that Pliny (11), and other authors, very positively mention such factitious stones as an invention common in their days, which, to them, puts the thing out of doubt. But, however, later experience has fully decided this question in favour of the former notion, for that these very stones are natural, and no composition, is a point now out of dispute. The sentiments of learned men in relation to the work itself, are still very much divided; but to bring them within the compass of a note, we may range them under seven heads. (I.) A certain author would perswade us, that Stone-Henge ought to be ascribed to the Phoenicians (12). But, however, that has not much prevailed; and till we have better arguments than any he has produced, very few will think it part of true history, that the Phoenicians performed any great exploits in this island. (II.) The celebrated Inigo Jones (13) would have this a Roman work, and, as we have said in the text, a temple to the god *Cœlum*; but therein his imagination and learning got the better of his judgment, and even of his senses, for he describes Stone-Henge not as it is but as it should be, to make it consistent with what he has delivered; he makes a regular hexagon of what is rather an octagon, or, to speak with still greater propriety, a polygon, altogether irregular. But for all this, his book is highly valuable, and the number of fine things there are in it, very fully atone for any mistakes that it may contain. (III.) Our author, in his treatise upon this subject, will have it to be a Danish monument (14), and he grounds his opinion chiefly on the mistake, which he supposes to have been made in relation to it's ancient name, for he asserts, that instead of the *Giants Dance*, which is the name it bears in our ancient writers, it ought to have been stiled, the *Assembly of the Chiefs*, or *Nobles*; and in support of this, he says, a great deal that is very well worth reading, nor the less so, for the informations he received from the learned Olaus Wormius. Yet after all, he was as much deceived in his opinions, as the writer whom he opposed, for, beyond a question, the Danes could not be the founders of this monument, since we find it mentioned by Nennius (15), a writer who flourished two hundred years before the Danes came into England. (IV.) It has been asserted in general terms, that this was a temple of the Druids, erected long before the Romans came into Britain; and in defence of this Mr John Aubrey, a very knowing Antiquary, and one particularly well acquainted with all the ancient monuments in Wiltshire, has written an express treatise (16), which has had it's weight with the most studious persons in this kind of learning, who have inclined to think him, if not exactly right, yet much nearer the truth than any of the rest. (V.) Another author, whose name at present is, and in all probability will continue, a secret, has advanced a notion more singular and extraordinary than any of these (17). He says, that this was a temple erected to the honour of Anaraith, the goddess of victory; and that in this place the illustrious Steynings, a famous giant, having defeated Diviaticus and his Belgæ, sacrificed the captives and spoils to the idol beforementioned, upon her altar here. It is not, however, very probable, notwithstanding the pains this gentleman has taken, that this story of his will ever grow into any great credit. (VI.) The most ingenious Edward Bolton, Esq; who was a very learned Antiquary, as well as an excellent Historian, gives us a hint that it was a monument raised to the memory of Queen Boadicea (18), his great heroine, by her subjects the Britons. But though the conjecture is certainly not amiss, yet, perhaps, the proof might be found very difficult. (VII.) The last and most common notion is, that it was the burial place of Arthur Pendragon, Constantine, Ambrosius, and other British Princes; or, that it was a monument erected by Ambrosius in memory of a multitude of Britons here basely slain by the Saxons (19); and in support of this it is alledged, that in very ancient manuscripts, and those of the best authority, this famous monument is called Stan-Hengist, for which different reasons are assigned. We will conclude this long, tho' we hope not tedious, note, with a short quotation from a copy of commendatory verses prefixed to this work of our author by John Dryden, Esq; (20), not barely on

(9) Britannia Baconica, p. 48, 49.

(10) Camden's Britan. col. 95, 96, 97.

(11) Hist. Naturalis, lib. xxxvii.

(12) Sammes's Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, p. 335.

(13) In his posthumous Treatise upon that subject, mentioned in the text.

(14) Chorea Gigantum, &c.

(15) Hist. Britonum, cap. xlii.

(16) Monumenta Britannica, MS.

(17) Dissertations upon Stonehenge, MS. formerly belonging to the Rev. Mr Paschal Rector of Chedsey near Bridgwater, and of which there are various copies in the hands of curious persons.

(18) In his Nero Cæsar, at the conclusion.

(19) Agreeable to what is delivered by Geoffry of Monmouth in his British History, &c.

(20) Original Poems and Translations by John Dryden, Esq; Vol. II. p. 207.

who was the editor also of that work which had occasioned this dispute. In short, there was a great clamour raised against it, and many liberties were taken with Dr Charleton's character upon account of this performance, and this, notwithstanding Sir William Dugdale, and some other of the most eminent Antiquaries in the kingdom, owned themselves to be of our author's opinion (*u*). However, all the noise and envy of his enemies could not hinder him from rising to the highest honours of his profession, or from being celebrated, even in his life-time, as one of it's greatest ornaments, to which his Anatomical Prelections in the College Theatre, in the spring of the year 1683 (*w*), did not a little contribute, as well as his full and satisfactory Defence of the immortal Hervey's claim to the discovery of the circulation of the blood, against the pretence that was set up in favour of Father Paul (*x*), which our author clearly confuted. This certainly ought to be remembered in honour to his memory, not only as it is a very strong proof of his great capacity and extensive learning, and as it was in some measure a vindication of the honour of this nation, but also as a generous testimony of his esteem and gratitude to his deceased friend, qualities not over common in modern times, and for which therefore it would be barbarous to deny him that applause he so justly merits. It was from these motives, that in 1689 (*y*), he was chosen President of the College of Physicians, in which office he continued to the year 1691. A little after this his circumstances becoming narrow, he found himself under the necessity of seeking a retreat in the Island of Jersey, where he resided at the time that Anthony Wood took some very extraordinary liberties with his character, representing it in a light very different from that, in which, during the Doctor's prosperity, he had thought fit to place it (*z*). It is not easy to say what the causes were of our learned Physician's misfortunes, except it may be the death of his friends and patrons, and those changes to which all things in this world are subject, together with the fashion of following such Physicians as are in vogue, though not more learned or more successful than their predecessors. That it was not any decay of parts, or loss of understanding, is very apparent from hence, that the very last of his books was, in point of various learning, equal to any that he had formerly published, more exact in it's method, more correct in it's style, and in every circumstance more highly finished than any of his former (*a*). Of this, as well as of his other performances, some account will be given in a note [*E*]. We have not

(*u*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(*w*) Goodall's Historical Accounts of the College's proceedings against Empiricks in the Epistle Dedicatory to Dr Whistler.

(*x*) See the article HERVEY (WILLIAM).

(*y*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(*z*) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 377.

(*a*) See this point explained in note [*E*].

on account of the beauty of the verses, and the harmony of his numbers, or their containing the praise of our author and his writings, but for the sake of the history contained in them, and his fine description of the past, and at that time present state of learning in England.

Among th' asserters of free reason's claim,
Our nation's not the least in worth or fame.
The world to *Bacon* does not only owe
It's *present* knowledge, but it's future too.
Gilbert shall live, 'till loadstones cease to draw,
Or *British* fleets the boundless ocean awe.
And noble *Boyle*, not less in nature seen,
Than his great *brother* read in *states* and *men*.
The *circling* streams once thought but pools of blood
(Whether life's fuel, or the body's food)
From dark oblivion *Harvey*'s name shall save;
While *Ent* keeps all the honour that he gave.
Nor are *you*, learned friend, the least renown'd;
Whose *fame*, not circumscrib'd with *English* ground,
Flies like the nimble journies of the light;
And is, like that, unspent too in it's flight.
Whatever *truths* have been, by *art*, or *chance*,
Redeem'd from *error*, or from *ignorance*,
Thin in their *authors* (like rich veins of ore)
Your works unite and still discover more.
Such is the healing virtue of your pen,
To perfect cures on *books*, as well as *men*.
Nor is this work the least: You well may *give*
To *men* new vigour, who make *stones* to live.
Through you, the *Danes*, (their short dominion lost)
A longer conquest than the *Saxons* boast.
STONE HENGE, once thought a *Temple*, you have found
A *Throne* where Kings, our earthly gods, were crown'd;
Where by their wond'ring subjects they were seen,
Joy'd with their stature, and their princely mien.
Our *Sovereign* here above the rest might stand
And here be chose again to rule the land.
These ruins shelter'd once *his* sacred head,
When *He* from *Wor'ster*'s fatal battle fled;
Watch'd by the genius of this Royal place,
And mighty visions of the *Danish* race.
His *refuge*, then, was for a Temple shown:
But, He restor'd, 'tis now become a *Throne*.

[*E*] *Some account will be given in a note.*] We are here, according to the promise made in the text, to speak of the remainder of our learned author's works, and this we shall do as clearly and as concisely as it is possible.

XV. Disquisitiones duæ Anatomico-Physicæ; altera Anatome pueri de cœlo tacti, altera de proprietatibus cerebri humani. Londini 1664. 8°. That is, *Two Anatomico-Physical Dissertations; the first, concerning a boy killed by lightning; the second, of the properties of the human brain.* In the former of these, he discourses largely of the nature and effects of thunder and lightning; explodes the vulgar error, concerning persons being killed with thunder-bolts; and inserts occasionally many other curious observations and reflections, as well in regard to Natural Philosophy, as Anatomy and Physick. In the latter also, he gives a great many singular, and in those days new discoveries, and treats the subject with much learning and perspicuity (21).

XVI. Gulielmi Ducis Novicastrensis vita. Londini 1668, in fol. That is, *The Life of William Duke of Newcastle.* This, as has been observed in the text, is no other than a translation of the life of that eminent Statesman, and great Captain, written originally by his consort, Margaret Duchess of Newcastle; and the reader may find a copious account of it in another article of this work (22).

XVII. Onomasticon Zoicon plerorumque Animalium differentias & nomina propria pluribus linguis exponens. Cui accedunt mantissa Anatomices, & quædam de variis Fossilium generibus. Londini 1668, & 1671, in 4°. Id. Oxonii 1677, in fol. That is, *The names of several Animals in many languages; to which is annexed an Anatomical Appendix, and some observations as to the different kinds of Fossils.* It may not be amiss to observe, that some copies of the last edition are with, and some without cuts; the former are scarce, and bear a greater value than any of the rest of Dr Charleton's works.

XVIII. *Two philosophical Discourses*: the first, *Concerning the different wits of men*; the second, *concerning*

(21) Morhoff. Polyhist. II. 2. 7, 5.

(22) See article CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) Duke of Newcastle.

not been able to discover how long he continued in that kind of voluntary exile, or whether he returned afterwards to London; but it is beyond all doubt, that those writers are much mistaken, who have asserted that he died soon after he retired thither, for, as much as we are in the dark as to other circumstances, we are very clear as to the time of his death, which happened in the latter end of the year 1707, and in the eighty-eighth year of his age (*b*). He was, as the many books he has written very fully shew, a man of very solid and extensive learning, and as he distinguished himself very early by his great abilities, so, for the space of five and thirty years, he continued a very useful and assiduous Member of the Republick of Letters. He was a very sincere lover of the constitution in Church and State, and had so warm an affection for his country, that though he was strongly sollicited to accept a Professor's chair in the university of Padua, yet he absolutely refused it (*c*). He was a person of great candour and generosity, ready upon all occasions to acknowledge and to commend the merit of others, and as in his youth he was honoured with the protection of the most considerable men for learning and quality in this kingdom, more especially those of his own profession, so he continued happy in their esteem and friendship to the last. In his junior years he dedicated much of his time to the study of Philosophy and polite literature, and was as well read in the Greek and Roman authors as any man of his time. He learned very early from his excellent tutor Bishop Wilkins, the art of digesting his knowledge in such a manner as to command it readily and fully when occasion required. It is doubtful whether in Natural or in Moral Philosophy he was the greater man; that he wrote very accurately upon both is however certain; and he who would see the dark and disjointed notions of the Antients concerning the *Anima Mundi* set in a clear light, and thoroughly reconciled, must have recourse to his Works, since it would be hard to meet with it any where else (*d*). In every branch of his own profession he has left testimonies of his diligence and his capacity, and whoever considers the plainness and perspicuity of his language, the pains he has taken to collect and produce the opinions of the old Physicians in order to compare them with the Moderns, the just remarks with which these collections and comparisons are attended, the succinctness with which all this is dispatched, and the great accuracy of that method in which his books are written, will readily agree with me, that he was equal to most of the writers in this Faculty who were his contemporaries, and that if he has been surpassed by any of the Moderns, his example has

(*b*) Hist. of Europe for 1707, p. 517.

(*c*) See Dr Goodall's Dedication to Dr Whistler, before cited.

(*d*) See his Apology for Epicurus prefixed to the *Morals* of that Philosopher.

ing the mystery of Vintners; *or, A Discourse of the various sicknesses of* Wines, *and their respective* Remedies *at this day commonly used*, &c. Lond. 1668, 1675, 1692. 8°. This some have thought a little below the character of our author, and much inferior to his other writings. In all probability it was composed from observations set down in his common-place-books, without any intention of publishing them originally; and it is very likely that he was perswaded to send them abroad, either by some of his friends, or by some bookseller, to whom they might be useful. In this he had the same misfortune with other great writers, who have been too ready to commit to the press those pieces that were only fit for their closets, from a notion, that their bare names may support any thing; whereas the greatest writer runs the hazard of his reputation every time he ventures to submit a new work to the publick view.

XIX. De Scorbuto liber singularis; cui accessit Epiphonema in Medicastros. Londini 1671, in 8°. Id. Lugd. Bat. 1672. in 12mo. That is, *Of the Scurvy a single book; to which is added, an Excursion against Quacks*. The very learned father *Niceron* (23) observes very justly, that there is great variety of curious matter contained in this book. The very same thing may be justly said of most of our author's writings, since we find in them not only the fruits of general reading, and extensive learning, but also the effects of his experimental knowledge, and of his enquiries, and conversations, with other learned persons of the Faculty; so that one has, generally speaking, in a very narrow view, all that could be expected on the subject he handles, and even more, because the circle of his knowledge is commonly wider than that of his reader's, which contributes not a little to the value of his books.

(23) Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Tom. XVIII. p. 115.

XX. *Natural History of the Passions*. Lond. 1674. 8°. This is also a very curious and instructive treatise, suitable to the philosophick spirit that reigned at that time, when it was fashionable for men of parts and learning to employ their time in endeavouring thoroughly to understand human nature; towards which we may, without flattery, affirm, that none afforded greater helps than our author, who has written almost upon every subject that can be held justly necessary to this purpose, and with great industry laboured to give us the history both of the body and of the mind.

XXI. *Enquiries into human Nature, in six Anatomy Prelections, in the new Theatre of the Royal College of Physicians in London*. London, 1680. 4°.

XXII. Oratio anniversaria habita in Theatro inclyti Collegii Medicorum. Lond. 5 Aug. 1680. in commemorationem beneficiorum a Doctore Harvey, aliisque, &c. præstitorum. Lond. 1680. 4°. That is, *An Anniversary* Oration *delivered in the Theatre of the College of Physicians at London*, Aug. 5. 1680. *in commemoration of the benefits received from Dr* Harvey, *and other worthy persons*. There could be nothing more agreeable to our author's disposition than such a performance as this, as well in regard to the love he had for his profession, as the high esteem, and true affection, which he bore to the memory of Dr Harvey, which, upon many occasions, while living, he expressed for his person; and of which we shall have occasion to say something more hereafter.

XXIII. *The Harmony of natural and positive divine Laws*. Lond. 1680. 8°. In this treatise our author endeavours to shew, that the supreme good, or ultimate happiness of man, is not a thing either incertain or chimerical, but that it is settled by the will of God, in the disposition of all things, and of man himself, as a free and rational being; so that what he has been pleased to discover to mankind in an extraordinary way, as a legislator, and what he has left it in their own power to discover by the light of reason, concerning him as their Creator, is so far from being contradictory, or repugnant, that in fact these laws help each other, and afford a joint proof of their respective authorities. This scheme of the book shews, that it was very well suited to those times; but, perhaps, it would be no easy thing to prove, that it is at all less suitable to ours. Several of our author's treatises are now grown out of date, being superseded by other and fresher discoveries; but this is not liable to that fate, as the subject is like to continue the same for ever.

XXIV. *Three Anatomy Lectures; concerning*, 1. *The motion of the* Blood *through the veins and arteries*. 2. *The* organic structure *of the* Heart. 3. *The efficient* cause *of the* Heart's *pulsation*. *Read on the* 19th, 20th, *and* 21st *days of* March, 1682. *in the Anatomic Theatre of his Majesty's Royal College of Physicians in London*. Lond. 1683. 4°. I know none of our author's works that have been more, indeed, I think, hardly any so much, applauded, as these lectures, which shews the gradual improvements

has been in a great measure the occasion of it, many of the best received books in the present age, being, as to method and form, at least, very like his. He was also a very curious and judicious Antiquary, had taken much pains in perusing our antient Historians, and in observing their excellencies as well as their defects, the latter of which seem to have occupied chiefly the thoughts of modern Criticks. But, above all, he was very studious of connecting the Sciences with each other, and thereby rendering them severally more perfect, in which, if he did not absolutely succeed himself, he had at least the satisfaction of opening the way to others, of showing the true road to perfection, and pointing out the means of applying and making those discoveries useful, which have been made in succeeding times. There is also good reason to believe, that though we have few or none of his writings extant that were composed during the last twenty years of his life, yet he was not idle during that space, but committed many things to paper, as materials at least for other works that he designed. This, I say, may be well concluded from the natural industry of this learned person, as well as from some volumes of Collections that are, or at least lately were, in being, and have passed from hand to hand under his name (*e*). The accounts that have been hitherto given of him and of his works in our language, have been very slender and sparing, no ways suitable to his deserts, or to the reputation that he very justly acquired amongst foreigners (*f*), which led us to take so much care in this article, that it may appear we have a true concern for the honour of all our countrymen, who have done credit to this nation, by promoting solid and useful knowledge of every kind.

(*e*) These Collections were formerly in the hands of the Millington family.

(*f*) Morhoff, Polyhistor. Vol. II. I, 2, 5, 5. II, 2, 7, 5. II, 2, 24, 6. II. 2, 47, 3. Stollii, Introduct. ad Hist. Litter. p. 675. Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. I. p. 626. Buddei, Compend. Histor. Philosophicæ, p. 367.

improvements that were made in this sort of useful knowledge, of which Dr Charleton was both a faithful register, and a great promoter. It was in these lectures that he clearly and effectually refuted the pretence, that Dr Harvey had borrowed his doctrine, of the Circulation of the Blood, from Father Paul of Venice (24). It is, indeed, true, that Father Paul had written upon the use of the valves in the veins, which he is thought to have first discovered; and in like manner Servetus (25), Columbus (26), and Andreas Cæsalpinus (27), had delivered various things concerning the motion of the Blood, which was not unknown even to Hippocrates himself; but as a system from which the whole animal oeconomy might be explained, was first known to Dr Harvey, and by him discovered, described, and demonstrated. The learned Boerhaave therefore, in his Institutes, delivers this point clearly, and in a manner which fully shews, that he was convinced, that the rights of our countryman were beyond all controversy supported, and established (28). 'At length, says he, the immortal Harvey, by the discoveries which he demonstrated, overturned the whole theory of the Ancients, and founded Physick upon a new and more certain basis, upon which it at present rests.' It will not be amiss, before we quit this subject, to observe, that it was no small advantage to Dr Harvey's noble discovery, that, on the one hand, he lived long enough to establish the certainty of it, and to triumph over all the numerous efforts that were made from a disingenuous spirit of envy, and contradiction; and that on the other, his intimate friendship with several learned men of his own country, and profession, secured after his decease, the glory due to his memory, from being tarnished by the many malicious attempts to show, that it was no discovery at all; or, that if it was, it did not belong to him, but to others. If these pretences had not been refuted in time, and before they had taken root in the minds of men, it might have been found much more difficult to eradicate them; and, perhaps, also many of the testimonies that were urged by his friends, might, in process of time, have been lost; or, at least, the circumstances that render them most convincing buried in oblivion. But the learning and spirit of the Doctor's friends, more especially Dr Peter Barwick, and our author, rendered every thing of this kind impracticable, for as soon as any hint was given abroad, or even suspicion dropped in any literary dissertation, or in prefaces before ancient authors, or epistolary essays of the moderns, to the prejudice of Dr Harvey's system, his title to it, or the claim of any other, they were ready to take up the dispute, and were such able masters of it, both in regard to the Doctor's manner of finding and publishing his discovery, and of the nature of it, and it's distinctness from what others had written, about the motion of the blood, that nothing could gain ground during their life-times, contrary to the truth; and as they were both very long lived men, they survived that spirit of rancour which so long followed this invention. By which concurrence of happy circumstances we may justly attribute that general sense the learned world now has, of the merit of this great discovery, and of the great benefits thereby derived to Physick by it's illustrious author, which may justly be esteemed a singular credit to the Faculty, and a very high honour to this nation.

(24) Dr Goodall's Dedication to Dr Whistler, before cited.

(25) Christianismi Restitutio, lib. vi.

(26) Reald. Columb. Anatom. lib. vii. p. 325.

(27) Question. Peripatet. p. 113.

(28) Boerhaave's Academical Lectures on the Theory of Physick, including a translation of his Institutes, Vol. I. p. 41.

XXV. *The Life of* Marcellus, *translated from the Greek*. This is to be found in that noble treasury of English learning, the translation of Plutarch's Lives, by various hands (29). In this he has given the world a testimony of his perfect acquaintance with the Greek learning, as well as language, for it is illustrated throughout with concise explanatory notes. The stile of this piece is excellent, and as different from that which our author used in his junior years, as can be imagined. His periods are short, his diction easy, natural, and perspicuous, insomuch that one perceives nothing in it of that stiffness and want of vigour which is generally complained of in translations. In short, he gives the sense of Plutarch with the same freedom as if it was his own, enters into the spirit of his author, and from the perfect knowledge he has of the subject, becomes, as it were, an original writer.

(29) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. II. p. 365.

XXVI. Inquisitio Physica, de Causis *Catameniorum*, & Uteri *Rheumatismo*; in qua probatur, sanguinem in animali *fermentescere* nunquam. Lond. 1685. 8°. That is, *A physical Dissertation on the Causes of certain feminine Disorders, and of the Rheumatism in the Womb; in which it is proved, that there is no such thing as* Fermentation *in the Blood*. This little book, divided into eight chapters, besides the conclusion, is written in a very clear and correct Latin style; in a method perfectly exact, in which the sentiments of the most eminent professors of the Art, Ancients, as well as Moderns, are clearly stated, and freely examined; in short, as this is the last work that he published, so it seems to be the most finished; and it ends with so much affection to his Faculty, that it looks like taking his farewel of them, and the publick. The approbation prefixed informs us, that in the judgment of those who subscribe it, this physical enquiry of their most friendly member and collegue might be very useful, when printed, and the underwritten names are, Sir Thomas Witherley, Knight, and President; Dr Samuel Collins, Register; Dr Thomas Burwell, Dr Peter Barwick, Sir Thomas Millington, and Dr Humphry Brooke, Censors of the Royal College of Physicians.

XXVII. *Of human* Felicity *and* Infelicity; *a Discourse by way of similitude or parable*. This was never printed; but there are several copies of it handed about in manuscript, under the name of our author; but whether it be really his, or not, I am not able to say. Thus, as succinctly as might be, and as near as it was possible, in the order of time when they came abroad, the reader has a true catalogue of this learned Physician's writings; and as to his character, it has been attempted in the text, if not with success, at least with candour, and with an honest desire of doing justice to his memory, and to truth. E

CHAUCER (GEOFFREY) the Father of our English Poets, and the first great improver and reformer of our language. He flourished in the XIVth century, and as he justly obtained the highest admiration amongst his contemporaries, so his memory has ever since been highly honoured (*a*). One would imagine from this, that every historical circumstance relating to him, or at least those of the greatest moment, should be well preserved, and be perfectly clear, which however is so far from being the case, that nothing can hitherto be certainly determined concerning his descent, or so much as who was his father. One says that he was of a noble stock (*b*), another that he was the son of a Knight (*c*), a third that his father was a Vintner (*d*), a fourth that he was a Merchant (*e*), and the fifth and last opinion, which is the best, is, that nothing can be said (*f*) with any tolerable assurance of his family at all, but that there is somewhat more probability of his being the son of a gentleman, rather than of a tradesman [*A*]. The place of his birth is as much disputed, but however may be determined with greater appearance of truth, for though some say he was a Berkshire man (*g*), and others would entitle Oxfordshire (*h*) to his birth, yet if we may rely upon what he tells us himself, it is much more likely that he drew his first breath in the City of London (*i*), and that he had a great interest amongst it's inhabitants, is a thing as certain as that it drew upon him many misfortunes, notwithstanding which, his having that interest seems to be a corroborating proof of his being a citizen's son [*B*]. The time of his birth is pretty well fixed, for most of the

(*a*) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 41, 42.

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(*c*) Pits, de Illust. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(*d*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*e*) M. Hearne's Letter to Mr Bagford, relating to Chaucer's Life.

(*f*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*g*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 525.

(*h*) Pits, de Illust. Angl. Scriptor. p. 572.

(*i*) In the Testament of Love, p. 486. Camden. Eliz. edit. Hearne, p. 783.

[*A*] *Rather than of a tradesman.*] It is a point well agreed amongst our ancient authors, that the French sirname of this family, which was variously written; as for instance, Chaucier, Chaucierris, Chaussier, Chausir, &c. signified a Shoemaker (1), but notwithstanding this it is very well known, that the founder of this family in England was a Norman Chief that came over with William the Conqueror, as appears by the roll of Battle Abbey (2); and in succeeding times there were several persons of note of this name mentioned in our records. In the reign of King John there was one le Chausir (3), as appears by the records in the Tower; and in the reign of Henry III. one Elias Chaucesir, who in the reign following, *viz.* Edward I. had a grant of ten shillings from the Treasury (4). There was also one John Chaucer, of whom King Edward I. heard a complaint for a thousand pounds (5); but all this gives us no kind of certainty in respect to our author's family at all. Leland contents himself with hinting, that he was of genteel extraction *nobili loco natus* (6), are his words; and it is said, that he is faithfully copied by Bale; but this is to be understood of the later editions of his book, for in the first he calls him Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, Knight, and says nothing of his family at all (7), afterwards he met with Leland's book, and abridged his account of him. John Pits is very clear, that he was of an exceeding good family, and not only a knight himself, but his father a knight before him (8): but his authority goes for little, more especially with those that know him best. Mr Speght is of opinion, that one Richard Chaucer was his father, who was a Vintner at the corner of Kirton-Lane, and dying in 1348 left his house, tavern, and stock, to the church of St Mary Aldermary (9), where he was buried. This passed currently with Fuller; and, perhaps the better, because it furnished him with a very silly jest. 'His 'father, says he, was a Vintner in London; and I 'have heard his arms quarrelled at being *argent* and '*gules* strangely contrived, and hard to be blazoned. 'Some more wits have made it the dashing of white 'and red wine (the parents of our ordinary claret) as 'nicking his father's profession.' Against this opinion, however, there lie two exceptions, that solider heads than his have not been able to get over; the first is, that there was something very unnatural in this Vintner's leaving all his estate to the Church, while his son was at the University; and the second, that Chaucer should never complain of this, or, for any thing that we can discover, feel the effects of it, since it is evident enough, that in his youth he lived at a rate that could not have been supported without a fortune. The industrious Mr Hearne thinks it probable, his father was a Merchant of London (10); but the last writer of his life thinking that father not good enough for him, hath found him out a better, one Sir John Chaucer, for which he has no other evidence, than that such a man lived at a time (11) when our Poet might possibly have been his son. I must confess, I think, he was of a good family, and that for various reasons, which, because I do not know they have been taken notice of before, I will mention as briefly as I can. First then, his education speaks him a gentleman bred at both the Universities, travelled through several countries, and at last a student in the Temple, where, it is reported, that he was fined two shillings for beating a Fryar in Fleetstreet. Next, his post at court shews him to have been a gentleman, for birth was much stood upon in those days, and young men of the best quality were the King's Pages. Thirdly, this is confirmed by his marriage, which so proud a man as John of Gaunt would not have admitted, if he had been of a mean descent, much less have recommended him to his wife, and thereby made him the uncle-in-law of his own children. Fourthly, his writings shew him a gentleman, for they are all written with such freedom and spirit as must have exposed him to great envy, if he had not been a gentleman, and which he would probably have appeased by some reasonable apology. Lastly, the company he kept, and the respect that was constantly paid him, seem the clearest testimonies of this, which, with the rest, I submit to the decision of the intelligent reader.

(1) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Works.

(2) Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 471.

(3) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(4) Record. in Scacc.

(5) Record in Tur. Lond.

(6) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(7) Illust. Major. Britan. Script. fol. 198.

(8) Pits, de Illust. Angl. Scriptor. p. 572.

(9) Speght's Life of Chaucer, in Stowe's Survey of London.

(10) Robert of Gloucester's Chr. Vol. II. p. 596.

(11) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. V, p. 51.

[*B*] *Of his being a citizen's son.*] It seems to have been a doubt with Leland, whether Oxfordshire or Berkshire produced this great man; but he thought he had reason to think, that he was born in one of those counties (12). If Berkshire was to be preferred, then Dunnington (13) would bid the fairest for it, which was certainly Chaucer's seat; but then it seems to be no less certain, that he purchased it from Sir Richard Adderbury. Pits affirms roundly, that he was born at Woodstock (14), and Camden speaking of that place, says, that having nothing in it else remarkable, it boasts of having produced our English Homer, Geoffrey Chaucer (15), but he was too knowing a man to credit this. He knew the reason of it to be, that Chaucer had a house there, and Ewelm and Hocknorton in the same county, were also belonging to his family, and might therefore, with as much justice as Woodstock, put in a claim to his birth. But Chaucer himself seems to have determined the point, as clearly as man could do, for, speaking of the troubles that had happened in this place, he says (16), *The city of* London, *that is to me so dear and sweet, in which I was forth-grown, and more kindly love, have I to that place, than any other on earth, as every kindly creature hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendruer, &c.* And therefore Camden very justly takes occasion, speaking of another Poet, to affirm, that London (17) was our author's birth-place. 'Edmund Spencer, *says he*, a 'Londoner, was so smiled on by the Muses at his 'birth, that he excelled all the English Poets that 'went before him, if we except only his fellow-citizen, 'Chaucer.' It may seem a little difficult to reconcile what is said in this note, to what has been advanced in the former, and yet it may be done tolerably well, for though we now consider a citizen of London as a trader of course, yet in the times when Chaucer lived, men of great quality and distinction resided in the city, where the Court was also kept, and therefore he might very well be in this sense the son of an inhabitant of London, and still his father might not be either Merchant or Vintner, but in some post about the Court, and this

(12) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(13) Camden. Britan. p. 138.

(14) Pits, de Illust. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(15) Camden. Britan. p. 279.

(16) The Testament of Love, p. 486. a.

(17) Camden. Annal. Eliz. id. hic Hearne, p. 783.

the writers who mention it agree, that it was in the second year of Edward III, *A. D.* 1328 (*k*). Here again we fall into the dark, for as to his earlier years we know not where or how they were spent, but as soon as he was fit for academical studies, he was sent to Cambridge, where he gave early testimonies of his abilities by several eligies and sonnets, as well as by a poem called the Court of Love, which he composed when he was about eighteen (*l*), and which carries in it very pregnant proofs of skill and learning, as well as quickness of wit and great strength of genius [C]. It is not by any means certain in what college or hall of that university he studied, but it is conjectured, and not without some shew of reason, that it might be in Solere's Hall, which he has so particularly and humourously described in his story of the Miller of Trompington (*m*). He removed from thence, for reasons which we find no where assigned, to the university of Oxford, and compleated his studies there, some say at Canterbury-college (*n*), which however is improbable since it was not founded till Chaucer was thirty-five years of age; others in Merton-college, which is more likely, for though his name does not appear among the celebrated members of it at that time, yet we find most of his contemporaries, as Strode, Occleve, &c (*o*), were of that college. After a considerable stay here, and a strict application to the publick Lectures of the university, he became, as Leland tells us, a ready Logician, a smooth Rhetorician, a pleasant Poet, a grave Philosopher, an ingenious Mathematician, and a holy Divine (*p*). That he was a great master in Astronomy is plain from his Discourses of the Astrolabe; that he was versed in the Hermetick Philosophy, appears by his Tale of the Chanon's Yeoman; his knowledge in Divinity is evident from his Parson's Tale; and his Philosophy from the Testament of Love. After he left this university, he travelled abroad through France and the Low-Countries, in order to see the world, and to improve the knowledge which he had acquired from books; but when he went abroad, or at what time he returned, are circumstances not easy to be determined.

(*k*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) Court of Love, line 43.

(*m*) See the Glossary at the end of his Works, under the word *Solere*.

(*n*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*o*) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 87.

(*p*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

this in so dark a matter, and which has employed so many learned pens, without letting in much light upon it, seems the most probable account of the matter. For in that discourse in which he speaks of London as his birth-place, he very clearly confesses, that he had been but too deeply engaged in the popular disturbances that happened there, through his attachment to his patron the Duke of Lancaster, which shows the interest he had among the people; and yet he affirms, that in what he did he had no evil intention, much less meant to throw all things into confusion; and offers it as a reason why he should be believed in declaring this, that he was a native of London, and loved it better than any place upon earth, as every creature naturally does the place from which it springs. After clearing up these points as far as possible, we shall be more brief in our remarks upon other points of this History, though a large and full Life of Chaucer seems to be a work still wanting to the learned world, after all the pains that has been hitherto taken about it.

[C] *And great strength of genius.*] The most certain accounts we have of Chaucer are those taken from his own writings, in which there are a great variety of circumstances that occur not in any of the ancient relations of his life, in so much that it is very doubtful whether we should ever have heard any thing of his being a student at Cambridge, if he had not left us that particular himself. In like manner it might have been presumed, but it could hardly have been proved, that his *Court of Love* was not his first performance; or, at least, his first performance that made any great figure. But from the perusal of this poem, we learn from himself, that he had written many things before in honour of the deity of love. Indeed, the poem itself speaks it probable, for though we have a very high idea of the natural genius of Chaucer, yet it would be impossible to perswade any judge of Poetry, that this was his first essay, for not only the structure of the poem manifests an extraordinary skill in that kind of writing, but the harmony of his numbers, even at this distance of time, sufficiently shew that they could not fall from the pen of an unpractised Poet. It is generally believed, upon the credit I apprehend of the Rubrick placed at the head of this performance, that it was written in imitation of the *Romant of the Rose* (18), but I must confess I am not very well satisfied of that, and should rather be of opinion, that our author composed it after the manner of those Italian Poems that were then so generally esteemed, and for which the famous Francis Petrarch had been crowned some years before with great solemnity at Rome (19). The honours which that celebrated Poet acquired, and which he had never acquired but in an age of the greatest gallantry, excited all who had any turn that way, to emulate his performances. We may very plainly perceive in this work of Chaucer's, that he meant to make his entrance by it into the region of Parnassus, and boldly resolved, on the strength of his own judgment as well as of his genius, to declare himself a Poet, and put himself that way into the road to fame. If this had not been his intention, he would have scarce written the *Court of Love*, the ground of which Poem is to shew, that it was a tribunal to which every man owed obedience, which sooner or later he was obliged to pay. As for himself, he professes that he was summoned to do suit and service at the age of eighteen, which affords him an opportunity of describing the Court, the manner of it's proceedings, and the Statutes of Love by which those proceedings are regulated, and in doing this he gives the following account of himself in three stanzas (20):

In art of Love I write and songis make,
That maie be song in honour of the King
And Queen of Love; and then I undirtake
He that is sadde shall then full mery syng,
And daungerous not ben in every thyng:
Beseche I you but seen my will and rede,
And let your answere put me out of drede.

What is your name? reherse it here I praie;
Of whens and where, of what condicion
That ye ben of? let me se come of and saie
Fain would I know your disposicion;
Ye have put on your old entencion
But whate ye mene, to serve me I ne wote,
Save that ye saie, ye love me woundir hote.

My name, alas! my herte why makes thou straunge,
Philogenet I call'd am ferre and nere,
Of Cambridge, Clerke, that nevir thinke to chaunge
Fro you, that with your heavenly stremis clere
Ravishe myne herte, and ghost, and all in fere,
Since at the first I write my bill for grace,
Methinke I se some mercie in your face.

This poem is very long, consisting of upwards of fourteen hundred verses, and concludes with the *Festival of Love*, which with great elegance our Poet fixes upon the first of May, and makes it celebrated by the birds: yet this part of the Poem is the most exceptionable of any, and shows what a strange taste prevailed in that age, for in this festival not only the Hymns of the Church, but the Psalms themselves, are very scandalously prophaned, and applied to the God of Love and his Mother, which shows the bad consequences that naturally flow from superstitious devotion.

(18) This is also said in the Rubrick of the Poem.

(19) Niceron. Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Vol. XXVIII. p. 372.

(20) Chaucer's Works, p. 567.

[D] Could

determined (*q*). Yet sure there is a probability that he spent not many years out of his own country, since the best writers seem to be well satisfied, that after his return he entered himself of the Middle-Temple, and became a student there of the Municipal Laws of this land (*r*). Of this learning having received some tincture, he betook himself to the Court, which was indeed the place in the world fittest for a man of his accomplishments to thrive in. His first employment there was in quality of the King's Page (*s*), in those times a very honourable office, as it gave near and frequent access to the Royal Presence; but one would imagine this was not a post to which any but a young man could be advanced upon his coming to Court, and therefore it seems most consistent with truth to believe, that Geoffrey Chaucer could not at his admittance exceed thirty [*D*]. At this time the English Court was the most gay and splendid in Europe. Edward III, a Prince equally distinguished by civil and martial virtues, sat then upon the throne, blessed with an illustrious Consort, by whom he had a numerous posterity (*t*). His many victories had rendered him famous abroad, and his moderation and clemency, his reverence for the laws, and his kindness for his people, made him beloved at home, so that our Chronicles boast of few reigns so glorious, and of none brighter, than his. Among other great qualities with which this famous Monarch was endowed, his love of learning and learned men was not the least conspicuous, and therefore we need not wonder that our author, who was continually giving some specimen or other of the vivacity of his parts, wrought himself into high favour, insomuch, that it appears that he was a constant attendant on the Court, and when it was at Woodstock resided at a square stone house near the Park-gate, which still retains his name (*u*), and well indeed it may, since, being consecrated in his Poems, the whole country round about is become, in respect to Englishmen, a kind of classick ground [*E*]. But besides his employment about the person of his Prince, our Poet took pains to advance his fortune, by attaching himself to the service of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, by whom, and by his Duchess Blanch, a lady equally remarkable for her wit and virtue, he was exceedingly beloved, nor was it long before he became part of their family also (*w*). It happened thus: this Duchess entertained in her service one Catherine Rouet, daughter of Sir Payne or Pagan Rouet, a native of Hainault, and Guien King at Arms for that country, who was afterwards married to Sir Hugh Swynford, a Knight of Lincoln. He lived not long after their marriage, and upon his decease this lady returned into

(*q*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 525. Pits, de Illustr. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(*r*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419. Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*s*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*t*) Robert de Avesbury, Hist. de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi III. Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. II. p. 72. Robert of Gloucester's Chron. p. 592.

(*u*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*w*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. I. p. 789, 790.

[*D*] *Could not at that time exceed thirty.*] We have intimated in the text, that our author seems to have owed his admittance into the King's service in quality of Page, which in the Latin of those times was called *Valettus* or *Valectus*, an honour that young Noblemen of the first rank were glad to accept, to the favour of the King's son John of Gaunt, afterwards Duke of Lancaster, of which no notice is taken by any of those who have hitherto collected the Memoirs of his Life. Yet we do not assert this without authority, for it appears by a poem of his called *Chaucer's Dream* (21), first printed in the year 1597, that he was very deep in this young Prince's amorous secrets, for that poem is an Allegorical History of the Loves of John of Gaunt and Blanch of Lancaster, daughter of Henry Duke of Lancaster, which, from this very poem it appears, were managed with the utmost secresy, till, by a long train of intrigues and sollicitations, all the obstacles in the way of this match were got over, and with the help of the King's consent and the Pope's dispensation, they were married in May 1359 (22), which, as it was the first introduction to John of Gaunt's vast power and greatness, so it seems to have been the beginning of our author's fortunes at Court; at least it is certain, that the knowledge he had of this affair was what made him equally the favourite of the Duke of Lancaster and of the Duchess Blanch, who, as the highest testimony of her friendship, gave him the sister of her favourite Lady in marriage, which is also intimated at the close of this poem. But this is quite a different thing from another under the same title, that in the old manuscripts is, and ought to be intituled, the *Book of the Duchess* (23), written, not upon her marriage but upon her death, and this being wrote in the manner of a vision, and the other not being discovered, came to be called *Chaucer's Dream*, because that title appeared in some old lists of his Works. As the credit of the Duke of Lancaster increased with his father, Chaucer's also rose in a like proportion, for he continued steady to his patron to the last hour of that Duke's life, and indeed, considering his alliance as well as his obligations, we need not all wonder that he did. But after saying all this it will be very proper to add, that, notwithstanding his fidelity to his patron, he did not go all lengths with him, but kept exactly within the bounds of loyalty to his Prince, as well as those of duty to his benefactor.

(21) Chaucer's Works, p. 572.

(22) Thomæ Walsingham, Ypod Neustr. p. 125, n. 50.

(23) Chaucer's Works, p. 404.

[*E*] *A kind of classick ground.*] In order to justify this, we need only observe, that many of the rural descriptions that occur in his works, are taken from Woodstock-Park; of which he tells us, that it was a park walled with green stone (24), that being the first park walled in England, and not many years before his time. In most of his pieces where he designs an imaginary scene, he certainly copies it from a real landschape: so in his *Cuckow and Nightingale*, the morning walk he takes was such, as at this day may be traced from his house through part of the park, and down by the brook into the vale, under Blenheim-Castle (25), as certainly as we may assert, that Maples instead of Phylireas were the ornaments round the bower; which place he likewise describes in his *Dream* as a white castle (26), standing upon a hill; the scene in that poem being laid in Woodstock-Park. When disengaged from publick affairs, his time was entirely spent in study and walking: so agreeable to him was this exercise, that he says, he preferred it to all other sports and diversions. He lived within himself, neither desirous to hear, nor busy to concern himself with the affairs of his neighbours. His course of living was temperate and regular, he went to rest with the sun, and rose before it; and by that means enjoyed the pleasures of the better part of the day, his morning walk and fresh contemplations. This gave him the advantage of describing the morning in so lively a manner, as he does every where in his works: the springing sun glows warm in his lines, and the fragrant air blows cool in his descriptions; we smell the sweets of the bloomy haws, and hear the musick of the feather'd choir, whenever we take a forrest walk with him. The hour of the day is not easier to be discovered, from the reflexion of the sun in Titian's paintings, than in Chaucer's morning landschapes. 'Tis true, those descriptions are sometimes too long, and as it is before observed, when he takes those early rambles, he almost tires his reader with following him; and seldom knows how to get out of a forrest, when once entered into it: but how advantageous this beautiful extravagance is, most of his successors well know, who have very plentifully lopt off his exuberant beauties, and placed them as the chief ornaments of their own writings.

(24) Complaint of the Black Knight, ver. 42.

(25) Cuckow and Nightingale, ver. 56.

(26) Chaucer's Dream, v. 1018.

into the Duke's family; and was appointed Governess of his children (*x*). She had a sister whose name was Philippa, a great favourite likewise with the Duke and Duchess, and by them therefore, as a mark of their great esteem, recommended to Chaucer for a wife (*y*). He married her about the year 1360, when he was in the flower of his age, and, as appears from a picture of him taken about that time, one of the handsomest persons about the Court (*z*). Of a complection fair and beautiful, his lips very red and full, his size of a just proportion, his air very graceful and majestick. We live at too great a distance of time to be able to penetrate with certainty into the true motives of our author's match; but sure there is a great probability, that he was not unacquainted with the tenderness which his patron the Duke of Lancaster had for the Lady Swynford, by whom he had several children, who were afterwards legitimated by Act of Parliament (*a*). Yet this alliance was not the only tie he had upon that Prince, one of the most ambitious and artful men of his time, and always embarked in some State-intrigue or other, and therefore above all things fond of having men of parts and literature about him, of whom he might make use as occasion offered, and in which capacity as there was none more able, so it appears there were none did him greater service, than Chaucer (*b*). Being thus supported, we need not wonder that his fortunes made a very quick progress at Court, and accordingly we find very many marks of his Master King Edward's kindness towards him. As for instance, in the forty-first year of his reign, he granted him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* out of the Exchequer (*c*). How mean soever such a pension may seem now, it was then very considerable, and in Chaucer's case was still the more valuable, as being an earnest of future favours. For not long after we find him Gentleman of the King's Privy-Chamber, and by that title the King granted to him, by Letters Patents dated in the forty-fifth year of his reign, the further sum of twenty marks *per annum* during his life (*d*). In this station he did not long continue, being next year made Shield-Bearer (*e*) to the King, a title at that time, though now extinct, of great honour, such persons being always next the King's person, and generally upon signal victories rewarded with military honours. Neither were these all the instances he received of the King's attention to, and confidence in him, for in the very same year, and by the same title, we find him commissioned, in conjunction with other persons, to treat with the Republick of Genoa (*f*); and accordingly thither he went, and actually managed a negociation, concerning the subject of which, those who have written our author's Life make not the least mention, but seem to treat it as a matter, at this distance of time, altogether inexplicable. But it may from the History of that Prince's reign be very probably inferred, that Chaucer was sent to Genoa to hire ships for the King's navy; for in those times, though we frequently made great naval armaments, yet we had but very few ships of our own, and this defect was supplied, by hiring them from the free States either in Germany or Italy (*g*). In this negotiation our author succeeded so well, that upon his return home he received new marks of his Royal Master's favour, for, by letters patents dated at Windsor the 23d of April in the 48th year of his reign, his Majesty granted him a pitcher of wine daily in the Port of London, to be delivered by the Butler of England (*h*); and very soon after he was made Comptroller of the Customs in the Port of London, for wool, wool-fells, and hides, with a proviso that he should personally execute that office, and keep the accounts of it with his own hand (*i*). As this was a very lucrative, so it was a very reputable employment likewise, and as Chaucer was enriched by the profits of his post, so his reputation was very much increased by that diligence and integrity with which he discharged it. He values himself, as he had reason to do, very much upon his conduct in this office, which he affirms was never liable to any kind of imputation (*k*). And indeed it is highly probable that what he has delivered upon this subject is strictly true, for in the latter end of King Edward's reign there were great frauds and embezzlements committed in the customs, which by prosecutions were brought to publick view, but we do not find that in these Chaucer's name was so much as mentioned (*l*). About a year after he was in possession of this office, the King made him a grant of the lands and body of Sir Edmund Staplegate, son of Sir Edmund Staplegate of Kent, in ward, for which he received one hundred and four pounds (*m*), and other pecuniary advantages he had, which enabled him to raise altogether an income of one thousand pounds *per annum*, which was in those days a prodigious sum, and might well enable him to live, as he says he did, with dignity in office, and with good will amongst his neighbours (*n*). But as all these benefits arose chiefly from the favour in which he stood with the potent and ambitious Duke of Lancaster, so he became daily more and more involved in the political intrigues of that active and ambitious Prince. It is suggested by many of our Historians, that this Duke had cast a longing eye upon the Crown, and it is attributed to this, that about the time our author was sent to Genoa, the King declared in full Parliament, the young Prince Richard, the only surviving son of Edward the Black Prince, heir apparent to the Crown (*o*). But there seems to be a plainer and more natural reason for the King's taking this step, in which none more readily concurred than the Duke of Lancaster, and that was his own and his son's going abroad to carry on the war in France, upon which occasion it was requisite that the succession should be settled, and therefore the young Prince Richard was not only declared heir-apparent, but the government of the kingdom was, nominally at least, entrusted with him, during the absence of his grandfather, his father, and uncles (*p*). But what seems to be a stronger proof

(*x*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*y*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(*z*) This original picture was in the possession of George Greenwood, of Chastleton in Gloucestershire, Esq;

(*a*) Thom. Walf. p. 388. n. 30.

(*b*) Henry Knighton. *apud* Decem Scriptor. p. 26, 47.

(*c*) 41 Ed. III. Pat. 41, p. 1. m. 13.

(*d*) 45 Ed. III. p. 3. m. 7.

(*e*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*f*) See an extract of this Commission in Chaucer's Life, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*g*) Froisard. cap. 298, 299.

(*h*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 20.

(*i*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 7.

(*k*) Testament of Love, p. 488. b.

(*l*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*m*) Records collected by Mr Rymer in the House of Lords.

(*n*) Testament of Love, p. 486. a.

(*o*) Froisard. cap. 305.

(*p*) Pat. 46 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 25.

proof of the Duke of Lancaster's innocence in this respect, was, his marrying, upon the decease of his Duchess Blanch, the Lady Constantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon, in whose right, upon the decease of her father, he assumed those royal titles (*q*). This must be allowed to be a mark of his ambition, and of his inclination to be a King, but at the same time it is a proof that he had another crown in view than that of England, and therefore to this we may well ascribe that device of his, of an eagle endeavouring with his *bill* to undo a footlock, which many of our writers, with more malignity than judgment, have construed, into a kind of treason (*r*). It is however true, that after the decease of his eldest brother Edward, the Black Prince, he was associated by his father in the government, and had the principal direction of publick affairs, which, considering his age, his experience, and his very near relation to the Crown (*s*), may be looked upon as a thing, rather natural than extraordinary. In this happy season of his life, when he enjoyed all the blessings this world could afford, Chaucer composed most of those gay and lively pieces, which were so much adapted to the humour of these times, and to that romantick spirit of love and fighting, which in those days was so much in vogue, and by which he acquired so great and so extensive a reputation for his wit, and for his capacity in writing (*t*) [*F*]. But it was not long before he found himself obliged to turn his thoughts to graver subjects, for his Patron, the Duke of Lancaster, having espoused the cause of Wickliffe, whom the Clergy considered as a heretick, Chaucer inclined the same way, and turned the edge of his satire against lazy Monks, ignorant Priests, and the insolence of such as belonged to Ecclesiastical Courts, with extraordinary success (*u*). Yet it does not at all appear, that he was an enemy to religion, or even to that of the Church of Rome; but rather the contrary, for he speaks very submissively of her doctrines, and bestows high characters upon such of the Clergy, as acted suitably to their calling; so that it was the ill men, who brought religion into contempt, and prostituted their own function in the vilest manner, that felt the severity of Chaucer's Muse, and not Priests in general, or the Christian Faith; for the former, he highly revered; and the latter, he firmly believed (*w*), as his writings plainly shew [*G*]. But how much soever Wickliffe's doctrines might

(*q*) Barnes's Hist. of Ed. III. p. 897.

(*r*) Chaucer's Life prefixed to Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*s*) Fox's Martyrology, p. 392.

(*t*) John Lidgate in his Prologue to his Translation of *Boccace* of the *Fall of Princes*.

(*u*) In his *Plowman's Tale*, and his *Jack Upland*, and other pieces.

(*w*) See his Testament of Love, his moral Poems, and other pieces in his Works.

[*F*] *And for his capacity in writing.*] We have already mentioned some of the performances of our author while a very young man, and also some of those pieces that he wrote to compliment the Duke of Lancaster and his Duchess. We will here take an opportunity of giving an account of some other pieces of his, that were wrote within the time of his greatest prosperity. *The Complaint of* Mary Magdalen, *taken from* Origen (27); was translated either before, or soon after his coming to Court; perhaps to oblige some pious lady of those times, as he wrote that which is called *Chaucer's* A. B. C. for the use of the Duchess Blanch. *The Complaint of the* BLACK KNIGHT, was penned in honour of John of Gaunt's courtship of that lady, and is as elegant and harmonious a poem, as any of our author's composure; so that it is reasonable to believe, he took extraordinary pains about it; and perhaps it would be no unreasonable conjecture, if we should suppose, that it was written upon his first admission to the intimacy of that great Prince who is represented under the character of the Black Knight (28). The *House of Fame* is also a most admirable performance, as well in the construction of the fable, as in the ease and happiness of it's execution; of which there cannot be a higher testimony, than Mr Pope's borrowing from thence the model of his *Temple of Fame*; which will probably be esteemed, as long as there is either Taste or Poetry in this nation. The *Assembly of Fowls* was written while he was at Court, and before the death of King Edward's Queen, Philippa (29); and so was his Tale of the *Cuckow and the Nightingale*, in which, as was observed in the preceding note, the scene is visibly laid in Woodstock-Park. He likewise wrote abundance of Elegies, Poems, or Ballads, in honour of Margaret Countess of Pembroke, and other Ladies of the Court; and as it is natural to suppose, that he was not the only person who wrote things of this kind; so by an accident common enough to great men, all of those pieces which have survived the injuries of time, are come down to us under the name of Chaucer, though it might be very easily proved that they are none of his. *The Poem of* TROILUS *and* CRESEIDE (30), was written in the former part of his life, and translated, as he says, from Lollius, an Historiographer of Urbano in Italy. He did not however content himself with making a close translation of his author, but, on the contrary, added many things of his own, and borrowed also from others, more especially his friend Petrach, whatever he judged might render it acceptable to his reader. That discourse of Predestination, which he has inserted in the fourth book is entirely his own; and from it, and from what he has delivered upon the same subject in the Nun's Priest's Tale, the very learned Sir Henry Savile thought, that he was no stranger to Archbishop Bradwardine's learned book *de Causâ Dei*, published at that time (31). Sir Francis Kinaston, who translated this poem into Latin rhimes, in his manuscript notes upon it, says, that it was not improbably conjectured, that Chaucer in writing the Lives and Loves of Troilus and Creseide, glanced at some private persons in the Court of King Edward III, and (32) did not follow Homer, Dares, Dictys, or any Historian of those times. However (says he) Chaucer has taken the liberty of his own inventions; he hath made an admirable and inimitable Epick Poem, describing in Troilus a compleat Knight in arms and courtship; and a faithful and constant lover; and in Creseide, a most beautiful and coy Lady, which being once overcome, yields to the frailty of her sex (33). We shall have occasion hereafter to speak more largely of this worthy person's performance, and of the pains he took to illustrate Chaucer, in which he equalled at least, if not exceeded, all, who have spent their time in doing justice to this great Poet.

[*G*] *As his writings plainly shew.*] The true design of our author, was not to expose or abuse the Clergy, from a dislike to their order, but quite the contrary, to amend and to reform them; and it was with this view, that he wrote many pieces, and translated others, that they might plainly perceive how much religion suffered by the monstrous irregularities in their behaviour. As for instance, the ROMAUNT *of the* ROSE, is a translation from the French. This poem was begun by William de Lorris, and continued by John Meung, commonly called Cloppinel, both famous French Poets in their time. It seems to have been translated by Chaucer while he was at Court, and about the time of the rise of Wickliffe's opinions, it consisting of violent invectives against the religious orders (34). It is left imperfect at the end, and there are some lacuna's in other places of it. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the original author of this work, William de Lorris, died in the year 1260, at the age of twenty-six, and advanced no great way therein; but forty years afterwards it was finished and published by John de Meung, when he was in his twenty-fourth year. He was a man of sense and learning, well versed in Divinity, Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, and other sciences, but was a violent

(27) Chaucer's Works, p. 520.

(28) It appears plainly from the two last stanza's to have been addressed to Lady Blanch.

(29) Chaucer's Works, p. 413.

(30) This Poem is digested into five books, and is the longest in our author's Works.

(31) In præfat. ejusd. libr. edit. 1613.

(32) See this further explained in note [*U*].

(33) The fifth book, or Testament of Creiseide, is not Chaucer's, but one Mr Henderson's.

(34) Chaucer's Works, p. 215.

might prevail, or Chaucer's writings please among the better sort of people, and in the country; they were far enough from making a general impression on the minds of people in London, where the meaner sort of citizens, where so warmly attached to the Church, that upon the Duke of Lancaster's attending Wickliffe, when he was summoned before the Bishop of London, and treating that Prelate a little roughly, they made a kind of insurrection, and marching down into the Strand in a body, entered into and rifled the Savoy, which was the Duke of Lancaster's palace, built by himself, and at that time esteemed one of the finest houses in Europe, destroyed his goods, abused *his* servants, and turned his arms upside down, as if he had been a traytor; but by the care of the King, and the interposition of some of the principal Nobility, this quarrel was compromised, and the Duke and the Citizens reconciled, at least, in appearance (*x*). In the last year of King Edward, the French having infringed the truce which that Monarch had concluded with them, Commissioners were sent over to expostulate that matter before the Pope's Legates; and of these, Chaucer was one. This negotiation of theirs was not very successful, only it produced some mention of a marriage between Richard, Prince of Wales (*y*), and the Lady Mary, daughter to the French King; and thereby made way for a new treaty, in which Sir Guiscard Dangle, Knight of the Garter, Sir Richard Sturrey, a great Wicklivist, and in high favour with the King, together with Geoffrey Chaucer, Esq; were Commissioners (*z*); and this seems to have been the last publick employment that our author bore, tho' from a gold chain about his neck, in that original picture of his, still remaining as is beforementioned, it has been not without some shew of reason conjectured, that he was honoured with some other dignity, than from any records we have been able to trace; for it can hardly be supposed, that he wore this ornament on account of his office in the Customs (*a*). June 21, 1377, the young Prince of Wales succeeded his grandfather, by the title of Richard II.; and his uncle, the Duke of Lancaster considering the incapacity of the King, who was then but eleven years of age, was intrusted with the chief share of the administration; and therefore to ingratiate himself with the populace, he resolved to solemnize the new Monarch's Coronation with greater pomp and magnificence, than had been ever seen in this kindom; previous to which, a Court of Claims was established, to settle the demands of those who should pretend to have a right to assist upon this occasion, and among these we find Geoffrey Chaucer (*b*) [*H*]. It appears plainly, that

(*x*) Barnes's Hist. of Edward III.

(*y*) Hollinshed, Barnes, &c.

(*z*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*a*) Miscellaneous Observations on old English authors, p. 95.

(*b*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

lent enemy to bad priests and bad women; he is supposed to have died about the year 1365 (35). This work is still much esteemed in France, where it has run through many editions; but the best which was published in Holland, is of a very fresh date (*). Besides this, Chaucer is affirmed by Leland (36), and other ancient writers, to have been the author of *the Plowman's Tale*, which bears very hard upon the vices of the Clergy, both secular and regulars; and the satire under the title of *Jack Upland* (37), is also attributed to him upon very good authority; notwithstanding which, there want not many, who under colour of veneration for Chaucer's memory, are desirous of imputing these pieces to others; and yet this would be of little use, for in many other works that are undoubtedly his, we find sentiments of the same nature. On the other hand, the venerable John Fox thinks the labour of our author in this respect, worthy the highest commendation; and even attributes the preservation of his works, to a particular providence. Let us hear him (38). 'I marvel to consider this, 'says he, how that the Bishops condemning and abo'lishing all manner of English books and treatises, 'which might bring the people to any light of know'ledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer, to 'remain still and to be occupied; who no doubt saw 'in religion, as much almost as ever we do now, and 'uttereth in his works no less; and seemeth to be a 'right Wicklevian, or else there was never any; and 'that all his works almost, if they be thoroughly ad'vised will testify; (albeit it be done in mirth and 'covertly) and especially the latter end of his third 'book of the Testament of Love; for there purely 'he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the Com'munion; wherein, except a man be altogether 'blind, he may espy him at the full. Although in 'the same book (as in all other he useth to do) under 'shadows covertly, as under a vizour, he suborneth 'truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the 'godly-minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty 'adversary. And therefore the Bishops belike, taking 'his words but for jests and toys, in condemning other 'books, yet permitted his books to be read. So it 'pleased God then to blind the eyes of them for the 'more commodity of his people, to the intent that 'through the reading of his treatises, some fruit might 'redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it did to 'many. As also I am partly informed of certain 'which knew the parties, which to them reported, 'that by reading Chaucer's works they were brought 'to the true knowledge of religion; and not unlike 'to be true; for to omit the other parts of his volume, 'whereof some are more fabulous than other, what 'tale can be more plainly told, than the Tale of the 'Ploughman? &c.'

[*H*] *And amongst these we find Geoffrey Chaucer.*] The claim made upon this occasion, was in right of his ward, who was possessed of the manor of Bilsington in Kent (39); which was held of the Crown, by the service of presenting to the King three maple cups on the day of his coronation. This manor had been purchased by Sir Edmond Staplegate the father; of Richard Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundel, *whose family had been in long possession of it*; and it was set forth in Chaucer's petition, that the manor was held by Grand Serjeantry, by the owner's discharging the office of Chief Butler at the King's coronation (39). But Richard Earl of Arundel controverted this claim, and by his petition and plea set forth, that the office of Chief Butler belonged to his family, and was never annexed to this manor, his ancestors having enjoyed it both before they held that manor, and since they parted with it, and therefore he demanded it as his proper right (41). The issue of this business was, that the Earl so far carried his point before John Duke of Lancaster, then acting as Lord High Steward, as to be allowed to officiate for that time with a *salvo jure*, that it should not infringe the right of Edmond Staplegate, or any who should pretend title for the future (42). This ward of our author died about thirteen years after, but the manor continued in the family till the beginning of the reign of Hen. VI. when it passed into that of the Cheyneys, who in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, sold it to Sir Francis Barham of London, and his grandson Mr Robert Barham was in possession of it at the coronation of King Charles II; when Mr Erasmus Smith on the behalf of the said Mr Barham, assisted at the coronation, and presented the three maple cups (43). This manor has since passed into other families.

[*I*] *At*

(35) Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique, Vol. I. p. 193.

(*) Amsterdam. 1754, 3 Vols, 12mo.

(36) De Script. Britan. p. 423.

(37) Chaucer's Works, p. 590.

(38) Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 42.

(39) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(40) Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 42.

(41) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 318.

(42) Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 42.

(43) Historical Account of the Coronation of Charles II.

that the Duke of Lancaster, who was now in the zenith of power, let slip no opportunity of serving so firm a friend, and so useful a dependant, as our author was; for in the very beginning of this reign it appears, that by letters Patents, dated March 23, 1377, the King confirmed his grandfather's grant of twenty marks a year (c); and by other letters Patents, dated the 18th of April following, he likewise confirmed the other grant of a pitcher of wine daily (d); but whether Chaucer remained in his office of Comptroller of the Customs, is not so clear; tho' the contrary seems to be most probable, for in a short time after his affairs were in such confusion, that we find, in the second year of King Richard, he was obliged to have recourse to the King's protection (e), in order to screen him from his creditors; but how he came to fall into these difficulties, and whether they were temporary only, or of a long continuance, is a point, that at this distance, it is not possible to ascertain; but from a comparison of circumstances, it seems to be most likely, that it was from some sudden accident he fell under this misfortune, and that he had recourse to the King's protection, merely to gain time to settle his concerns. One may be the more confirmed in this, by comparing his circumstances at this juncture, with those of his family, soon after (f). We have no direct historical lights indeed, but methinks, tho' it be new, it is still a probable conjecture, that about this time, he conveyed all his estates to his eldest son Thomas Chaucer; and the facts that seem to strengthen this conjecture, shall be submitted to the reader's judgment at the bottom of the page (g) [I]. In the fourth year of King Richard the IId's reign, he procured a confirmation of the grants, that had been formerly made to himself, and to Philippa his wife (h), which is a proof, that he had a great personal interest in this Court; since at the time of his obtaining this grant, the power and influence of the Duke of Lancaster was very much sunk, as from a train of sinister accidents waiting upon his conduct, he was become equally suspected by the King, and disliked by the people. The great encouragement and support he had afforded to Mr Wickliffe, was attended with consequences, that he did not in the least expect, and yet found it not in his power to hinder; for without doubt, the Duke's great view in supporting this party, was to weaken the power of the Clergy, and to hinder them from taking so large a share, as they did in the management of all temporal affairs; but some great men of his party *mistaking* his view, pushed things to extremities, and by countenancing itinerant preachers, without either learning or sound principles, made way for a sudden turn, which had very near subverted the Constitution, and thrown all things into confusion (i). For the common people thus encouraged to shake off the yoke of the Clergy, began to think, that of the government also too heavy; and taking occasion from some taxes lately imposed, rose up in arms under the conduct of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and such kind of leaders, with a wild intention of freeing themselves from whatever these wise leaders taught them to look upon as oppressions (k). Their resentment was chiefly directed against the Clergy, as appears by their beheading the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Prior of St John's by Smithfield, who was Lord Treasurer; and by their burning that stately Priory, and plundering the Abbies of St Alban's, Bury, and several others (l). As soon as this rebellion was somewhat abated, the Parliament began to enquire into the cause of it, nor were there wanting enemies of Wickliffe, who charged him and his followers, with being the encouragers of it. But that is unlikely to be

(c) Pat. 1 R. II. p. 13.

(d) Pat. 1 R. II. p. 19.

(e) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(f) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(g) Claus. 19 Ric. II. m. 15.

(h) Records remaining in the House of Lords, collected by Mr Rymer.

(i) Lewis's Life of Wickliffe.

(k) Thom. Wals. p. 210. n. 10.

(l) H. Knyghton. ap. Decem Script. 2640, n. 10.

[I] *At the bottom of the page.*] All who have hitherto attempted to give any account of Chaucer's life, have been very much at a loss about this circumstance, of his having recourse to the King's protection; which shows, that in the very beginning of this reign, his affairs were in great disorder; and yet it is very plain, that himself and his patron flourished in the full possession of power and plenty, as long as King Edward the IIId lived (44). A certain writer hints, that Chaucer exhausted his fortune in his foreign embassies (45); but a later writer observes with greater probability, that he made his fortune by them; yet as he very justly remarks, this by no means solves the doubt how he should come to be so very poor in so short a time, after his possessing so great wealth (46); for which amongst others, we have his own authority (47). Now this riddle I think, may be very probably explained thus. Our author, Chaucer, about this time, found out a very considerable match for his eldest son Thomas Chaucer, and this was Maud, the second daughter of Sir John Burghershe, a man of very considerable rank, but by no means brother to Sir Bartholomew Burghershe Knight of the Garter, and of Dr Henry Burghershe Bishop of Lincoln, Chancellor and Treasurer of England, as a certain writer very confidently asserts (48), but rather, if I guess right, the nephew of those great men, and the son of Sir John Burghershe, who was truly their brother; and this I am led to believe, because it appears upon record, that the custody of this John Burghershe, the father of Maud, was granted in his nonage to the daughter of Sir Bartholomew Burghershe beforementioned (49). A great fortune she was without doubt, but not the only daughter or sole heiress of her family, as has been represented, or at least not so at the time she married Thomas Chaucer, though she might be, and indeed was so afterwards. Neither are we to believe what we are told, of her being a ward to the crown (50), for her father was then living, and lived many years after, that is, to the nineteenth of Richard II. when he left behind him two daughters; Margaret the eldest, first married to Sir John Grenville, Knight, and then to John Arundel, Esq; and this Maud (51). Now my supposition is, that Geoffrey Chaucer, for obtaining this great match, settled all his land estate upon his son; and that his doing this might bring upon him those demands, which put him under the necessity of obtaining the King's protection. As to the several facts upon which this conjecture is built, I think they are supported by as good authorities as can be desired; nor can any great difficulty arise from the age of this young gentleman, as may appear thus. Chaucer married his wife Philippa Rouet about the year 1360, and if he had this son the next year, he might be of full age in the latter end of the fourth year of Richard II. when this marriage took place; and before which, in all probability, the father might make this settlement (52). We shall have occasion hereafter to say more of this gentleman, who became a much greater man than his father, to whom he was a support in his declining years.

(44) Hollinshed, Stowe, Barnes, &c.

(45) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(46) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(47) Prologue to the Testament of Love.

(48) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(49) Pat. 29 E. III. p. 1, m. 5.

(50) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(51) Claus. 19 R. II. m. 15.

(52) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

[K] His

be true; for had the rebels been Wickliffe's friends, they would never have burnt the Savoy, the palace of his Patron, the Duke of Lancaster. However, some of his followers gave too much cause for such a surmise, as Dr Hereford, who asserted, that Archbishop Sudbury deserved that death he found; and the King the year following impowered the Bishops to arrest Wickliffe, and forbad his subjects to encourage any of that persuasion. Yet Wickliffe appeared, and seemed partly to satisfy the Bishops with his opinion (*m*). It is commonly said by most of our Historians, that from this time forward the Duke of Lancaster disowned the Wicklevites, and charging the late disturbances upon them, stiled their opinions, the Doctrine of Devils. The writers also of our author's life give into this opinion, and seem to think, that he likewise began to temporize, and did not speak his sentiments so freely as formerly; but the truth is otherwise, for the Duke of Lancaster did not condemn Wickliffe's doctrine, but the doctrines of Dr Hereford, and other followers of Wickliffe, who had now deserted him, and propagated many dangerous tenets, which he disclaimed (*n*). As for Chaucer, he was so far from abandoning his former notions, that he exerted himself to the utmost in 1382, in the support of John Comberton, generally stiled John of Northampton, Mayor of London, in his endeavours, to reform the city, according to the advice given by Wickliffe, which was so much resented by the Clergy (*o*), that rather than they would let this Reformation proceed, they had recourse to the most violent methods; and in order to prevent Comberton's being re-chosen Mayor of London, excited such disturbances as bordered upon a rebellion. The King making use of force upon this occasion, sent *Sir Robert Knolles to London*, who committed great severities, put some to death, made the late *Mayor Comberton prisoner*, and used his utmost endeavours to apprehend Chaucer (*p*) [*K*]. But our author, having an early foresight of his danger, made his escape into Hainault; and from thence went to France, where finding himself not so safe as he expected, he withdrew into Zealand, and there concealed himself for some time, with several other Londoners, who had fled upon the same account, and whom he generously subsisted out of his own private fortune (*q*). But while he was in this distress, most of those with whom he had been engaged at home, had found ways and means to make their peace; and far from considering the calamities to which Chaucer had exposed himself for their sakes, took no care to supply him; and, which was much worse, endeavoured to hinder the remittances that might have been made him out of his own fortune; and this, in hopes that he might perish in his banishment, and by his death put them out of all fear. Such base and barbarous ingratitude, tho' it extremely afflicted him, yet it did not put our author upon taking any measures to be revenged; on the contrary, he came over privately into England, to avoid starving in a strange country; but had not been long here before, either through the vigilance of the government's enquiries, or the treachery of some whom he trusted, he was discovered, seized, and sent to prison, where he was treated at first, with great rigour and severity, but in the end, promised the King's pardon, and his liberty, if he would disclose all he knew, and put it in the power of the government to restore the peace of the city; which at length, he did. It does not appear, what the consequences were of his confession, with respect to others; but with regard to himself, they brought upon him an inexpressible load of calumnies and slanders. *All these circumstances*, we learn from himself, in that most excellent treatise of his, intituled, the *Testament of Love*; which he wrote on purpose to vent his sorrow, and to console himself under the heavy burthen

(*m*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 117.

(*o*) Annal. Ricard. II. MS.

(*p*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*q*) These circumstances are all collected from our author's *Testament of Love*.

[*K*] *His utmost endeavours to apprehend Chaucer.*] It is very certain, that in this whole matter our author suffered for his attachment to his party; but this is so darkly represented by such as have written his life, that it is a very difficult thing to discover their meaning (53); and yet after all, the fact is no more than this. There were at that time two powerful factions in the city; and as very seldom any thing of this kind happens, but religion is drawn into the quarrel, so the one was supposed to be well affected to the Church, and the other inclined to a reformation. Dr Courtney, formerly Bishop of London, and now Archbishop of Canterbury, was protector of the one, and John Duke of Lancaster was esteemed to be the head of the other; and the leading man in his interest was this John Comberton, or John of Northampton, Citizen and Draper; on whose account all this disturbance happened, for which some lives were lost; and this unfortunate person being carried to Reading, was there tried and convicted, and had judgment given against him to be imprisoned for life, and to have his goods seized, which we find was accordingly done: and so strong the current ran at that time, that he with some other citizens of his party, were excepted out of a pardon which the King granted; and all this was then understood, to be done in spite and contempt of the Duke of Lancaster, to whom Comberton steadily adhered, and called him *his Lord* at his trial (54). But for all this, things came about again not long after, and Mr Comberton had the honour to have his sentence reversed, at the prayer of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled (55). We may from all this infer, that how warm and indiscreet soever our author Chaucer might be, in supporting that party to which he had attached himself, yet beyond all question there was nothing of disloyalty in this, but quite the contrary; for those who had then the management of the King's affairs, and run him into all these warm and violent measures, were the very same persons, who by their evil counsels brought him at last into that distressed condition, which cost him first his crown and then his life. It is therefore no discredit to Chaucer that he was a friend to Wickliffe, or that he espoused this party in the city, however some of our historians may have represented, or rather misrepresented it; for it is a thing well enough known to all who are conversant in the English history, that many base and black calumnies are thrown upon the Duke of Lancaster and his party, merely on account of their opposing the pride and power of the Prelates (56) of those times; who under colour of maintaining the King's prerogative, really sacrificed him to their own interests, which at the same time also they very ill understood; since a reasonable compliance had both saved him, and done themselves much more good (57).

(53) See both the Lives of Chaucer so often quoted.

(54) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 253.

(55) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 339.

(56) H. Knyghton ap. Decem Script. col. 2643.

(57) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 555.

[*L*] *Under*

burden of his afflictions [L]. This load, which was already almost too heavy for him, received however some very considerable additions from the concurrence of other untoward accidents; such as the Duke of Lancaster's losing much of his credit at Court; and Chaucer, not a little of his interest with the Duke, who finding his reputation very much injured by the liberties taken with his character, on account of his amours with the Lady Swynford, he came, tho' very unwillingly, to a full resolution of parting with her; which he accordingly did: and this, for a time, affected the concerns of our author extremely, who finding himself strongly pushed on one side, by such as meant him ill; and little, if at all, supported on the other, by such as had been formerly his friends, was so much depressed thereby in his mind, and distressed in his fortune, as to resolve upon disposing of his pensions beforementioned, which he had obtained in the former, and had been confirmed to him in the present reign; and this he actually did, to one John Scalby, as appears by a licence obtained for this purpose, on record (r). In this unexpected and terrible reverse of fortune, he very wisely resolved to quit that busy scene of life, in which he had met with so many troubles, and to seek in retirement, that happiness, which from experience he knew was not to be met with in Courts. The place he chose for his retreat was Woodstock, which had been the sweet scene of so much satisfaction to him in the days of his prosperity, and there he employed part of his time in revising and correcting his writings, totally secluded from the world, and tasting only those calm and solid pleasures, which are the result of a wise man's reflections on the vicissitudes of human life (s). By this means he became well prepared for a new alteration in his condition, and as unexpected a change in his affairs as he had hitherto met with, for the absence of the great Duke of Lancaster which had cost him so dear, gave him the better title to hope his favour and his protection upon his return, which happened towards the end of the year 1389 (t). He had made an expedition into Spain, in order to recover the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, of which, in right of his wife, he had assumed the title, and though his success in war was at first various, and at last disastrous, yet so wise and prudent a Prince he was, that after dismissing his army, and seeming to relinquish that great design, for the accomplishment of which he had spent so much, he had notwithstanding so great address, as to be able to extract, even from his disappointment, almost as much as he could have expected from victory, for though he could not make himself a King, yet he made two of his daughters Queens, one of Castile and the other of Portugal, bringing home with him also a vast treasure in ready money, having, at the time he landed in England, as one of our Historians tells us, as many chests of gold as loaded forty-seven mules (u). Upon his return in so good circumstances his party began to revive, and the Duke recovered his credit at Court, insomuch that the King, in full Parliament, created him Duke of Aquitaine, and sent him over to take possession of that noble principality (w). His old affection for the Lady Catherine Swynford, sister to Chaucer's wife, revived with his fortune, and under colour of rewarding the care she had taken in the education of his daughters, he made her very large grants in the nature of pensions (x) [M]. We have no particular account

(r) This Licence bears date May 1, 1388.

(s) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(t) H. Knyghton, ap. Decem Script. col. 2677. n. 10.

(u) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 118.

(w) Rot. Parl. 13 R. II. n. 21.

(x) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

[L] *Under the heavy burthen of his afflictions.*] There cannot be a better account given of this, which is the most important of our author's works in prose, than by transcribing the Rubrick that stands before it, and which runs thus (58):

(58) Chaucer's Works, p. 479.

'This book is an imitation of *Boecius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*. I. In the first part whereof Love, 'by way of legacy, bequeaths to all them that follow 'her instructions, the knowledge of truth from error, 'whereby they may rightly judge of the causes of 'cross fortune, and such adversities as befal them, 'whether in their suits of Love or otherwise, and so 'in the end obtain their wished desires. II. In the 'second part she teacheth the knowledge of one very 'God our Creator, as also the state of Grace, and 'the state of Glory, all which good things are figured 'by a Margarite Pearl. Chaucer compiled this book 'as a comfort to himself, after great griefs conceived 'for some rash attempts of the Commons, with whom 'he had joined, and thereby was in fear to lose the 'favour of his best friends, and also therein to set an 'end to all his writing, being commanded by Venus '(as appears by Gower at the end of the eighth book, 'intituled *Confessio Amantis*) so to do, as one that was 'Venus Clerk; even as Gower had made his *Confessio Amantis*, his last work and shrift of his former 'offences.' As one of the great excellencies of all our author's compositions in verse or prose, is, an easy, natural, and unaffected manner of writing, allowing for the usage of the times in which he lived, which in all ages has been held a kind of law even to the best and ablest authors; so in this work these qualities are very remarkable, for one plainly sees a great Philosopher broken by misfortunes, deserted by companions, and exposed to the censures of an evil world, delivering himself in a prison with freedom and spirit, though in a melancholy mood, and in the language of sorrow; painting in the boldest colours his own mistakes as well as those of others; and pointing out the sole remedies that are left, when a man is abandoned by fortune and by friends. Such is the nature of this performance, in which we have a clear and perfect representation of his condition, and may enter as fully into all the causes of his private griefs, which were also those of the publick disorders of his time, as if we actually sat by him in the prison, and heard him utter those complaints, which, with equal force of fancy, and elegance of expression, he has committed to the perusal of posterity, and thereby transmitted the fairest evidence of a spirit, which, though calamity might tame, yet it could not injure, much less destroy.

[M] *He made her very large grants in the nature of pensions.*] The colour given by the Duke of Lancaster to these grants made in favour of the Lady Swynford, was the care she had taken of his two daughters Philippa and Elizabeth, as appears by the words of the grant of the wardship of Bertam de Sanbys's heir, and of an annuity of two hundred marks *per annum*, payable out of his honour of Tickhill, which words are these (59): 'For the good and agreeable service which our thrice 'dear and most beloved Lady Catherine Swynford, 'the mistress of our most beloved daughters, hath 'rendered to our said children; we have given and 'granted, &c.' but no doubt the true reason was for his special affection towards her on account of the children he had had by her, to whom he gave the name of Beaufort, in Latin *de bello forte*, from a castle so called in Anjou, which came into his family by the Lady Blanch of Artois, Queen of Navarre (60). These children were four, *viz.* John Beaufort, afterwards Earl of Somerset; Henry Beaufort, afterwards Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of England;

(59) Ex libro nigro in Cam. Duc. Lanc. fol. 96.

(60) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

account of the benefits that accrued to Chaucer from this turn in the Duke's affairs, but notwithstanding this we have no reason to doubt, that he felt the effects of his patron's prosperity, who had suffered so deeply by the declension of his influence. But it seems his distaste to Courts was grown so strong, that nothing could tempt him to quit his rural retirement, or to launch again into that sea of business where he had been so lately shipwrecked (*y*). His mind however being more at rest, he undertook and finished a new work, which has established his reputation, with respect to learning, upon as firm a basis, as his former labours had fixed his fame for wit and genius. This new work plainly appears to be wrote in the year 1391, and was intended for the use of his younger son Lewis, then no more than ten years of age, and yet so forward in his learning, as to be desirous of having his father's instructions in acquiring the principles of Astronomy. This gave birth to his *Treatise on the* ASTROLABE (*z*), which not only shows the *skill* of it's author, but likewise incontestibly proves, useful science was not at near so low an ebb in those times as it is generally represented (*a*). Neither will the case be at all altered, if what some writers have suggested should really prove true, and this Discourse of Chaucer's appear to be no more than a translation, or, which seems to be still a more probable opinion, a Collection from other authors who had written before him upon the same subject (*b*) [*N*]. About four years after this, while her husband was in France, Constance, Duchess of Lancaster, died (*c*), and was buried with great solemnity at Leicester, and the Duke coming over into England at the close of the year, and not meeting with quite so kind a reception at Court as he expected, went suddenly to Lincoln where his old mistress Lady Catherine Swynford resided, and to the great surprize of the world, now, when she had not either youth or beauty to recommend her, married her (*d*). This gave great discontent to the Duchess of Gloucester, the Countess of Derby, the Countess of Arundel, and other Ladies descended of the Royal Family, because she became by this marriage the second person in the realm, and from being no fit companion for any, was now suddenly to take place of them all; but she behaved with so much discretion and humility, that these disputes were quickly composed (*e*), and in a short time she gained such an ascendency over the King, that he carried her, as well as the Duke her husband, with him the year after their marriage into France, at which time he espoused Isabel the French King's daughter, then very young, and who was put under the care of the Duchess of Lancaster (*f*). After the ceremony of this marriage, and the return of the Royal Family to England, we find a very singular instance of the advantage that Chaucer received from this alliance, for now, by Letters Patents, the King granted him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* (*g*), in lieu of that given him by his grandfather, and which, in the time of his distress, he had been compelled to dispose of for his subsistence. Soon after this he granted him his protection by other Letters Patents, dated the fourth of

(*y*) See his Preface to his Treatise on the Astrolabe.

(*z*) Chaucer's Works, p 439.

(*a*) See this farther explained in the note [*N*].

(*b*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*c*) Tho. Walf. p. 385. n. 40. Hen. Knyghton, ap. Decem Script. col. 2731. n. 30.

(*d*) Tho. Walf. p. 388. n. 10.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 312.

(*f*) Knyghton, Walfingh. ubi sup.

(*g*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

England; Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Exeter; and Joan, first married to Sir Robert Ferrers of Oversly, and afterwards to Ralph Earl of Westmoreland (61). We have mentioned this more particularly, because of the near relation between the descendants of our author and those of this Lady by the Duke of Lancaster, of which we find it remembered by a very curious and circumspect writer (62) in the time of King Charles I, that there had been eight Kings, four Queens, and five Princes of England; six Kings, and three Queens of Scotland; two Cardinals, upwards of twenty Dukes, almost as many Duchesses of England, several Dukes of Scotland, besides many potent Princes, and eminent Nobility in foreign parts.

[*N*] *Upon the same subject.*] The title of this piece, as it stands in our author's Works, is, *The Conclusions of the Astrolabie* (63), in the Introduction to which, addressed to his son, he remarks, that it was with great pleasure he observed his growing capacity and earnest passion for learning, which very willingly induced him to yield to his request, of teaching him the use of this instrument. He then proceeds to inform him, that his intention was not to discourse of all, but on the most useful, and those too the most easy operations that might be performed by this curious instrument, as being the fittest for the apprehension of a child of ten years old. He adds, that for the very same reason he wrote them in English and not in Latin, as conceiving it too much to put so young a person upon learning things unknown in a tongue of which he had little or no knowledge, and which also he held unnecessary, since the science was the same in whatever language taught, and the practice too had been the same in other nations; for the Greeks wrote their books of Astronomy in Greek, the Arabians in Arabick, the Jews in Hebrew, and those to whom the Latin language was familiar in Latin; for assuredly, says he, those who wrote in Latin had the knowledge of which they wrote, out of other tongues. He would not therefore have him believe, that he knew the less for not gaining his knowledge from that learned language, because, continues he, different tongues lead to the same science, as by many different roads men go to the same city, as for instance to Rome. He adds likewise, that he has written it in a very plain stile, out of regard to the tenderness of his understanding, and that he judged it better to use more words to make the propositions clear, than by studying a correct style, to render his work more difficult to a child, though more perfect in the eyes of scholars; and also puts him in mind, that he pretends not to deliver any thing of his own, but only to compile and to translate from the Astronomers in several languages, what, with more accuracy, but less perspicuity, they had delivered concerning this matter; and with this sword, says he, (meaning this explication of his design) shall I slay envy. The work itself is unquestionably a master-piece in it's kind, and agrees in every respect to what it appears the author proposed to make it, for there can be nothing better disposed, more clearly written, or delivered in a way more suitable to please and satisfy the appetite of a young scholar. In a very fine MS. of this treatise, belonging formerly to Dr Henry Moore, Bishop of Ely, there is a note which signifies, that Lewis Chaucer was at this time under the tuition of his father's friend Nicholas Strode, Leland (64), Bale (65), and Wood (66), call him Ralph Strode of Merton-college in Oxford, one of the deepest Philosophers, and most esteemed Poets of his time, which, considering the youth of Lewis Chaucer, seems not a little strange. The note referred to at the end of the book before-mentioned runs thus: 'Explicit Tractatus de Conclusionibus Astrolabii, compilat. per *Galfredum Chauciers*, 'ad filium suum *Ludewicum* scholarem tunc temporis 'Oxoniæ, ac sub tutela illius nobilissimi Philosophi 'Magistri N. Strode.'

(61) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 119.

(62) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 661.

(63) Chaucer's Works, p. 439.

(64) Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 376.

(65) Script. Brit. p. 477, 478.

(66) Hist. & Antiquit. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 87.

of May in the twenty-first year of his reign, for two years, signifying, that for that space he had occasion to employ him in his service (*h*). Neither was this the last or greatest instance afforded him of royal favour, since we find that by Letters Patents dated the thirteenth of October in the following year, he had a pipe of wine annually granted him out of the customs of the Port of London (*i*), which was to be delivered him by the Chief Butler, and to this office his son Thomas Chaucer was now raised (*k*). But if these benefits cheared and comforted his decayed spirits in the decline of life, he had however the mortification to lose, about the same time, his noble patron, his constant friend, and kind brother, the Duke of Lancaster, by whom he was first brought to Court, and through whose favour he never wanted either countenance or support, when it was in his power to bestow (*l*). This loss very probably afflicted him deeply, as we may gather from his retiring about this time to Dunnington-castle, where he spent most of his days during the last two years of his life, indulging his grave thoughts in the solitude of that sweet retreat (*m*) [*O*]. In this situation he was, when that great revolution happened, which placed Henry of Lancaster, the son of his brother-in-law, upon the throne, in which as Chaucer had no hand (though certainly it could not displease him) so we do not find that he was at all eager in paying his compliments to the new King, much less that he triumphed in the misfortunes of his late kind master and gracious benefactor, as others, and particularly Gower, who had been more obliged to that unfortunate Prince, and who at that time was both old and blind, most shamefully did (*n*). He did not however slight the advantages offered him by this revolution, but having accidentally lost the two last grants of an annuity, and of the pipe of wine by King Richard, he obtained a confirmation of them in the first year of Henry IV, by an exemplification of his former Letters Patents (*o*). Neither was this the only favour he received from the new King, who, out of regard to the ancient friendship and near alliance between the Prince his father and our author, granted him, during the first year of his reign, an annuity of forty marks *per annum* for the term of his life (*p*). It is true indeed that a very great writer, a sincere admirer of our author, and most deservedly a Poet-Laureat himself, informs us, that Chaucer enjoyed this honour under three Kings, Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV (*q*), but this is a mistake, for in truth there was no such office in those days, or, if we may trust to the authority of the learned Selden, before the reign of Edward IV (*r*). If we take this in a more extensive sense, for an eminent Poet who celebrated these Princes, it may be justly applied to Chaucer in regard to the two first, but we find nothing in his Works relating to the last, nor indeed is his name so much as mentioned in any of our author's writings. The small time he lived after the accession of this King, was chiefly employed in regulating his private affairs, which had suffered by the publick disorders, for all the publick Acts of the deposed King Richard, in the twenty-first year of his reign being declared void, Chaucer was forced to quit his retirement, to come up to town to sollicit his causes, and beginning now to bend under the weight of years (*s*), this unlucky accession of business, which obliged him to alter his usual way of living, might very possibly hasten his end, the near approach of which he bore with Roman constancy, or rather with Christian patience; for there is still extant a kind of Ode that he is said to have composed in his last agonies, which very plainly proves that his senses were perfectly sound, and the faculties of his mind not in the least impaired (*t*) [*P*]. He died October 25, 1400, in the full possession of

(*h*) Pat. 21 R. II. p. 3. m. 26.

(*i*) Pat. 22 R. II. p. 1. m. 5.

(*k*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) T. Walsingh. p. 393. n. 30.

(*m*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*n*) See his Prologue to his *Confessio Amantis*.

(*o*) Pat. 1 H. IV. p. 1. m. 18.

(*p*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to his Works by Urry.

(*q*) Mr Dryden, in his Preface to his Fables.

(*r*) Selden's Titles of Honour, P. ii. ch. 1. §. 43.

(*s*) Leland, de Script. Brit.

(*t*) See this Poem in the note [*P*].

[*O*] *Of that sweet retreat.*] It is not very clear at what time our author quitted his beloved house at Woodstock, in order to go to Dunnington-castle, where he spent the last two years of his life; but as this was his final retreat, and became very remarkable for being so, an account of it cannot be unacceptable to the reader. It was in Mr Camden's time (67), (when in it's glory) 'a small but neat castle, situate upon the brow of a 'rising hill, having an agreeable prospect, very light, 'with windows on all sides, said to be built by Sir Richard Adderbury, Knt. who likewise founded an hospi'tal beneath it called God's House; it was afterwards 'the seat of Chaucer, then of the De la Poles, and in 'our father's memory the dwelling of Charles Brandon 'Duke of Suffolk.' At the beginning of the rebellion in the reign of King Charles I, it was a garrison for the King under the valiant Sir John Boys, which commanded the western road and town of Newberry, and was therefore of great advantage to the Royal Party as a safe retreat, and the cannon playing from it much annoyed the Parliament forces. This place his Majesty honoured by lying one night in it, but after a rough assault, and as bold a resistance, during which several of the towers were battered down, it was surrendered upon honourable conditions. This was the antient state, and the occasion of the late ruin of that pleasant structure. At present there is nothing to be seen, of it but what raises horror and concern, a battered gateway with two towers, and some small part of the shattered walls, being all that remains thereof. The ground about it, and the ruins of it, are choaked with brambles and over-run with ivy; but lest the place of it's situation should in a few years more be forgot (68), I shall as plainly as I can describe it. It lies half a mile to the right of Spinham-land, (the antient Spina of Antoninus) and a mile beyond Newbury on the same side; as you go from London you pass over the river Kennet to the village of Dunnington, from which there is a pretty steep but pleasant ascent through a lane to a hill under the castle, where stands a seat formerly belonging to the Countess of Sandwich. From hence arises the Castle-hill, very steep, and not unlike that whereon the Observatory stands at Greenwich, and from this hill there is a very fine prospect of several counties. On the back of the castle are level grounds, woodlands, and enclosures. The Castle itself stands in a pleasant park, in which there was a famous oak called Chaucer's Oak, under which, as tradition taught, he wrote several Poems. Mr Evelyn (69) gives a particular account of this tree, and says there were three of them planted by Chaucer, the King's Oak, the Queen's Oak, and Chaucer's Oak.

[*P*] *And the faculties of his mind not in the least impaired.*] This *Sonnet* or *Ode* consists of no more than three stanza's, and as well for the beauty of the piece, as for the extraordinary occasion on which it was written, I think it very well deserves a place here (70).

(67) Camd. Britan.

(68) These are the words of the author of the Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(69) In his Sylva.

(70) In a MS. in the Cotton. Library OTHO, A. XVIII. this title is inserted; *A Balade made by Giffrey Chaucyer, upon his Dethe Bedde lying in his grete Anguysse.*

Gode

of that high reputation (*u*) which his writings had deservedly acquired, and was buried in Westminster-abbey, in the great south cross-isle. Some writers have affirmed that he was first buried in the cloister, and lay there till some years after, but this is a mistake, for Caxton, in his edition of Chaucer (which was long before the time of his removal) as they place it, says that he was buried in the Abbey-church of Westminster before the Chapel of St Bennet. And it is very probable he lay beneath a large stone of grey marble in the pavement, where the monument of Mr Dryden now stands, which is in the front of that chapel, upon the erecting of which this stone was taken up, and sawed in pieces to make good the pavement; at least this seems best to answer the description of the place given by Caxton (*w*). As to the alterations that have happened since, and the inscription now visible on his tomb, an account will be given in the notes [Q]. We may justly affirm of this

(*u*) Leland. de Script. Brit.

(*w*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

Gode counsaile of Chaucer.

I.

Flie fro the prese and dwell with sothfastnesse,
Suffice unto thy gode though it be small,
For horde hath hate, and climbyng tikilnesse,
Prece hath envy, and wele it brent ore all,
Savour no more then The behovin shall,
Rede well thy self, that othir folke canst rede,
And trouthe The shall delivir it is no drede.

II.

Paine The not eche crokid to redresse,
In trust of her that tournith as a balle,
Grete rest standith in litil businesse,
Beware also to spurre again a nalle,
Strive not as doith a crocke with a walle,
Demith thy self that demist othir's dede,
And trouthe The shall deliver it is no drede.

III.

That The is sent receve in buxomenesse;
The wrastlyng of this worlde askith a falle,
Here is no home, here is but wildirnesse,
Forthe pilgrim forthe o best out of thy stalle,
Loke upon high, and thanke thy God of all;
Weivith thy luste and let thy ghost The lede,
And trouthe The shall delivir, it is no drede.

Attempted in modern English.

The Poet's last advice.

I.

Fly from the crowd, and be to virtue true,
Content with what thou hast tho' it be small,
To hoard brings hate; nor lofty thoughts pursue,
He who climbs high endangers many a fall.
Envy's a shade that ever waits on fame,
And oft the sun that raises it will hide;
Trace not in life a vast expansive scheme,
But be thy wishes to thy state ally'd.
Be mild to others, to thyself severe;
So truth shall shield thee or from hurt or fear.

II.

Think not of bending all things to thy will,
Nor vainly hope that fortune shall befriend;
Inconstant she, but be thou constant still,
Whate'er betide unto an honest end.
Yet needless dangers never madly brave,
Kick not thy naked foot against a nail;
Or from experience the solution crave,
If wall and pitcher strive which shall prevail?
Be in thy cause as in thy neighbour's clear,
So truth shall shield thee or from hurt or fear.

III.

Whatever happens, happy in thy mind
Be thou, nor at thy lot in life repine,
He 'scapes all ill, whose bosom is resign'd,
Nor way nor weather will be always fine.
Beside, thy home's not here, a journey this,
A pilgrim thou, then hie thee on thy way;
Look up to GOD, intent on heavenly bliss,
Take what the road affords and praises pay;
Shun brutal lusts, and seek thy soul's high sphere;
So truth shall shield thee or from hurt or fear.

[Q] *In the notes.*] We are told by Speght and other authors, that the following lines stood anciently upon Chaucer's tombstone,

Galfridus Chaucer, vates & fama Poesis
Maternæ, hâc sacrâ sum tumulatus humo.

This antiently must refer only to the time of Caxton, who procured a long epitaph to be written in honour of our author by Stephanus Surigonius, Poet-Laureat of Milan, which was hung upon a pillar over-against Chaucer's grave stone, towards the end of which epitaph these two lines occur (71). But about the year 1555, as a very exact author reports; or in 1556, as Wood will have it, Mr Nicholas Brigham, a Gentleman of Oxford, who exercised his Muse much in Poetry, and took great delight in Chaucer's works, and honoured his memory, at his own charge, erected a handsome monument for him not far from the said chapel; for in the same place, he could not then conveniently erect it, by reason of the cancelli which the late Duke of Buckingham obtained leave to remove to make room for Mr Dryden's tomb. Upon that monument, Mr Brigham caused Chaucer's picture to be painted from that which was in Occleve's book, together with the following inscription, which still remains.

(71) Stowe's Survey, by Strype, B. vi. p. 31.

M. S.

Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo:
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora vitæ,
Ecce notæ subsunt quæ tibi cuncta notant.
25 Octobris 1400.

Ærumnarum requies mors.

N. Brigham hos fecit Musarum nomine sumptus.
1556.

In English thus:

Of English bards who sang the sweetest strains,
Old Geoffrey Chaucer now this tomb contains:
For his death's date if reader thou should'st call,
Look but beneath and it will tell thee all.
25th of October 1400.

Of cruel cares, the certain cure, is death.

N. Brigham placed these, in the name of the Muses, at his own expence. 1556.

About the ledge of the tomb, we are told, the following verses were written, that are now worn out; but it is more probable, that they were inscribed upon a ledge of brass, that is taken away, for there is not the least sign of any letters upon the stone itself.

Si rogites quis eram, forsan te fama docebit;
Quod si fama negat, mundi quia gloria transit,
Hac monumenta lege.

If who I was you ask, fame shall declare;
If fame denies, since frail all glories are,
These stones shall speak inscrib'd with pious care.

It may not be amiss to observe, that this date of his death is preserved by several writers; who also inform us, that he was then seventy-two. Some indeed have questioned it, because of a piece, intituled, *Cupid's Letter*, printed with Chaucer's works (72), and dated in 1402; but that was written by Thomas Occleve his Scholar, and was intended to do honour to his works and memory. The Revd. Mr Collier fixes his death in 1440 (73), which was the nineteenth of Henry VI; and if so, Chaucer was but ten years old at the death of King Edward

(72) Chaucer's Works, p. 534.

(73) Historical Dictionary, Vol. I.

this great man, that in whatever light he is considered, he seems always to merit our esteem as well as to claim our admiration. In his publick character, if we consider the time in which he lived, we must acknowledge that he shewed as great steadiness, and adhered as firmly to his principles as could be expected; and as to his gratitude towards, and affection for, his patron, the great Duke of Lancaster, it stands in no need of apology. His conduct in the last part of his life was full of prudence, and that calm contempt for an ungrateful world, which, though it is easy for a man of parts to conceive, yet to persist in it is a very difficult task. In private life he was a fine gentleman, a learned writer, and an agreeable companion. In his youth he was gay and loved pleasure, for which he might not only plead the usual excuses of his age and constitution, but the custom also of the times, since he lived in the most gallant reign from the Conquest. But in his maturer state of life his manners altered, and his behaviour was modest and grave to a degree of excess, for which he was rallied by his patroness the Countess of Pembroke, who told him his absence created more mirth than his conversation, for he was very bashful and reserved in company, notwithstanding that life and spirit which appears in his writings. If we look upon him as an author, he may be truly stiled the Father of English Poetry, and perhaps the Prince of it, for except the unavoidable defects of language, his Works have still all the beauties that can be wished for or expected, in every kind of composition (*). He was not unacquainted with the antient rules of Poetry, nor was he incapable of writing up to them, as very clearly appears by the *Knight's Tale*, which, as Mr Dryden very justly says, is a finished Epick Poem, but he did not always judge this exactness necessary, and perhaps he thought his genius set him above those restraints that ought to limit, because they improve, the works of meaner Poets. He was deeply versed in Moral and in Natural Philosophy, and as perhaps no man understood human nature better, so it may be truly said that no writer in any language has either painted it with greater force, exactness, or judgment. His reading was deep and extensive, and his learning both specious and solid; for he knew how to expose those parts of it to view that are most apt to attract publick applause, and yet leave a sense concealed, that might at once employ and satisfy the most inquisitive understandings (y). It would draw this article into too great a length, should we persist in exhibiting every part of his accomplished character, and therefore we will in the notes give the best account we may of his merit in general as a Poet, in all the different kinds of writing by which he distinguished himself in that capacity [R]; and next we will give the reader the clearest account we may of his largest work, peculiar in it's kind, and as it was almost without example, so hitherto above the reach of imitation, I mean his

CANTER-

(*) Camd. Britan. in Dobunis.

(y) Beaumont's Letter to Speght.

Edward III, which contradicts all the records, and is in every respect a most glaring absurdity; whereas, the other date agrees with them exactly, and therefore, there can be no doubt of it's truth.

[R] *By which he distinguished himself in that capacity.*] We may safely affirm, that of Chaucer, which can be hardly said of any other general Poet, ancient or modern, that he excelled in all the different kinds of verse, in which he wrote. In his Sonnets, or Love Songs, when he was but a very boy, there is not only fire and judgment, but great elegance of thought and neatness of composure. It is very true, that he did not always stand upon his own ground, but chose rather to translate from the Italian or French; yet he chose his authors judiciously, and used them freely; so that this, instead of sinking, serves really to heighten his character. That in the elegiack Poetry, he was a compleat master, appears plainly by his *Complaint of the Black Knight*, the Poem called, *La belle Dame sans Mercy*, and several of his songs. He was an excellent master of Love Poetry, having studied that passion in all it's turns and appearances; and Mr *Dryden* prefers him upon that account to *Ovid*. His *Troilus* and *Creseide* is one of the most beautiful Poems of that kind, in which love is curiously and naturally described in it's early appearance, it's hopes and fears, it's application, fruition, and despair in disappointment. How great a master he was in satire, we shall have occasion to show in the next note; but his great proficiency in this, did not at all hinder his discharging himself most happily, in a far more difficult way of writing, that of panegyrick. The praises of Chaucer are easy, natural, and delicate, such as must give equal pleasure to the person commended and to the peruser, and have always the true air of a courtier, without the meanness of a flatterer. His moral Poems are grave and weighty, full of good sense and of fine sentiments. In a word, he deserves all that is said of him by Mr Dryden, who was scarce a better Poet than a Critick; let us hear him then a little upon this subject. 'As he is the Father of English Poetry, so I hold him in the same degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer, or the Romans Virgil: he is a perpetual fountain of good sense, learned in all Sciences, and therefore speaks properly on all subjects: as he knew what to say, so he knows also when to leave off, a continence which is practised by few writers, and scarcely by any of the Ancients, excepting Virgil and Horace.——Chaucer followed nature every where, but was never so bold to go beyond her: and there is a great difference of being *Poëta & nimis Poëta*, if we may believe Catullus, as much as betwixt a modest behaviour and affectation. The verse of Chaucer, I confess, is not harmonious to us, but it is like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus commends, it was *auribus istius temporis accommodata*: they who lived with him, and some time after him, thought it musical, and it continues so even in our judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lidgate and Gower, his contemporaries: there is the rude sweetness of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, tho' not perfect. It is true, I cannot go so far as he who published the last edition of him, for he would make us believe, the fault is in our ears, and that there are really ten syllables in a verse, where we find but nine: but this opinion is not worth confuting; it is so gross and obvious an error, that common sense (which is a rule in every thing but matters of faith and revelation) must convince the reader, that equality of numbers in every verse, which we call heroick, was either not known or not always practised in Chaucer's age: it were an easy matter to produce some thousands of his verses, which are lame for want of half a foot, and some times a whole one, and which no pronunciation can make otherwise. We can only say, that he lived in the infancy of our Poetry, and that nothing is brought to perfection at the first. We must be children before we grow men. There was an Ennius; and in process of time, a Lucilius; and a Lucretius before Virgil and Horace; even after Chaucer, there was a Spenser, a Harrington, a Fairfax, before Waller and Denham were in being: and our numbers were in their nonage, till these last appeared.'

CANTERBURY TALES (z) [S]. We have already, in the course of his memoirs, spoken of most of his Patrons, who were the greatest, as well as ablest, men, of those times. The circle of his friends was also very large, and his communicative disposition made him as much beloved by his contemporaries, as he was admired both by them and by posterity. He appears to have been useful to them in every manner that was in his power, and it was this disposition in all probability that kept them so firm to his interest while he was living, and taught them to have so high a respect for his memory after his decease. It is no difficult thing to compile a list of them from his writings, in which he has mentioned them with all the marks of kindness and esteem possible, a circumstance favourable to himself and to them, for in this Poets have the advantage even of Princes, the latter how great soever can confer only temporary benefits, but the former can bestow immortality, and therefore Princes themselves have courted, not perhaps without political reasons, the good will of these favourites of the Muses. But we are apt to suspect their praises when applied to their Patrons of high rank, more than their commendations of private friends. The former is commonly dictated by the head, whereas the latter flows from the heart, and this consideration alone makes it reasonable, that we should insist more particularly on those whom our author has thus consigned to fame. But in order to spare the reader's time, we shall mention only a very few of Chaucer's intimate friends and contemporaries, at the bottom of the page [T]. That general applause with which his writings were received in his life-

(z) Mr Dryden, in the Preface to his Fables.

[S] *I mean his Canterbury Tales.*] The scheme of this work is in every respect very extraordinary, and of so vast an extent, that at first sight, one would be apt to pronounce it absolutely impracticable, from a persuasion that it must surpass the powers of any single mind to paint the different lineaments, and call out to view the various faculties of every mind. The truth, as well as meaning of this sentiment, will best appear from a short representation of the author's design, which is this: Chaucer pretends, that intending to pay his devotions to the shrine of Thomas à Becket; he set up his horse at the Tarbard-Inn in Southwark. That he found in the Inn, a number of Pilgrims, who severally proposed the same journey; and that they all agreed to sup together, and to set out the next morning on the same party. The supper being finished, the landlord, a fellow of sense and drollery, conformable to his character and calling, makes them no disagreeable proposal: That to divert them on their journey, each of them should be obliged to tell two stories, one going, the other coming back, and that whoever in the judgment of the company should succeed best in this art of tale telling, by way of recompence, at their return to his inn, should be intituled to a good supper at the common cost; which proposal assented to, he promises to be their Governor and Guide. At the entrance of the Poem, the characters of all the Pilgrims are distinctly drawn, and a plan of the Comedy, *in which they stand* for the *Dramatis Personæ*. Besides this, every Tale has it's Prologue, and a kind of Epilogue too, which serves by way of transition to the next; and to the honour of our author be it spoken, *so far* as his plan is executed, every part of it is performed with equal justice and spirit; and above all, the character of the Host, who acts as a kind of Chorus in the ancient Drama, is most admirably kept up, and the same wit, spirit, and humour is preserved through the whole journey, that strikes and astonishes the reader so much at the very beginning, where the original character of this incomparable person is drawn at full length. A stronger argument in support of this character of the Canterbury Tales, cannot well be brought, than arises from the authority of three great Poets, who have judged them worthy of imitation and revival, I mean Spenser, Dryden, and Pope, to whom we may add, Mr Betterton, who translated many of the characters of Chaucer, and must have been allowed to have been as fit a judge of them, as any of the foregoing. But the reader will receive the fullest satisfaction on this head, from the critical remarks of Mr Dryden, who, as he perfectly understood, so he has very freely given us his sentiments on this master-piece of our author's. 'He must, '*says he*, have been a man of a most wonderful comprehensive nature, because, as it has been truly observed of him, he has taken into the compass of his Canterbury Tales, the various manners and humours, as we now call them, of the whole English nation in his age. Not a single character has escaped him. All his Pilgrims are severally distiguished from each other; and not only in their inclinations, but in their very physiognomies and persons. Baptista Porta could not have described their natures better, than by the marks which the Poet gives them. The matter and manner of their tales and of their telling, are so suited to their different educations, humours, and callings, that each of them would be improper in any other mouth. Even the grave and serious characters are distinguished by their several sorts of gravity; their discourses are such as belong to their age, their calling, and their breeding; such as are becoming of them, and of them only. Some of his persons are vicious, and some virtuous; some are unlearned (or as Chaucer calls them) lewd, and some are learned. Even the ribaldry of the low characters is different: the Reeve, the Miller, and the Cook, are several men, and distinguished from each other, as much as the minceing Lady Prioress and the broad speaking gap-tooth'd wife of Bath. But *enough of this*; there is such a variety of game *springing up before me*, that I am distracted in my *choice*, and know not which to follow. *It is sufficient to say*, according to the proverb, that here is God's plenty. We have our forefathers and great grand-dames all before us, as they were in Chaucer's days; their general characters are still remaining in mankind, and even in England, tho' they are called by other names, than those of Monks and Friars, of Chanons, and Lady Abbesses, and Nuns; for mankind is ever the same, and nothing lost out of nature, tho' every thing is altered.'—— Boccace lived in the same age with Chaucer, had the same genius, and followed the same studies: both writ Novels, and each of them cultivated his mother tongue.'—— In the serious part of Poetry, the advantage is wholly on Chaucer's side, for tho' the Englishman has borrowed many tales from the Italian, yet it appears, that those of Boccace were not generally of his own making, but taken from authors of former ages, and by him only modelled; so that what was of invention in either of them, may be judged equal. But Chaucer has refined on Boccace, and has mended the stories, which he has borrowed in his way of telling, tho' prose allows more liberty of thought, and the expression is more easy, when unconfined by numbers. Our countryman carries weight, and yet wins the race at disadvantage.'

[T] *At the bottom of the page*] Amongst the earliest of Chaucer's friends, and also directors of his studies, were Nicholas of Lynne and John Some (74), both Carmelite Monks, and extreamly well versed in Mathematical sciences, the former more especially, who left behind him several learned books, and is commended by Leland as having excelled in Astronomy all that went before him (75). We have before mentioned Ralph Strode, who was both a celebrated Poet and Philosopher of Merton-college in Oxford, where it seems our author was intimately acquainted with him, and had a great veneration for his abilities (76). It is a strange error which the author of the Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edition, has fallen into, with regard to Strode, who, he says, was a great follower of Wickliffe (77), which is so far from being true, that he was one of the warmest writers against him, for which he is heavily censured by Bale (78), and as highly commended by Pits (79). It is very probable that

(74) We find these mentioned by Chaucer himself, and it is certain that they flourished when he was young.

(75) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 347.

(76) Chaucer's Works, p. 333.

(77) This is still stranger, because what he says of him seems to be taken from Bale.

(78) Script. Brit. p. 478.

(79) De Illust. Angl. Scriptor. p. 509.

life-time, and the high honours that were paid him by such as took a pride in stiling themselves his disciples, after his death, stamped such a mark of authority upon his Works (a), as saved at least the greatest part of them from that oblivion, which has covered the performances even of the most celebrated authors of his time. In spite of that spirit of envy which his free and severe satires excited in the Clergy, in spite of his of his own retractation (whether genuine or fictitious (b) is uncertain), in spite of that authority which the Church afterwards acquired, not of censuring only, but of condemning and prohibiting what books they pleased, his writings have escaped, and not barely escaped, but have been held in the greatest honour, and transmitted to posterity with such care and circumspection, and by the united labours of so many eminent persons (c), as will do lasting honour to his memory, and plainly prove, that true genius, extensive learning, and a free spirit, are capable of commanding reverence through all ages, and preserving that transcendent esteem, which is and ought to be the peculiar reward of superior merit [U]. We are not however to suppose, that with all these great qualifications, Chaucer could entirely escape the fury of false Criticks, neither would it have been very much perhaps to his honour if he had, inasmuch as all great Poets, antient and modern, have been so generally infested by these cavillers, that they seem to be the necessary attendants of an exalted reputation, and, like the slaves in a Roman triumph, make unwillingly an addition to that glory they meant to shade. Those who have attacked Chaucer have not presumed to question his wit, for of this perhaps no writer of our nation ever had more, neither have they disputed his poetical abilities, which certainly set his on a level with the greatest names in antiquity; nor have they dared to throw any aspersion on his learning, the extent of which is not greater than the masterly degree of propriety with which it is every where applied: but the point to which they object, is, his changing, debasing, or corrupting our language (d), by introducing foreign words, as if the worth of all languages did not arise from their being thus enlarged and compounded, or as if Chaucer could have hurt the jargon of his time, which was not either Saxon

(a) Such as Occleve, Lydgate, &c.

(b) See Mr Hearne's Letter to Mr John Bagford.

(c) As Caxton, Thynne, Stowe, &c.

(d) Verstegan, Skinner, &c.

that Wickliffe and Chaucer were very good friends, as they both owed the eminence of their respective stations to the same Patron, John Duke of Lancaster (80). Sir John Gower, an eminent Lawyer, Poet, and Philosopher, was also Chaucer's intimate companion, as appears from both their writings; the former was blind before the latter died, and survived him only two years (81). But Thomas Occleve, or Hockliffe, a very ingenious man, and a celebrated writer, was a great favourite of our author's, and imitated him in his manner of writing. We are indebted to him for preserving Chaucer's picture, which he caused to be drawn in his book, *de Regimine Principis*, and which he dedicated to King Henry V, and it is very evident from the verses which refer to that picture, that Chaucer had been a long time dead before he composed that work (82). Another scholar of his was the famous John Lydgate, a Monk of Bury, who celebrates our author's memory and writings in many of his pieces (83), and who outlived him forty years. Schogan also, who distinguished himself by his sarcastical wit, was a professed admirer and imitator of Chaucer; but, as Leland observes, if Chaucer, who sometimes stiles Gower his Master, excelled him in the spirit and elegance of his verses, Schogan, who acknowledged Chaucer for his Master (84), was so far from doing the like that he fell much below him. Yet such in all ages has been the proneness of mankind to encourage even the coarsest sort of satire, that Schogan wanted not his admirers, how little soever he resembled Chaucer. It is believed that he was personally acquainted with the celebrated Petrarch (85), but that he was perfectly master of his writings, and those of Boccace, is incontestible.

(80) See the Life of Wickliffe, by the Rev. Mr Lewis.

(81) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 415.

(82) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 537.

(83) As in his Prologue to the Story of Thebes, his Prologue to the Fall of Princes, his Praise of the Virgin Mary, &c.

(84) Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 421.

(85) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

[U] *And ought to be the peculiar reward of superior merit.*] It must be allowed by all who are proper judges, that the excellence attributed to Chaucer's writings by such Poets as came nearest his own times, did not arise in any degree either from custom or complaisance, but, on the contrary, was equally well founded in reason and on matter of fact; so that if we examine the sentiments we shall find them more noble, shall discover a greater compass in his learning, and, above all, an harmonious sweetness in his verse, far beyond any thing that is to be met with in any poetical compositions for a whole century after his time. This is very candidly acknowledged by a stranger, who had as good a right as any to dispute it, I mean that excellent old Poet of Scotland (86) Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. Indeed Chaucer's reputation was as well established in Scotland as in England, and I will take upon me to say, that he was as much the Father of Poetry in that country as in this. It would render this note tedious to attempt giving a detail of the several printed editions of our author's Works, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to a place where this may be found (87). Caxton, the Father of English Printers, first printed many of Chaucer's Works, and printed them several times. In the reign of Henry VIII, William Botteville, *alias* Thynne, Esq; was the editor of a new edition of Chaucer, which, in a very elegant discourse, he addressed to King Henry VIII (88). In the same reign the industrious and learned Leland, was a studious reader, and a most zealous admirer, of the Works of Chaucer, in whose honour he wrote not one only, but three copies of commendatory verses (89). The same tribute of praise was bestowed upon our author, by that excellent writer, and great judge of elegance in all kind of writing, Roger Ascham (90), to whom we may add *Sir Philip Sidney* (91), who very judiciously observes, that it was equally strange to him, that Chaucer should see so clearly in so misty a time, and that in brighter ages men should go so stumblingly after him. About this time Mr Speght, by the assistance of the industrious John Stowe, published a new edition of our author's Works (92), which were dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury; and another still more complete edition was promised by Mr Francis Thynne, which never appeared. We have mentioned the commendations given him by the laborious John Fox (93), and the most learned Camden (94). We must add to these the numerous testimonies of the immortal Spenser (95), and the judicious Apology of the supposed levities in Chaucer's Works, by Mr Francis Beaumont (96). The celebrated Sir Henry Savile (97), mentions him with the highest respect; and the great Mr Selden (98) has given us a noble specimen of that profound learning of which he was master, in justifying an epithet of our author's. Sir Francis Kynaston of Otely in Shropshire, published the first and second books of a Latin version of Troilus and Creseide, and compleated his translation of, and notes upon, the other three; and from some specimens that are extant in the Glossary at the end of Mr Urry's edition, the world may well perceive, how valuable a performance we are deprived of, by the loss or concealment of his manuscript (99). It would be needless to swell this note with other particulars, but if some able hand would resume the design of the late ingenious Mr Ogle, and give us his Canterbury Tales in modern English, with a proper body of notes, there is no doubt that it would meet with a favourable reception.

(86) In the Preface to his translation of Virgil, p. 9.

(87) See the conclusion of the Life of Chaucer, and the Preface to Mr Urry's edition.

(88) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. p. 422.

(89) Collectanea, Vol. V. p. 141, 152.

(90) Schole-master, fo. 60. b. Toxophilus, fo. 13. b. State of Germany, fo. 1.

(91) Defence of Poesie, p. 492, 515.

(92) Stowe's Annals, p. 326.

(93) Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 42.

(94) Britan. in Dobunis, et in Trinobantibus.

(95) Fairy Queen, l. iv. Cant. ii. St. 31. Ibid. l. vii. Cant. vii. St. 9. Shepherd's Calendar, in Feb. June, and December.

(96) In his Letter to Mr Speght, dated the last of July 1597.

(97) In Præfat. ad Bradu De Causa Dei.

(98) Preface to Drayton's Polyolbion.

(99) Glossary to Chaucer, p. 47. voc. *morter*.

[W] And

Saxon, Norman, or French, but a mixture of all, by introducing words derived from the sweetest and smoothest language then used throughout Europe; I mean the Provençal (*e*). It is however just to observe, that this reflection never made any great impression, and that with the best and most elegant writers in our tongue, Chaucer passes not only for a great improver, but for the very Father and Founder of it; and it is not a little to his honour, that amongst those who are of this opinion we may reckon one of the soundest of our Criticks (*f*), and one of the correctest writers in our language (*g*). So wide the difference is between the narrow notions of false Wits, and the fair and candid judgments that are given by the true [*W*]. We cannot close this article better, than by giving a succinct detail of our author's family, or, to speak with greater propriety, of his eldest son, for as to his second son Lewis, we have no account in what station he lived, or where he died. But as to Thomas Chaucer, the office of Chief Butler to the King granted to him in the last year of Richard II, was afterwards given him for life by Letters Patents from King Henry IV (*h*), and confirmed by Henry VI. In the second year of Henry IV, we find him Speaker of the House of Commons, Sheriff of Oxfordshire and of Berkshire, and Constable of Wallingford-castle, and of Knaresborough-castle, during life. In the fourth year of the same reign the King directed an order to him, as Chief-Butler, to deliver one hundred tons of wine to the Duke of Burgundy. In the sixth year of the same Prince he was sent Ambassador into France, and the year following he went beyond the seas, joined in commission with the King's brother, and Geoffry Chaucer's nephew, Henry Beaufort Bishop of Winchester. In the ninth year of the same reign, on Tuesday the twenty-fifth of October, the Commons presented him their Speaker; as they did likewise in the eleventh year, on Wednesday the twenty-eighth of January. In the twelfth year of that reign, Queen Jane granted to him, for his good service, the manors of Woodstock, Hannebrough, Wotton, and Stantesfield, during life; and in the thirteenth year, on the fifth of November, he was again presented Speaker, as he was in the second of Henry V, on Wednesday the second day of Parliament. And in the same year he was sent by the King, in joint commission with Hugh Mortimer, to treat of a marriage with Katherine, daughter to the Duke of Burgundy. He was likewise Ambassador in the fifth and sixth years of the same reign, with Walter Hungerford, Steward of the Houshold, in the same affair; and again in the sixth year of the same reign, he was Ambassador for peace with France; and he passed through several other publick stations, as appears by Records (*i*). He resided chiefly at Ewelm in Oxfordshire, which came to him by marriage, and there he died on the twenty-eighth of April 1434, and was buried in that parish-church under a black marble tomb (*k*). By his wife Maud, or *Matilda*, who survived him two years, he had one daughter named *Alice*, who was thrice married, first to Sir John Philips, Knt. and afterwards to Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, who dying, left her very rich. Her third husband was the famous William de la Pole, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was first secretly married to the Countess of Hainault, by whom he had one daughter, but procuring a divorce from her, he married this Alice by whom he had one son, John Duke of Suffolk (*l*). Duke William lived chiefly at Dunnington and Ewelm, at the first of which Stowe says he built an Hospital; but he seems to mistake it for that founded by Adderbury, as beforementioned, for Dugdale takes no notice of any other, but at Ewelm he founded one called God's House. He was an instance of the danger of a Prince's favour, and the envy that attends it; for, influencing the notions and the will of his Master Henry VI too much, and abusing the power he had over that easy Prince, he enraged the Commons to that degree, that nothing less than his banishment could appease them, which being agreed to, the Yorkists, fearful of his return, seized him on his passage in Dover-Road, and cut off his head upon the side of a cock-boat, and his body was buried at the Charter-House at Hull (*m*). The Duchess survived him several years, and, after an honourable life, died at Ewelm in the year 1475. Their son John had issue, according to Leland (*n*), John Earl of Lincoln, Edmund, afterwards Duke of Suffolk; Richard, William, and a fifth son, who was a scholar in Gonvil-Hall in Cambridge. Edmund de la Pole, the last of that name Duke of Suffolk, for being in treason against Henry VII, for which he had been once pardoned, forfeited his life to the Crown, and was beheaded in the seventh year of that King's reign, whereby the estates which Chaucer's family was possessed of came to the Crown, and particularly the Hospital of Ewelm, which was by King James I. bestowed on the Physick Professor at Oxford, who is always Master thereof in virtue of his office (*o*).

(*e*) Remarks on the English language by W. C.

(*f*) Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, p. 78.

(*g*) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 41, 42.

(*h*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Chaucer's Works by Urry.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 388.

(*k*) Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 187.

(*m*) See his last Testament, Stafford, and Kemp, p. 189. b.

(*n*) As cited by Dugdale in his Baronage, Vol. II. p. 188.

(*o*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

[*W*] *And the fair and candid judgments that are given by the true.*] The first writer that ventured to fall upon our author was himself more than half a foreigner, and very far from being correct with respect to sentiment or stile. His very charge in the present case will prove what I have advanced (100). 'The 'Poet, Geoffry Chaucer (says he) writing his Poesies in 'English, is of some called the first Illuminator of the 'English tongue. Of their opinion I am not, tho' I 'reverence Chaucer as an excellent Poet for his time. 'He was indeed a great mingler of English with 'French, unto which language (by like, for that he 'was descended of French, or rather Wallon race) he 'carried a great affection.' But Dr Skinner (101), in a very elegant Latin style, has attacked our author with much more spirit and force; I shall give his words in English: 'The Poet Chaucer set the worst example, 'who by bringing whole shoals of French words into 'our language, which was but too much adulterated before, through the effects of the Norman conquest, deprived it almost wholly of it's native grace and splendor, laying on paint over it's pure complexion, and, 'for a beautiful face, substituted a downright mask.'

(100) Restitution of Decay'd Intelligence, chap. vii.

(101) Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ, in Præfat. p. 5.

CHAUNCY (Sir HENRY) Knight, author of *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, was descended from a family which came into England with William the Conqueror [*A*]. He was educated in grammar learning at Bishop's-Stortford-school under Mr Thomas Leigh (*a*): and in the year 1647 admitted in Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge (*b*). He removed in 1649 to the Middle-Temple; and in 1656 was called to the Barr. In 1661, he was constituted a Justice of Peace for the county of Hertford: made one of the Benchers of the Middle-Temple in 1675, and Steward of the Burgh-court in Hertford; and likewise in 1680 appointed, by charter, Recorder of that place. In 1681 he was elected Reader of the Middle-Temple, and on the 4th of June the same year, received the honour of knighthood at Windsor-castle from King Charles II. He was chosen Treasurer of the Middle-Temple in 1685. On the 11th of June 1688, he was called to the degree of a Serjeant at Law, and the same year advanced to be a Welsh Judge, or one of his Majesty's Justices for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor, in the principality of Wales. He married three wives, 1. Jane, youngest daughter of Francis Flyer of Brent-Pelham in Hertfordshire, Esq; by whom he had seven children: she died December 31, 1672. 2. Elizabeth, the relict of John Goulsmith of Stredset in Norfolk, Esq; one of the co-heirs of Gregory Wood of Risby in Suffolk, Gent. By her he had no issue. She died August 4, 1677. 3. His third wife was Elizabeth, the second daughter of Nathaniel Thruston of Hoxny in Suffolk, Esq; by whom he had two children (*c*), He died in the year 1700, and was buried at Ardley, or Yardley. He published, 'The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire [*B*]: with the Original of Counties, Hundreds, Wapentakes, Boroughs, Corporations, Towns, Parishes, Villages, Hamlets, &c.

(*a*) See The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, &c. by Sir Henry Chauncy, fol. Lond. 1700, p. 169.

(*b*) Ib. p. 59.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 59, 61.

[*A*] *Was descended from a family which came into England with William the Conqueror.*] The name of *Chancy*, or *Chauncy*, actually occurs in the roll of Battel-Abby (1). Sir Henry informs us (2), That that person was of Chauncy near Amiens in Picardy: and that several of this name remain still in Normandy, and live there in good credit and reputation. *William*, the eldest son of him who came into England with the Conqueror, purchased the manor of *Scirpenbeck* in *Yorkshire*, which continued in his family, (together with the manor of Willughton in Lincolnshire, and other estates,) till 1399, when *William de Chauncy* mortgaged Scirpenbeck to Ralph Earl of Westmorland, who upon the forfeiture entered, and seized it into his hands; but, upon agreement, Richard Lord Scroop, Baron of Bolton, who married Margaret, the daughter of this Earl, granted the manor of *Pishobury* in *Sabridgeworth* in Hertfordshire, to William de Chauncy just now mentioned, whose posterity lived there, till about the 25th of Queen Elizabeth. He laid out the money, which should have discharged the mortgage of Scirpenbeck, upon the purchase of a fair estate at *Stepney* near London. His son, *John Chauncy*, married Margaret, one of the daughters and coheirs of William Giffard of *Gedleston*, or Gilson, in Hertfordshire. —His descendant, *Henry Chauncy*, removed from Pishobury, in the 25th of Queen Elizabeth aforesaid, to *Gedleston*, where he built a handsome house called New Place. This Henry's second son, named *George*, married Jane, the daughter and heir of John Cornwall of Ardley, Esq; by whom he had a fine estate at *Ardley* in Hertfordshire, the manor of Fairstead in Essex, divers lands in Stebbing in the same county; together with some money, which enabled him to purchase of his elder brother's son (who was very extravagant,) his seat called New Place, with the manors of Giffards, and Netherhall in Gedleston. He died in 1625, leaving his eldest son and heir *Henry*; who deceased in 1631. This Henry's eldest son, named also *Henry*, died in 1681. He was the father of Sir Henry Chauncy, who is the subject of this article. Sir Henry's mother was Anna, daughter and heir of Peter Parke of Tottenham in Middlesex, Gent (3).

(1) See Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 105; and Holinshed's Chron. Vol. III. p. 3.

(2) Historical Antiq. of Hertfordshire, &c. p. 55.

(3) Ibid. p. 55—59; and from the Pedigree, p. 60, 61.

[*B*] *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, &c.*] The author was very fit for such an undertaking, being, in the first place, a native of that county, and a considerable proprietor therein, and therefore wanting neither means of information, nor money for carrying on such an expensive work. And then, as he observes himself (4), 'The near affinity Historical Antiquities 'have to that science, which he had studied, and all 'along practised, [*viz.* the Law] obliged him to be 'conversant in authors that treat thereof.—Nor had 'his frequent view of records, immediately relating to 'several parts of Hertfordshire, in many cases where 'he had been consulted, a little contributed to qualify 'him for an undertaking of this kind: though for 'compleating it, he was forced to have recourse to all 'those that concerned that county, the better to enable him to serve such gentlemen as had lost their 'grants or charters, and would know the privileges 'belonging to their several manors.'——But he complains a little lower.——That many gentlemen who mistook *their* interest, delayed; and others, denied him, the opportunity of asserting their rights. And indeed this is a common obstacle in works of this nature; most people not caring, or being afraid, of shewing the titles and writings belonging to their estates. Sir Henry left some additions to his book, which came afterwards into the hands of N. Salmon, LL.B. and were the chief foundation upon which he built his *History of Hertfordshire*. The author of the *English Topographer* (5) wishes, 'that more care had been taken 'in the engraving part of this work, and that that 'part of the performance had been better.' But he seems to find fault without sufficient reason: for the plates in the copy now before us are really good, the greatest fault being in the paper. C

(4) In the Preface, p. 1.

(5) Edit. Lond. 1720, 8vo, p. 66, 67.

CHEKE (JOHN) a learned and ingenious writer in the XVIth century, was descended of an antient and worthy family [*A*], that flourished long in wealth and reputation at Motston in the Isle of Wight (*a*). He was born at Cambridge June the 16th, 1514, being the son of Peter Cheke, Gent. and Agnes daughter of Mr Dufford (*b*) of Cambridgeshire. After having been educated in grammar-learning under Mr John Morgan (*c*), he was admitted into St John's college in Cambridge at about the age of seventeen years; where he so closely applied himself to his studies, that he became very eminent for his knowledge in the learned languages, particularly the Greek tongue, which was then

(*a*) The Life of Sir John Cheke, Knt. by J. Strype, 8vo, Lond. 1705, p. 2, 3.

(*b*) Or De Ufford, an ancient and good family. Mr Wood calls him Duffield. Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 100.

(*c*) D. Lloyd tells us, that 'a German had the 'care of his younger studies, and 'a Frenchman of 'his carriage.' State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 191.

[*A*] *Was descended of an ancient and worthy family.*] A certain Historian, who seldom gives a favourable account of those who were inclined to the Reformation (1), says, That Mr Cheke was *a man of mean birth*. But therein he is very much mistaken. For, the antiquity of the Cheke family is traced as far back as the reign of King Richard II, when one Cheke married a daughter of the noble family of Montacute. Their paternal estate in the isle of Wight, was three hundred pounds a year, which was never increased nor diminished, till sold outright about the year 1630 (2).

(1) Dr Hayward, in his Life and Reign of King Edward VI, near the beginning.

(2) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Book viii. p. 37. Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 2—4.

them almost universally neglected (*d*). Being recommended as such, by Dr Butts, to King Henry VIII, he was soon after made that King's scholar, and supplied by him with money for his education, and for his charges in travelling into foreign countries. While he continued in college, he introduced there a more substantial and useful kind of learning, than what had been received for some years; and encouraged especially the study of the Greek and Latin languages, and of Divinity (*e*). After having taken his degrees in Arts, being noted for an excellent Grecian, he was chosen Greek Lecturer of the university: There was no salary belonging to that place. But King Henry having founded, about the year 1540, a Professorship of the Greek tongue in the university of Cambridge, with a stipend of forty pounds a year, Mr Cheke, though but twenty-six years of age, was chosen the first Professor (*f*). This place he held long after he left the university, namely, till October 1551 (*g*). In this station, he was highly instrumental in bringing the Greek language into repute, which was then very much slighted; and endeavoured to reform and restore the true and original pronunciation of it: but herein he met with great opposition from Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor of the university (*h*) [*B*]. However, in the course of his Lectures, he went through all Homer,

(*d*) Wood, ibid. and Strype, as above, p. 6, 7.

(*e*) Strype, as above, p. 7—13. Aschami Epist. lib. ii. p. 263. edit. Colon. Allobrogum, 12*mo*.

(*f*) Strype, p. 16, 17. He was chosen though absent, and when he had no less than three competitors. Life of Cheke by Dr Langbaine.

(*g*) Strype, as above, p. 17.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 17, 18, &c.

[*B*] *He endeavoured to reform and restore the true and original pronunciation of the Greek language, but —met with great opposition from——Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.*] The Greek language was then but newly revived, and brought into the Universities, not without great opposition from the patrons of Ignorance and Popery, who could not endure any thing that had the face of novelty, though never so true and right in itself. The pronunciation of it was very vicious; and the received way of sounding the vowels and diphthongs, and some consonants, very odd and untoward. For instance, αι was pronounced as ε (*e*), οι and ει as ι (*i*), and η ι and υ were sounded alike, as ἰῶτα, or (*j*). Some of the consonants also were pronounced differently, according as they stood in the word; that is, the consonant π when it came after ν, they pronounced as a soft B. And τ after μ was pronounced as our D. The letter κ was pronounced as we do CH, and β as we do the V consonant. Now, since different letters must make different sounds, Cheke concluded these to be very false ways of reading Greek; and not, certainly, what was practised by the ancient Grecians (3). He saw, that not only the beauty of the language was lost in this way, but likewise it's very spirit and life were gone, by the loss of so many vowels and diphthongs, and the language become jejune and languid: In this way of speaking it, nothing of numerosity appeared in the ancient Orators and Rhetoricians, nor those flowing periods, for which they had been renowned in old Greece; neither could he himself shew his eloquence, in his orations or lectures, for want of the beauty and variety of sounds (4). He set himself therefore to find out what was the right method: and, partly, by considering the power of the letters themselves; partly, by consulting Aristophanes, and other ancient authors, he concluded, that each vowel should have it's proper sound, and, that diphthongs, consisting of two vowels should have the sound of two. This took exceedingly among the more ingenious men of the University, and great improvements were daily made in the knowledge of the Greek tongue, so that Plato and Aristotle began to be much read. But there was another party in the University, who by being older fancied themselves wiser than the others. These made a great disturbance about this *new* way of speaking Greek, as they called it, and opposed it with all their might, both by writing and speaking. But not finding their arguments so effectual as they wished, they carried their complaints to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor of the University; who, in the true spirit of Popery, made an edict, dated the 14th of May 1542, wherein he forbad all persons to use the new fashion of pronouncing Greek, upon the following penalties: If he were a Regent to be expelled out of the Senate; if he stood for a degree, not to be admitted to it; if a scholar, to lose his scholarship; and the younger sort, to be privately chastised. This edict is framed in such a dictatorial air, that I cannot forbear laying the greatest part of it before the curious reader.——*Sic edico: Quisquis nostram potestatem agnoscis, sonos, literis sive Græcis sive Latinis, ab usu publico præsentis seculi alienos, privato judicio affingere ne audeto.——Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, nisi id Diæresis exigat, sonis ne diducito, neve divellito. Quæsitam usu alteri vocalium prærogativam ne adimito. Sed ut marem fæminæ dominari sinito. Quæ vero earum in communione soni usu convenerunt, iis tu negotium ne facessito.* Αι *&* ε, οι *&* ει *ab* ι *sono ne distinguito. Tantum in orthographia discrimen servato.* Η, ι, υ, *uno eodemque sono exprimito. Cujusq; tamen propriam in orthographia sedem diligenter notato. In* κ *&* γ, *quoties cum diphthongis aut vocalibus sonos* ι *aut* ε *referentibus consonantur, quoniam a doctis etiamnum in usu variantur, aliis densiorem, aliis tenuiorem sonum affingentibus, utriusque pronuntiationis modum discito: Ne aut horum aut illorum aures offendas; neve de sonis litem inutiliter excites. Cæterum, qui in his sonis a pluribus receptus est, illum frequentato.* B *literam ad exemplum nostri* B *ne inspissato, sed ad imitationem* V. *consonantis mollius proferto. Literas* π *&* τ, *item* γ *&* κ, *pro loco & situ alios atque alios sonos adimere memento. Itaque* τ *&* π, *tum denique* β, *quum proxime locantur, hæc post* μ, *illa post* ν, *his locis videlicet litera* τ *referat nostrum* D, π *vero* B *nostrum exprimat. Litera porro* γ *cum proxima sedem occupet ante* κ, χ, *aut aliud* γ, *huic tu non suum, sed sonum* ν *literæ accommodato. Ne multa. In sonis omnino ne philosophator, sed utitor præsentibus. In hiis siquid emendandum sit, id omne authoritati permittito.——Si quis autem, quod abominor, secus fecerit, &c.* Then follow the penalties expressed above——And the whole concludes thus——*In summa, hoc edictum omnes sacrosanctum ita habento, ut nec contumacibus remissum, nec resipiscentibus severum esse videatur* (5). Upon the coming out of this edict, Cheke wrote an elegant letter to the Bishop, wherein he said, 'That the true sounds of the 'letters were changed in the last barbarous ages, and 'that it was therefore better to mend that barbarity, 'than to follow it.' And for this he appealed to Erasmus, (who had writ a book *of the true pronunciation of the Latin and Greek*,) and other learned men. The Bishop replied, 'That the sound of letters was more 'like to be changed by the learned than the unlearn-'ed: the learned being wont to have so much regard 'to the euphony, and the gracefulness of the sound 'of words.' Cheke shewed, how by pronouncing the diphthong οι as an ι, (as was then commonly done,) there would be no distinction between Λοιμὸς and Λιμός. But the Chancellor was for no changes. *Utere*, saith he to Cheke, *moribus antiquis, verbis vero præsentibus, & multo magis sonis*, i. e. use ancient customs, but present words, and much more sounds. And when Cheke alledged, 'He acted merely out of 'love for the truth:' The Chancellor broke out into this expression——*Quid non mortalia pectora cogit veri quærendi fames?* i. e. What does not too great an eagerness for seeking out truth drive men into? As if that had been so great a crime. However truth at length prevailed: And this true way of reading Greek came to be received not only in the Universities, but also throughout the kingdom (6). This controversy was managed between Bishop Gardiner and Mr Cheke in *seven* elegant epistles: of which the originals being left in the hands of Coelius Secundus Curio, a learned man of Basil, by Cheke himself, as he passed through that place in his journey to Italy, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign; they were published from those originals in 1555, 8vo. without Mr Cheke's knowledge or consent, by Curio, with the following title, *Joannis Cheki Angli de pronuntiatione Græcæ potissimum Linguæ, Disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi Episcopo, septem contrariis Epistolis comprehensæ, magna quadam & elegantia & eruditione refertæ* (7).

(3) Strype, as above, p. 18, 19, 203, &c. and Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. I. p. 372.

(4) Reflections upon Learning, by T. Baker, B. D. 5th edit. 1714, 8*vo*, p. 32.

(5) Printed among *J. Cheki de Pronuntiatione Disputationes, &c.*

(6) Ibid. & Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. I. p. 372.

(7) Strype's Life of Cheke, &c. p. 24, 127, 202—209.

[*C*] *Made*

Homer, all Euripides, part of Herodotus, and through Sophocles twice, to the advantage of his hearers, and his own credit (*i*). He was also at the same time University-Orator (*k*). About the year 1543, he was incorporated Master of Arts, at Oxford, where he had studied some time (*l*). On the 10th of July 1544 he was sent for to Court, in order to be School-master, or Tutor, for the Latin tongue, jointly with Sir Anthony Cooke, to Prince Edward: and, about the same time, for an encouragement and a reward, the King granted him one of the Canonries in his new-founded college at Oxford, now Christ-Church; but that college being dissolved in the beginning of the year 1545, a pension (*m*) was allowed him in the room of his Canonry (*n*). By this preferment it appears, he was then in holy orders. While he was entrusted with the Prince's education, he so adapted all the instructions he gave him, as that they should tend to render him a wise man, and a good Governor. And he made use of all the interest he had, in promoting men of learning and probity. He seems also to have had sometimes the Lady Elizabeth under his care (*o*). In 1547, he married Mary, daughter of Richard Hill, Sergeant of the Wine-cellar to King Henry VIII (*p*). When his Royal pupil, King Edward VI. came to the Crown, he rewarded him for his care and pains with an annuity of one hundred marks (*q*); and also made him a grant of several lands and manors [*C*]. He likewise caused him, by a Mandamus, to be elected Provost of King's College in Cambridge; which place was vacant by the deprivation of George Day, Bishop of Chichester (*r*). In May 1549, he retired to Cambridge, upon some disgust he had taken at the Court; and was notwithstanding one of the King's Commissioners, for visiting that university this summer. The October following, he was one of the thirty-two Commissioners, appointed to examine the old Ecclesiastical Law books, and to compile from thence a body of Ecclesiastical Laws (*s*), for the government of the Church: and again, three years after, he was put in a new commission, issued out for the same purpose (*t*). He returned to Court in the winter of 1549, but met there with great uneasiness, on account of some offence given by his wife to Anne, Duchess of Somerset, whose dependent she was. Mr Cheke himself was not exempt from trouble, being of the number of those, who were charged with having suggested ill counsels to the Duke of Somerset, and afterwards betrayed him (*u*). But having got over this shock at Court, he stood the firmer, afterwards, and his interest and authority daily increased, so that he became the great Patron of religious and learned men, both English and foreigners. In 1550 (*w*), he was made chief Gentleman of the King's Privy-Chamber; whose tutor he still continued to be, and who made a wonderful progress through his good instructions. Mr Cheke, to ground him well in morality, read to him Cicero's Philosophical works, and Aristotle's Ethicks. And also, what was of great importance, instructed him in the General History, the State and Interest, the Laws and Customs of England (*x*). He likewise directed him to keep a Diary of all the remarkable occurrences that happened [*D*]. In October 1551, his Majesty conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, and to enable him the better to support that degree, made him a considerable grant [*E*]. The same year, he held two private conferences, with some other learned persons [*F*], upon the subject of the Sacrament, or Transubstantiation (*y*). He procured Bucer's manuscripts; and in 1552, the famous John Leland's valuable collections [*G*], for the King's library.

(*i*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 100.

(*k*) Strype, as above, p. 27.

(*l*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 68. He says elsewhere that it was in 1542, or thereabouts. Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 100.

(*m*) Of 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

(*n*) Wood, ibid. and Strype, as above, p. 31.

(*o*) Strype, p. 40.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 43.

(*q*) Ib. p. 44, 46.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) See the article COX (RICHARD) in the note concerning *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.*

(*t*) Strype, as above, p. 49, 55, 56.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 56, 58.

(*w*) Wood says it was in 1547, but we chuse to follow Mr Strype, Wood being visibly mistaken.

(*x*) Strype, as above, p. 59, 72, 73.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 85, 90, &c.

[*C*] *Made him a grant of several lands and manors.*] In 1548 he granted to him, and Walter Moyle, the very advantagious purchase, of the College of St John Baptist at Stoke, near Clare in Suffolk, and likewise all the messuages, tenements, *&c.* with the appurtenances belonging to the college of *Corpus Christi*, in the parish of St Laurence Poultney, London, lately dissolved; together with divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Suffolk, Devon, Kent, and in London; for the sum of 958 *l.* 3 *s.* 5 *d.* *ob.* a good penny-worth, undoubtedly, as Mr Strype observes (8). The next year, in consideration of his industry in teaching the King, he obtain'd, the house and site of the late Priory of Spalding in the county of Lincoln, the manor of Hunden in the same county, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lincoln, and Suffolk, to the yearly value of 118 *l.* 11 *d.* *q.* and no rent reserved (9).

[*D*] *He likewise directed him to keep a Diary, &c.*] And to write down briefly, under each day of the month, debates in Council, dispatch of embassadors, honours conferred, and other remarks as he thought proper. This undoubtedly produced that King's journal, which is preserved in the Cottonian Library, and thence printed in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. Appendix.

[*E*] *Made him a considerable grant.*] It was a gift in fee simple, (upon consideration of his surrender of the hundred marks abovementioned,) of the whole manor of Stoke near Clare, exclusive of the college before granted him, and the appurtenances in Suffolk and Essex; with divers other lands, tenements, *&c.* all to the yearly value of 145 *l.* 19 *s.* 3 *d.* And a pasture, with other premisses, in Spalding; and the Rectory, and other premisses, in Sandon (10).

[*F*] *The same year he held two private conferences— upon Transubstantiation.*] The first conference was held November the 25th, in Secretary Cecil's house, and the second December 3d, the same year, at Sir Richard Morison's. The auditors were, the Lord Russel, Sir Tho. Wroth of the Bed-Chamber, Sir Anthony Cook one of the King's tutors, Throgmorton Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Mr Knolles, and Mr Harrington, with whom were joined the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Rutland, in the second Conference. The Popish disputants for the real presence were, Feckenham afterwards Dean of St Paul's, and Yong; and at the second disputation Watson. The disputants on the other side, were, Sir John Cheke, Sir William Cecil, Horn Dean of Durham, Whitehead, and Grindal. Some account of these disputations is still extant in Latin, in the library of MSS. belonging to Bennet-College in Cambridge; and from thence published in English by Mr Strype (11).

[*G*] *In 1552 he procur'd J. Leland's Collections, for the King's library.*] But, either by reason of Sir John's misfortunes, or through some other accident, they were not reposited there. Four volumes of these *Collections* were given by his son Henry Cheke, to Humphrey Purefoy, Esq; one of Queen Elizabeth's Council in the North, whose son Thomas Purefoy, of Barwel in Leicestershire, gave them to the famous Antiquarian William Burton of Lindley, in the same county,

(10) Ibid. p. 86.

(11) Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 90—112.

library (z). Being at Cambridge, at the Commencement in 1552, he disputed there against Jesus Christ's local descent into hell [H]. On the 25th of August, the same year, he was made Chamberlain of the Exchequer for life: and in 1553, constituted Clerk of the Council; and soon after, one of the Secretaries of State, and a Privy-Counsellor (a). In May the same year, the King granted to him and his heirs male, the honour of Clare in Suffolk, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of one hundred pounds. His zeal for the Protestant Religion induced him to approve of the settlement of the Crown upon the Lady Jane Grey: and he acted as Secretary to her, and her Council, after King Edward's decease (b) [I]. But upon Queen Mary's accession to the throne, he was dealt with as a traytor; being committed to the Tower on the 28th of July, and an indictment drawn up against him, the 12th or 13th of August (c). The year following, after he was almost stripped of his whole substance, he obtained the Queen's pardon, and was set at liberty, September 3, 1554 (d). But not being able to reconcile himself to Popery, which was then restored again; and foreseeing the evil times that were drawing on; he obtained a licence from the Queen to travel for some time into foreign parts. He went first to Basil, where he stayed some time; and thence passed into Italy. At Padua, he met with some of his countrymen, whom he directed in their studies, and read and explained to them some Greek orations of Demosthenes. Upon his return from Italy, not caring to venture into his own country, he went and settled at Strasburgh in Germany, where the English service was kept up, and many of his pious and learned friends resided. But so offended at this were the Popish zealots in England, that his whole estate was confiscated to the Queen's use, under pretence, That he did not come home at the expiration of his travels (e). Being hereby reduced to low circumstances, he was forced to read a Greek lecture at Strasburgh, for his subsistance (f). In the beginning of the year 1556, his wife being come to Brussels, he resolved, chiefly upon an invitation he had received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Mason [K], to go thither to fetch her. But, first, he consulted Astrology, in which he was very skilful and credulous [L], to know, whether he might safely undertake that journey? And being deceived by that delusive art, he fell into a fatal snare between Brussels and Antwerp. For, upon certain intelligence and orders from King Philip II, being way-laid there by the Provost-Marshal, he was suddenly seized on the 15th of May [M]; unhorsed, blindfolded, bound, and thrown into a waggon, conveyed to the nearest harbour, put on board a ship under hatches, and brought to the Tower of London, where he was committed close prisoner.

(z) Ibid. p. 12, 13; and Wood; Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 85.

(a) Strype, p. 119.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid. p. 123.

(d) Wood, as above, col. 101.

(e) Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, &c. p. 124, 125, 126, 135.

(f) Ibid. p. 134.

county, in 1612; and he made use of them in his description of Leicestershire. Many years after, he made a present of them to the Bodleian library at Oxford, where they now are. Some other of these collections, after Cheke's death, came into the hands of William Lord Paget, and Sir William Cecil (12). The original of the Itinerary, in five volumes, 4°. is in the Bodleian library; and two volumes of Collections, relating to Britain, are in the Cottonian. Julius C. 6. (13).

[H] *He disputed against Jesus Christ's local descent into hell.*] This was a point very much canvassed in England, not long after the beginning of the Reformation (14); and which was grounded upon the authority of J. Calvin, who asserted, That Jesus Christ went into hell, and there suffered the pains of the damned (15).——At this Commencement at Cambridge, Christopher Carlile keeping a Divinity-Act, chose this for his Thesis, That Christ went into no other hell but the very lowest, *i. e.* that of the damned. Sir John Cheke agreed beforehand to dispute upon that question with him, on purpose to attack the Popish doctrine of the *Limbus Patrum*; that is, an apartment in hell, where, they say, the ancient patriarchs and good men before Christ were detained, and in which Christ descended on purpose to deliver them from thence (16).

[I] *He acted as Secretary to her* [the Lady Jane Grey] *and her Council, after King Edward's decease.*] He was sworn and admitted into that office June the 2d, and the two other Secretaries were yet continued, and all three Secretaries appeared in Council together, as is manifest from the council-book. But at this juncture Cecil was intended to be laid aside, because he scrupled coming into the ambitious designs of the Duke of Northumberland, who would have the Crown settled upon the Lady Jane Grey, which had married his son Guilford Dudley. But Cheke's zeal for religion made him come into those measures; and that was the cause of his advancement (17). One author tells us, 'he 'had that place three years (18).' But he is much mistaken; for he enjoyed it but little above *four weeks*: to which may be added the nine days of the Lady Jane's reign, for he acted to the last, *viz.* till July the 19th.

(12) Ibid. p. 113.

(13) *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, auctore J. Lelando, Oxon. 1709, in Vita auctoris, & ad calcem secundi Voluminis.

(14) See the article BILSON (THOMAS).

(15) Calvini Institut. l. ii. c. 16. §. 10.

(16) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. col. 144; and Strype, as above, p. 116.

(17) Strype, p. 119.

(18) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 194.

[K] *Upon an invitation he had received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Mason.*] These two persons had been his friends and acquaintance in the late King Edward's reign, but having changed their religion, were in great favour with the Queen, and consequently had altered their inclination towards him. Paget came into those parts, under pretence of using the baths of Aix la Chapelle, but really with intent to have the Duchess of Suffolk, and her husband, who had fled abroad for their religion, betrayed into his hands. As for Mason, he was the Queen's Ambassador at the Court of Brussels. Failing in their attempt upon the Duchess of Suffolk, they used this stratagem to get Sir John Cheke, and Sir Peter Carew (who had been engaged in Wyat's insurrection, and was fled abroad) apprehended. They desired Sir John, to take the opportunity of fetching his wife, to come and see them at Brussels; and for his better security, Mason assured him of a safe-conduct thither in King Philip's, and his own, name. He accordingly went thither, with Sir Peter Carew, and enjoyed his pretended friends Paget and Mason; but, as he was coming back from them, he was seized between Brussels and Antwerp, as is above related. So that it appears, he and his friend Carew were betrayed (19).

[L] *He consulted Astrology,* &c.] That art was then much studied, both by the Nobility and Gentry; in so much, that Dr Laurence Humfrey, who lived in those days, and was afterwards Divinity-Professor at Oxford, in his book *De Nobilitate* (20), observes, how this science above the rest was so snatched at, so beloved, and even devoured by most persons of fashion (21), that they needed no inticements to it, but a bridle rather; not to be set on, but rather taken off from it. And that many had so trusted to this, that they almost distrusted God.

[M] *He was suddenly seized, on the 15th of May.*] Or, as it is expressed in his second recantation,—— 'When *he* thought least,—he was *taken* as it were 'with a hurlewind from the place he was in, and 'brought over the sea, and never knew whither *he* 'went, afore *he* found himself in the Tower of London, which of all places *he* abhorred most (22).'

(19) Strype, p. 135, 136, 139; and Dr Ponet's Treatise of Politick Power, cited by Strype, p. 139, 140.

(20) Lib. iii. p. 347.

(21) *Sic rapi sit adamari, & devorari a plerisque Nobilibus.*

(22) See Strype, p. 157.

[N] And

prisoner (*g*). He soon found, that it was on account of his religion he was thus strangely used. For, two of the Queen's Chaplains were sent to the Tower, to endeavour, out of charity and goood-will as they pretended, to reconcile him to the Church of Rome, tho' without success. But the desire of gaining so great a man, induced the Queen to send to him Dr Feckenham, Dean of St Paul's, a man of a moderate and obliging temper, and with whom he had been acquainted in the late reign. This man's arguments were inforced by this dreadful alternative, *either comply, or burn*, which Sir John's frailty was not able to withstand. Seeming therefore inclined to turn, he was, at his own desire carried before Cardinal Pole, who gravely advised him, to depart from the variety of Doctors to the Unity of the Church. Whereupon, he was forced to submit his person to be ordered as should be thought best for his soul's wealth, to them that had authority in the Church upon such offenders. Then he drew up a paper, consisting of quotations out of the Fathers that seemed to countenance Transubstantiation; representing them as his own opinion, and hoping that would suffice to procure him his liberty, without any other publick declarations of his change. This paper he sent to Cardinal Pole, with a letter dated July 15, wherein he desired him, to have so much compassion of his frailty, as to spare him from making an open recantation; but that was refused him. He writ a letter to the Queen the same day, in which he declared his readiness to obey her laws, and other orders of religion. After which, to declare his repentance for rejecting the Pope, he made his solemn submission before the Cardinal, suing to be absolved, and received into the bosom of the Roman Catholick Church; and this was granted him as a mighty favour. But notwithstanding all that, he was forced to make a publick recantation before the Queen, on the 4th of October, and another long one before the whole Court [*N*]; and submitted, moreover to whatever penances should be enjoyned him by the Pope's Legate, *i.e.* the Cardinal (*h*). After all this drudgery, his lands were restored to him, but it was upon condition of an exchange with the Queen for others [*O*]. The Papists, to triumph in his conversion, and to mortify the Protestants, obliged him to keep company generally with Catholicks, and to be present at the examinations and convictions of those they called Hereticks (*). But his remorse and extreme vexation for what he had done, sat so heavy upon his mind, that pining away with shame and regret, he died September the 13, 1557, aged forty-three, at his friend Mr Peter Osborne's house, in Wood-street, London, and was buried in St Alban's Church there, in the north chapel of the choir, the 16th of September (*i*). A stone was set afterwards over his grave, with an inscription [*P*]. He left three sons [*Q*]; and was author of several books [*R*]. As to his character; he was a person of extraordinary wit, and was accounted one of the best and learnedest men of his age, and a singular ornament to his country. He was one of the revivers of polite literature in England, and a great lover and encourager of the Greek language in particular. The authors he chiefly admired and recommended, were, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, and Cicero. These, together with the Bible, and a few more, were sufficient, in his judgment, to render

(*g*) Ib. p. 135, 136; and Wood, Athenæ, col. 101.

(*h*) Strype, as above, p. 142—166.

(*) J. Fox says, That he was drawn unawares to sit in the place where the poor Martyrs were brought before Boner and other Bishops to be condemned. Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1955.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 167—170.

[*N*] *And another long one before the whole Court.*] This second recantation, in particular, is manifestly in the style of Cardinal Pole, that is, long and tedious. Cheke is made to accuse himself therein, in the most ignominious manner——As may appear from these few lines——'I did most grievously offend, both to 'the ruin of myself, and of others that were conversant 'with me in the Court, where I had more occasion to 'do hurt for the place of schoolmaster I had with 'young King Edward, and with all the youth of the 'Nobility than any other had. And albeit mine of'fice was not to teach him the matters of religion, 'which was committed to others; yet I confess touch'ing my pestilent error, I peradventure did no less to 'confirm and set forward the same in his mind, and 'all the rest of the youth than any other.——Mine 'error [*i.e.* his being a Protestant] was a blasphemy 'of the holy name of God, under colour to glorify the 'same, and a persecution of the name of Christ, more 'grievous than ever were they, that, deceived by 'others, crucified Christ, or afterward did persecute 'those that were his disciples—(23).'

(23) See Strype, p. 152; and also p. 163.

[*O*] *But it was upon condition of an exchange with the Queen for others.*] Upon his surrendering the lands mentioned above in Note [*E*] the Queen granted him, April 12, 1556, the reversion of the manor of Brampton-Abbot in Devonshire, and the annual rents of 37 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d. ob.* and the reversion of customary lands of Freshford, and Woodwick, in Somersetshire; the capital messuage of Batokysborough; the manor of Ayscote; and the manor of Northlode, in the same county; the manor of More in, Devonshire; and some other things (24).

(24) Ibid. p. 167, 168.

[*P*] *A stone was set afterwards over his grave, with an inscription.*] Which inscription was composed by his learned friend Dr Walter Haddon, and is as follows.

Doctrinæ lumen Checus, vitæque magister,
Aurea naturæ fabrica, morte jacet.
Non erat è multis unus, sed præstitit unus
Omnibus, & patriæ flos erat ille suæ.
Gemma Britanna fuit, tam magnum nulla tulerunt
Tempora thesaurum, tempora nulla ferent (25).

(25) Ibid. p. 171. Mr Strype took it from a copy transcribed from the stone, by C. Lancaster, a herald, in 1621. By Dr Langbaine and A. Wood, the first verse is thus read, *Doctrinæ Checus, Linguæq; utriusque, magister.*

[*Q*] *He left three sons.*] John, and Edward, the two youngest, died without issue. *Henry*, the eldest, was Secretary to the Council in the North, and knighted by Queen Elizabeth: he died about the year 1586. *Thomas*, his eldest son and heir, was knighted by King James I. He purchased the seat of Pyrgo near Romford in Essex, where he and his posterity were settled several years. He was buried March 25, 1659, in St Alban's Woodstreet, near his grandfather. Sir Thomas's second son, *Thomas*, commonly known by the name of Colonel Cheke, inherited the estate, and was Lieutenant of the Tower in the reigns of King Charles II. and James II. This Thomas had two sons, Henry, who died young; and *Edward*, who succeeded him in his estates. This Edward dying in 1707 left two sons; but they died both under age; and so the estate devolved to Edward's younger sister *Anne*, wife of Sir Thomas Tipping of Oxfordshire, Baronet. She left only two daughters, whereof *Catherine*, the youngest, is married to Thomas Archer of Underslade in Warwickshire, Esq; the present possessor of the Essex-Estate of the Cheke's (26).

(26) See Strype, as above, p. 179—192; and Hist. and Antiquities of Essex, by N. Salmon, fol. p. 245.

[*R*] *And was author of several books.*] Those that are printed, are as follows. I. A Latin translation of two of St Chrysostom's Homilies, never before published, *Contra observatores novilunii*; and *De dormientibus in Christo*. Lond. 1543. 4°. II. A Latin translation of six Homilies of the same Father, *De Fato*, and *Providentia*

render a man substantially learned, and withal to make him wise and good, which is the true end of learning (k). He was very happy in imitating the ancient and best writers, and had great judgment in translating them. In the Orthography, and pronunciation, of the Latin and Greek languages, he was very critical and exact [S]; and also took great pains to correct, regulate, and improve, his mother-tongue, the English [T]. We are also assured, That he was an excellent Statesman, and a true and sincere Christian, and a hearty professor of the Reformed Religion (l): and likewise extremely beneficent, charitable, and communicative (m). His unhappy fall is indeed a great blemish to his memory. But, before he is absolutly condemned, let any one place himself in his circumstances, and then consider, how few can have resolution enough, to withstand this dreadful dilemma, *either turn, or burn?* An author of more zeal, than charity or knowledge (n), treats him as 'a Libertine by profession,' but, undoubtedly, he has borrowed that odious and unjust character of him from his enemies the Papists. With regard to his person; he had a full,

(k) Ibid. p. 193, 194, 196—200.

(l) Ibid. p. 224, 225. D. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 195.

(m) Strype, ibid. p. 227, 228.

(n) The author of the History of Socinianism. Se *Memoires Literaires de la Grande Bretagne*, Tom. XV. p. 277.

Providentia Dei. Lond. 1547. III. 'The hurt of sedition, how grievous it is to a commonwealth.' The running title is, 'The true subject to the rebel.' It was written, and published, by Mr Cheke in 1549, on occasion of the insurrections in Devonshire and Norfolk; and contains very serious and earnest expostulations with the rebels. 'Tis inserted in Holinshed's Chronicle, under the year 1549, and was reprinted in 1576, as a seasonable discourse upon apprehension of tumults from malecontents at home, or renegadoes abroad. Dr Gerard Langbaine of Queen's College Oxon, caused it to be reprinted again about 1641, for the use and consideration of the rebels against King Charles I. in the time of the civil wars, and prefixed to it a short life of the author (27). IV. A Latin translation of the English *Communion-book*; done for the use of M. Bucer, that he might understand it, and pass his judgment upon the same. 'Tis printed among Bucer's *Opuscula Anglicana*. V. *De obitu doctissimi & sanctissimi Theologi domini Martini Buceri, &c. Epistolæ duæ.* Lond 1551. 4°. printed in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*. He also wrote an *Epicedium* on the death of that learned man (28). VI. *Carmen heroicum*, or *Epitaphium, in Antonium Deneium clarissimum virum.* Lond. 4° (29). This Sir Anthony Denny was originally of St John's College in Cambridge, and a learned man; afterwards he became one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, and Groom of the Stole to King *Henry* VIII, and one of the executors of his will. VII. *De Pronuntiatione Græcæ potissimum linguæ disputationes, &c.* See above, note [B]. Basil. 1555. 8°. VIII. *De superstitione ad regem Henricum.* This discourse on superstition was drawn up for King Henry's use, in order to excite that Prince to a thorough Reformation of religion. It is written in very elegant Latin, and was prefixed by the author, as a dedication, to a Latin translation of his, of Plutarch's book of Superstition. A copy of this discourse, in manuscript, is still preserved in the library of University College, Oxon, curiously writ, and bound up in cloth of silver: which makes it probable, that it was the very book that was presented to the King. An English translation of it, done by the learned W. Elstob, formerly Fellow of that college, was published by Mr Strype, at the end of his Life of Sir John Cheke. IX. Several *Letters* of his, are published in the Life just now mentioned (30), and perhaps in other places. X. A Latin translation of Archbishop Cranmer's book on the Lord's Supper; was also done by Sir John Cheke; and printed in 1553. XI. He likewise translated *Leo de apparatu bellico.* Basil. 1554. 8°.

Those pieces of his that are lost, or else were never printed, are these. I. *De Fide justificante.* Of justifying faith; undoubtedly against the Papists. II. *De Eucharistiæ sacramento.* On the Eucharist: Probably his conferences with Dr Feckenham, as mentioned above note [F]. III. *In quosdam Psalmos.* IV. *In Psalmum, Domine probasti, &c.* These Mr Strype supposes to be some pious meditations of his on those psalms (31). V. *De cineribus & palmis. Ad Wintoniensem.* Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was earnest with the Protector, for retaining the old usages in the Church; particularly, sprinkling of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and carrying palms on Palm-Sunday. Perhaps, this tract of Cheke was an answer to Gardiner's letter on that subject to the Duke of Somerset (32). VI. *De Ecclesiâ; An potest errare?* Of the Church; whether it can err? Still extant among J. Fox's manuscripts. It is a dispute against the Romanists, under these three questions; whether there be a Church; what the Church is; and, whether it can err? VII. *An liceat nubere post divortium?* Whether a Woman may marry after being divorced? A case much handled in those times. VIII. *De nativitate Principis.* On the Prince's nativity. The author of *Heroologia Anglicana* will have this to be a panegyric on the Prince's birth: and so accordingly Mr Wood entitles it, *Panegyric. in nativitatem Edwardi Principis* (33). But Mr Strype more truly supposes, that it was some private calculation of Prince Edward's nativity, an art in which Cheke had great skill, and depended on too much. IX. *Introductio Grammaticæ*, an introduction to Grammar. X. *De ludimagistrorum officio.* Of the duty of schoolmasters. These two were probably writ by him for the use of his royal pupil, the Prince. XI. *Elegia de Ægrotatione & obitu R. Edwar.* 6. An elegy on the sickness and death of King Edward 6. There is an English elegy, much of the same nature as this, printed in the Heroologia; but Mr Strype does not seem to believe it to be his (34). XII. *Epitaphia.* Epitaphs. Besides his epitaph on Sir Anthony Denny, mentioned above; and a Greek epitaph for his sister Mary, wife of Sir William Cecil (35): Mr Strype supposes, he also was author of the inscription on the monument of his patron Dr Butts, in Fulham-Church; and on his father-in-law, Richard Hill, in St Michael's Queen-Hith, London. XIII. He also translated from Greek into Latin. 1. Five books of Josephus's Antiquities. 2. The Ascetic of Maximus the monk. 3. Plutarch of superstition. 4. Three of Demosthenes his Philippics. 5. And his three Olynthiacs. 6. His oration against Leptines. 7. The orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, on the two opposite sides. 8. *Aristotle de Anima.* 9. He translated Sophocles and Euripides literally. 10. And made corrections on Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and other authors. Finally, he collected the arguments and reasons of both sides, upon the business of the Eucharist; at the time that point was learnedly and largely debated in parliament, when the Communion-book was appointed. Mr Strype supposes, he wrote many other things, which are unknown to us at this distance. But, adds he, this is sufficient to inform us what a scholar he was (36).

[S] *In the orthography, and pronunciation, of the Greek and Latin languages, he was very critical and exact.*] What he did with regard to the Greek, hath been fully shown above in note [B]. And for the Latin; that it might be spoken truly, and the syllables in reading pronounced long or short, according to their nature, he devised a way to write the vowels according to their quantity. Namely the long vowel O, after this manner ω, like a Greek *omega*, as in *Uxωrem, Liberωs*. And the long I, with two tittles over it, as in *Dïvïnitus*; and as for the long E, especially the Diphthong, which before was commonly writ as the ordinary E, he put a tail to it, as in *Le,tor* (37).

[T] *And also took great pains to correct, regulate, and improve——the English.*] Namely in these following particulars. 1. He would have no E put to the end of words, as being needless and unexpressive of any sounds; for instance, in these words, *excus, giv, deceiv, prais, commun*: Unless where it is sounded, and then to be writ with a double E, as in *necessitee*. 2. Where the letter A was sounded long, he would have it writ with a double A, in distinction from A short; as in *maad, straat, daar*. 3. Where the letter I was sounded long, to be writ with a double I, as in

(27) Strype, p. 27, 38, 39, 51—55. Balei, Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria Octava, No. 97, p. 699, edit. 1557, fol.

(28) Printed in Strype, as above, p. 218.

(29) Printed there, p. 219, 220.

(30) Page 11, 31, 33, 49, 57, 69, 70, 75, 79, 81, 130, 144.

(31) Page 216.

(32) See Fox's Acts and Monum. edit. 1583, p. 1342, &c.

(33) Col. 104.

(34) See, p. 218.

(35) Strype, ibid.

(36) This Catalogue is taken from Balei Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria Octava, No. 97, p. 699, 700. Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 101. and Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 216, &c.

(37) Strype, p. 211.

a full, comely, countenance, somewhat red, with a yellow large beard (*o*); and, as far as can be judged by his picture, he was tall and well made.

(*o*) Strype, as above, p. 173.

in *desiir*, *liif*. 4. He entirely threw the letter Y out of the alphabet, as useless, and supplied it with I, as *mi*, *fai*, *awai*. 5. U long he wrote with a stroke over it, as in *præsūm*. 6. The rest of the long vowels he would have to be written with double letters, as *weer*, *theer*, (and sometimes *thear*,) *noo*, *noon*, *adoo*, *thoof*, *loov*, to avoid an E at the end. 7. Letters without sound he threw out, as in these words, *frutes*, *wold*, *faut*, *dout*, *again* for *against*, *hole*, *meen* for *mean*. And, 8. Changed the spelling in some words, to make them the better expressive of the sounds; as in *gud*, *britil*, *praisabil*, &c. He also had better skill in our language to judge of the phrases, and properties of words, and to divide sentences, than any else then had; And was thought to have greatly improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the book, to read it in English. He further brought in a short and expressive way of writing, without long and intricate periods. And moreover in what he writ himself, he would allow no words, but such as were true English, or of Saxon original; suffering no adoption of any foreign word into the English language, which he thought was copious enough of itself, without borrowing words from other countries. This made him dislike the then English translation of the Bible, because there were in it so many foreign words, and to undertake a new one. He went through the Gospel of St Matthew, and began that of St Mark; wherein all along he laboured to use only true English Saxon words, though they were sometimes odd and uncouth; as for instance, *desiirful*, *ungrevous*, *tollers* for publicans, &c. The original under his own hand still remains in the MS. Library at Benet College Cambridge. A specimen whereof follows. Matth. I. ver. 18.—'After his mother Mari was ensured to Joseph, before thei weer cupled together, she was preived to be with child; and it was indeed by the Holi Ghoost. 19. But Joseph her husband, being a just man, and loth to use extremitee toward her, entended privili to divorse himself from her. 20. And being in this mind, lo the angel of the Lord appeired by dream, &c. Chap. II. ver. 16. Then Herod seeing that he was plaid withal by the wise-heards,' &c.—Lastly, Sir John Cheke brought in a fair and graceful way of writing; for he wrote himself an excellent and accurate hand, as did also the best scholars in those times, namely Smith, Cecil, and especially Ascham. So that fair writing, and good learning seem to have begun in England together (38). C

(38) Strype, as above, p. 211—215.

CHICHLEY or CHICHELY (HENRY) Archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of Henry V, and VI, was born, of an obscure family, at Higham-Ferrars in Northamptonshire (*a*). He was educated in Grammar learning at Winchester-School (*b*), and afterwards became Fellow of New-College in Oxford, where he took the degree of Doctor in the Civil and Canon Law. He was next Chaplain to Robert Medford, Bishop of Salisbury, who, about the year 1402, preferred him to the Archdeaconry of Salisbury [*A*], which he exchanged, two years after, for the Chancellorship of that diocese [*B*]. His eminent qualifications being now generally taken notice of, he was employed by King Henry IV in several important negotiations. He was sent Embassador to Pope Gregory XII, to congratulate him on his advancement to the papacy (*c*). The Bishoprick of St David's becoming vacant during his absence, he was promoted to that See by the Pope, who consecrated him with his own hands at Sienna, the 4th of October 1407 [*C*]. He returned into England in April following, and on the 26th of August made profession of canonical obedience in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. In the beginning of the year 1409, he was deputed by the Synod of London, with Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury, and the Prior of Canterbury, to the General Council of Pisa, held for the putting an end to the schism of the Church (*d*). After the breaking up of that Council, Bishop Chichley returned into England, and was present in two Synods holden at London in 1410 and 1411 (*e*). In 1413, he was sent by King Henry V Embassador, together with Richard, Earl of Warwick, first to the King of France, and then to the Duke of Burgundy, for concluding a truce between England and France, then at war (*f*). And being returned into England, he was sent again the same year, with the Earl of Warwick, to demand the Duke of Burgundy's daughter in marriage for King Henry (*g*). The next year 1414, upon the death of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, our Bishop of St David's was translated, by virtue of the Pope's bull, to the Archiepiscopal See [*D*]. The

(*a*) Arthur Duck's Life of Henry Chichele, &c. made English Lond. 1699, 8vo, p. 1.

(*b*) Harpsfield, Hist. Angl. Eccles. Duaci 1622, fol. p. 620.

(*c*) Arth. Duck, ubi supra, p. 2, 3, 4.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 5, 6.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 33.

(*f*) Monstrelet, c. 106, ap. Ar. Duck, ubi supra, p. 34, 35.

(*g*) Monstrelet, c. 109, ap. Ar. Duck, ib. p. 35.

[*A*] *He was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Salisbury.*] The learned Dr Duck tells us (1), that one Walter Fitzperes, a priest, commenced a suit against him for this dignity, claiming it by virtue of a Grant from King Henry IV, under the Great Seal. But, the cause being brought by appeal before Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archdeaconry was adjudged to Henry Chichley by the Auditor of the Archbishop's court, who was deputed with full power to determine this affair.

[*B*] *He exchanged it for the Chancellorship of that diocese.*] He made this exchange with Walter Medford, the Bishop of Salisbury's brother, who enjoyed that dignity; which was allowed to be lawful by the constitutions of the Canon Law: and having both quitted their several dignities, Henry was made Chancellor, and Walter Archdeacon. There was annexed to the Chancellorship the Parsonage of Odyham in the diocese of Winchester, which was then vacant, and was given him by the Bishop, and he was immediately put in possession of it by the *Custos Rotulorum* of the See of Winchester, which was then vacant by the death of William Wickham (2). Here it may be proper to observe from the same author (3), that these two preferments (the Archdeaconry and Chancellorship) were both given him by the Bishop of Salisbury, who always highly esteemed him, and when he died, which was about three years after, left him by will a golden cup with a cover, and appointed him the chief of his executors.

[*C*] *He was consecrated the 4th of October 1407.*] Bishop Godwin (4) assigns the 12th of June 1409, which is almost two years later, for the time of his consecration. But, if he was deputed, in quality of Bishop of St David's, to the Synod of Pisa, in the beginning of the year 1409 (5), it is plain his consecration to that See must have preceded that date: and therefore I adhere to the authority of the Life-writer in this point.

[*D*] *He was translated, by virtue of the Pope's bull, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.*] Upon the death of Archbishop Arundel, John Woodneburgh, Prior of Canterbury, and the monks of that church, desired the King's leave for electing a new Archbishop; which prerogative, the learned author of Chichley's *Life* affirms, the Kings of England had challenged to themselves since the time of Edward III, who took it away from the Pope, and constituted Bishops by his own authority;

(1) In his Life of Henry Chichele, &c. made English, Lond. 1699, 8vo, p. 2.

(2) Id. ib. p. 3.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Comment. de Præsul. Angl. inter Epis. Menev. ann. 1409.

(5) See the text, ref. (*d*).

The King delivered to him the temporalities the 30th of May, and, on the 29th of June following (h), the pall was delivered to him by the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich, delegated by the Pope for that purpose, with great solemnity, in the presence of the King and many of the Nobility, at the King's palace of Sutton (i): at which time he took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope [E]. In a Parliament held the same year at Leicester, Archbishop Chichley persuaded King Henry V to assert his title to the Crown of France [F]. On the 28th of November 1415, he held a Provincial Synod at London [G], and another on the 1st of April 1416 [H]; after the breaking up of

(h) Registr. Chichele.

(i) Ibid.

thority; and that these royal elections were agreeable to the constitutions of the Canon Law (6). But this seems to be a mistake: for the author of the *Antiquity of the British Church* expresly tells us, that, at the very time we are speaking of, notwithstanding the laws in being against Papal provisions, the many royal proclamations and petitions of the Clergy, and even the threats of the nobility and people, against obtaining those provisions for bishopricks and other benefices, they were still suffered and obtained, with as much licence and impunity, as if there were no law forbidding them. *Lege atque sanctione jam diu ante contra Papales provisiones lata, multisq; regum decretis & cleri intercessionibus, procerumq; & populi minis interpositis, ne impetrarentur a Papa episcopatuum & beneficiorum provisiones; ea tamen adhuc impunitate ac licentia permissæ atque obtentæ sunt, ac si nullo jure vetari putarentur* (7). The King's leave being obtained under the Great Seal, the monks assembled in the Chapter-House, and, after divine service, and a sermon, proceeded to the choice of an Archbishop; and, the election unanimously falling upon Chichley, it was declared by John Langdon, one of the monks, in the name of the rest, to the people, who were assembled in the church in great numbers. The same day two of the monks, William Molesh and John Moland, were appointed proxies for the rest; who, on the 15th of March, waited upon the Bishop at London, and acquainted him with the humble request of the prior and monks, that he would take upon him the government of the church of Canterbury. He desired a day's time to consider of it; and the next day, when they came to him again in the Bishop of Norwich's house, in the presence of Edward Duke of York, and several of the nobility, he expresly told them, he could not gratify their request without the Pope's consent, to whose arbitration he referred their petition. Whereupon the prior and the monks, by their proxies, sent to Rome, humbly requested of Pope John XXIII, that he would confirm their election of the Bishop of St David's to the See of Canterbury. The King also signified to his Holiness, that he had granted leave to the Chapter of Canterbury to elect an Archbishop. The Pope, who was then at Bologna, would not confirm the election of the monks, but, on the 27th of April, in virtue of his own authority, translated Chichley by way of *Provisor* (*), to the Archbishoprick (8). The author of the *Antiquity of the British Church* tells us, that the Pope, resolving to keep fast hold of the right of nominating to benefices, by way of Papal Provision, and not to depart from it by any disuse, or by permitting any contrary acts, signified to the monks of Canterbury by letter, that he had reserved to himself the collation to the See of Canterbury, before the death of Thomas Arundel, and that he annulled whatever they, or any other persons, might have done in prejudice of his Provision. However he collated, by his Bull of Provision, the same Henry Chichley, whom they had elected, to the archiepiscopal see. *Papa vero Joannes vicesimus tertius, ut provisionis usu captionem teneret mordicus, nec ab ea desuetudine ulla aut contrariis tolerandis actibus recederet, monachis Cantuariensibus rescripsit; Cantuariensis Archiepiscopatus collationem suæ provisioni ante mortem Thomæ Arundel fuisse reservatam; seque irritum ac inane decrevisse, quicquid ab his, aut aliis quibuscunque, in suæ provisionis prejudicium fieret. Tum Archiepiscopatum eidem Henrico Chicheley provisionis suæ prætextu donavit* (9).

(6) Ar. Duck, ubi supra, p. 36, 37.

(7) Matth. Parker, De Antiq. Brit. Eccles. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 414.

(*) Provisionis titulo.

(8) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 37—40.

(9) M. Parker, ubi supra.

[E] *He took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope.*] It was conceived in the following terms (10). *I* Henry, *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *will be faithful and obedient to St* Peter, *to the holy Apostolical Church of* Rome, *and to my Lord* John *the twenty-third, and his successors that shall be canonically elected. I will not consent to, nor engage in any design against their life, limbs, or liberty. The secrets that they shall entrust me with, either by themselves, by their legates, or by letters, I will not reveal to any one to their prejudice. I will assist them in maintaining and defending the* Papacy, *and the rights of St* Peter, *against all persons whatsoever, as far as is consistent with the privileges of my own station. I will honourably attend the* Legate *of the Apostolick See both at his coming and return, and will supply his necessities. When I am called to a* Council, *I will come, unless hindered by some lawful impediment. I will visit the* Apostolical Palace *every three years, either in my own person, or by my deputy, unless excused by leave from the* Pope. *The possessions belonging to my* Archiepiscopal See *I will not sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant any new infeoffments of them, nor any other way alienate them without the consent of the* Pope. *So help me God, and his holy Gospel.* This tie of canonical obedience to the Pope seeming to bear hard upon the duty of a subject, and to contain several clauses not reconcileable to the oath of allegiance, the Archbishop, when he did homage to the King, was obliged to renounce all clauses in the Pope's bull of translation, or any other engagements to that See, which were prejudicial to the royal prerogative (11).

(10) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 42.

(11) Id. ib. p. 43.

[F] *He persuaded King Henry V to assert his title to the Crown of France.*] King Henry having demanded of the Parliament a subsidy, the Commons thereupon revived a former project against the wealth of the Clergy, and addressed the King to seize their revenues, and apply them to the service of the publick. The Archbishop, apprehensive of the Church's danger, and fearing the King's youth might be surprized by the plausibleness of the bill, advised the Clergy to make an offer of a large subsidy, and to put the King in mind of his title to the Crown of France; the starting a new enterprize, and opening the prospect to another Crown, being the most likely way to divert the storm. Most of the writers of that age relate, that the Archbishop, upon this occasion, called a Synod at London: but none of it's decrees are now to be found among the publick records. The Archbishop's expedient being approved, he prepared himself for the subject, and addressed himself in a speech to the King, sitting on his throne. He began with insinuating the virtues of the King, saying, he was worthy to wear, not the Crown of England only, but that of the whole world. Then he represented to him, 'That it was inconsistent with 'his glory to let the French King peaceably enjoy 'Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and part of 'Guienne, all those provinces having been taken 'away from the Kings of England by mere force, and 'upon frivolous pretences: that he had not only an 'incontestable right to these countries, but even might 'very justly pretend to the whole kingdom of France, 'in quality of heir and successor of Edward III.' Here the Archbishop made a long deduction of the reasons, upon which the King's title was founded. He speaks of the *Salique Law* as a mere chimera, supported upon no good foundation, and which, being contrary to natural right, could not be admitted, even supposing it to be as true, as it was imaginary (†).

(†) The Archbishop, or whoever made the Speech for him, forgot, that, without the *Salique Law*, Edward III himself would have no pretension to the crown of France.

[G] *He held a Provincial Synod at London, the 28th of November,* 1415.] The first day of their meeting was taken up in religious assemblies. The following days, the Bishops and Abbots met in S[illegible] chapel, and the Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors of the several Dioceses, withdrew into the Chapter-House, where they consulted separately about the affairs of the Church; from whence (*says my author*) they are generally called, *The Upper and Lower House of Convocation.*

[H] ——*Another Synod on the 1st of April* 1416.] This Synod was held, to consult with the Bishops and Clergy about sending Delegates to the Council of Constance (12).

(12) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 71; and M. Parker, ib. p. 415.

[I] He

of which, the Archbishop went over into France to the King (*k*). He came back soon after with the King from Calais, and, by the King's command, held a third Synod at London on the 9th of November 1416 [*I*]. The King being again departed for France, the Archbishop commanded all the Bishops of his province to cause processions to be made in all churches and chapels, for the safety of the King, and the success of his arms (*l*). The same year, he exercised the power of ecclesiastical censures, in a remarkable manner, against the Lord and Lady Strange [*K*]. On the 26th of November 1417, he held a fourth Synod at London [*L*], upon a command from the King by letters out of France (*m*). Towards the end of this year, the Archbishop repaired to the King at Rouen in Normandy, and was appointed one of the Commissioners for treating a peace between England and France (*n*). He staid some time with the King at Rouen, being entertained in a Convent of preaching Fryars there, and afterwards attended his Majesty in his camp at Meudon and Pontoise; whence he returned into England about the end of August 1419 (*o*). On the 30th of October that year, he held a fifth Synod at London [*M*]; after which he again ordered processions to be made to all churches for the King's success in France (*p*). On the 10th of June 1420, the Archbishop took shipping at Winchelsea, and sailed over to France, to congratulate the King upon his late marriage with Catherine of France, and was present in the King's camp at the siege of Melun; after the surrender of which, he accompanied the King to Paris; from whence he returned into England about the end of November (*q*). The next year 1421, he solemnly crowned Queen Catherine (*r*), and about that time called a sixth Synod at London [*N*]; after the breaking up of which, he used some endeavours to unite the Churches of France and England [*O*]. In December that year, he christened the young Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry VI, who, when he came to the Crown, used to call the Archbishop godfather, and always paid him a great deal of respect (*s*). On the 4th of August 1422, the Archbishop held a seventh Synod at London [*P*]. In the first Parliament after the death of Henry V, held at Westminster the ninth of November 1422 (*t*), Archbishop Chichley was commanded by the Protector to declare the cause of their meeting [*Q*], and was likewise nominated

(*k*) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 75.

(*l*) Id. ib. p. 75, 76.

(*m*) Ib. p. 85—88.

(*n*) Ib. p. 94, 95.

(*o*) Ib. p. 97, 98.

(*p*) Ib. p. 99.

(*q*) Ib. p. 101, 102.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Ib. p. 105.

(*t*) Rotul. Parl. ann. 1 H. VI.

[*I*] *He held a third Synod at London on the 9th of November* 1416.] In this Synod, at the request of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, the Earl Marshal, and Henry Ware, Keeper of the Privy Seal, who for that purpose were sent thither by the King, he prevailed with the Clergy to grant the King two tenths for his expedition into France. There was nothing else done in this Synod, but the appointing the days of John Beverley, and of Crispin and Crispianus, on which the battle of Agincourt was fought, to be holy days (13).

(16) Ibid. p. 75, 76; and M. Parker, ib. p. 416.

[*K*] *He exercised the power of ecclesiastical censures —against the Lord and Lady Strange.*] The affair was this. On Easter-Day, the Lord Strange, with the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and a great train of servants attending them, came to St Dunstan's Church to vespers; and meeting Sir John Trussel there, between whom and the Lord Strange there had been an antient quarrel, the Lord Strange's servants drew their swords in the church, wounded Sir John, his son, and some others of his family, and killed one Thomas Petwardy a citizen of London, who, to accommodate the matter between them, had thrust himself into the scuffle. The affair being brought before the Archbishop, he interdicted the church, as having been polluted with blood, and publickly excommunicated the authors and accomplices of the crime at Paul's Cross. And sitting as Judge in St Paul's Church, after he had examined the fact, he obliged the Lord Strange and his Lady to ask the Church's pardon on their knees before him, and imposed this farther penance on them, that their servants in their shirts and drawers only, and he and his wife with tapers in their hands, should walk through the great street of the city from St Paul's to St Dunstan's: which was accordingly performed with great solemnity, and, when the Archbishop purified St Dunstan's church, the Lady Strange filled the vessels with water; and each of them were commanded to offer a pyx and an altar-cloth (14).

(14) Ibid. p. 77, 78; and M. Parker, ib. p. 417.

[*L*] *He held a fourth Synod at London the 26th of November* 1417.] In this Synod were present Thomas Bishop of Durham, Lord Chancellor of England; Thomas Beaufort Duke of Exeter, Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Nevil Earl of Westmorland; being sent by the Regent, John Duke of Bedford, to desire of the Clergy a supply of money for the King, who was then carrying on the war successfully in France; which being seconded by the Archbishop, they granted two tenths.

[*M*] *He held a fifth Synod at London the 30th of October* 1417.] It was summoned, that the Clergy might consult about granting a supply of money to the King, who was carrying on the war in France with success. The Synod granted half a tenth upon all livings; and it was also agreed, that those that held chapels or chantries, or that received stipends for saying mass, should pay to the King six shillings and eight pence each: but withal a publick protestation was made by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy, that this concession should be no prejudice to them hereafter, nor be made a precedent for succeeding ages (15).

(15) Ibid. p. 98.

[*N*] *He called a sixth Synod at London.*] He obtained of them a tenth for the service of the King; which was granted upon some conditions, put in by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy. They were these: *That the King's purveyors should not meddle with the goods of the Clergy; that they should not be committed to prison, but upon manifest conviction of theft or murther; that for all other crimes they should only find sureties for their appearance at their trial, but should not be imprisoned; and that it should be felony to geld a priest*: all which the King confirmed in parliament (16).

(16) Ibid. p. 103.

[*O*] *He endeavoured to unite the Churches of France and England.*] To this end, he recalled those judges he had placed, to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in most of the dioceses conquered by the King; and by his letters commanded all the people of France, that for the future they should obey their Bishops, and the Ordinaries of the places in which they lived (17).

(17) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 105.

[*P*] *He held a seventh Synod at London the 4th of August* 1422.] In this Synod, several Bishops, and others of the Clergy, were appointed to represent the English nation at the Council of Pavia (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 107.

[*Q*] *He was commanded by the Protector to declare the cause of their meeting.*] This he did in a set speech, wherein, having spoken largely in praise of the virtues of King Henry V, and made honourable mention of his actions in France, he came to speak of the young King, and affirmed, 'That it was by the 'special favour of Almighty God, that a son of such 'promising hopes should succeed so great a father; 'that his very title of the *Sixth* was attended with a 'lucky omen; for, as the number *Six* was the most 'complete of all the rest, because in so many days 'God Almighty had made this vast fabrick of the 'world; so this King Henry, the sixth of that name, 'would prove the greatest of all his predecessors, and 'compleat what his father had so prosperously begun 'in France; and that, as he was descended both from 'the Kings of England and France, so he would at 'length enjoy both those crowns, which were devol'ved to him by lawful inheritance.' Then the Archbishop

nominated to be the first Privy-Counsellor during the minority of the King: but he chose to decline publick business, and retired within the bounds of his province, in which he performed the duties of his function with great diligence. The next year 1423, by virtue of his metropolitical authority, he visited the dioceses of Chichester and Salisbury, and the year following that of Lincoln. About this time he founded a noble college at Higham-Ferrers, the place of his birth, in honour of the Virgin Mary, St Thomas of Canterbury, and King Edward the Confessor, for eight Fellows, four Clerks, six Choristers, and over them all a Master, to pray for the souls of the deceased. He also built a large hospital, for the maintenance of the poor of that place. Both these foundations he endowed with ample revenues, which were afterwards augmented with great legacies by his brothers Robert and William Chichley, Aldermen of London (*u*). He held an eighth Synod at London, the 12th of October 1423 [*R*], and a ninth the 23d of April following [*S*]. The same year, he was very instrumental in healing the differences between the Protector Humphrey, Duke of Glocester, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (*w*). He held a tenth Synod at London, the 15th of April 1426 [*T*]. About this time Pope Martin shewed his displeasure against our Archbishop [*U*] for having vigorously opposed the encroachments of the See of Rome (*x*). The Archbishop held an eleventh Synod at London, the 5th of July 1428 [*W*]; a twelfth, the 19th of February 1430

(*u*) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 113, 114; and M. Parker, Antiq. Brit. Eccles. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 426, 427.

(*w*) See the article BEAUFORT (HENRY).

(*x*) Ib. p. 132.

bishop declared, in the King's name, to the Peers, and all the people, 'That they should enjoy all the privileges and immunities granted them by his Highness's predecessors; and that he was commanded to give them three reasons for calling this Parliament; which were, That governors might be assigned the King by a publick act; that they might consult about the peace of the realm, and the administration of justice; and that they might provide for the defence of the kingdom against the insults of foreign enemies.' Lastly, he exhorted them, from the example of Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, 'To make choice of the best and wisest of the nobility, to take upon them the government of the King and kingdom, and to use their utmost endeavours for the safety of the King, and the benefit of their country (19).

(19) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 111—113.

[*R*] *He held an eighth Synod at London, the 12th of October* 1423.] This Synod was called, to demand of the Clergy a supply of money for the war with France. The Bishop of Winchester, in a formal speech, laid before them the present condition of affairs in France, and exhorted and intreated them to bestow some part of their revenues for subduing the remains of the Dauphin's forces (20).

(20) Ibid. p. 115.

[*S*] —*And a ninth the 23d of April following.*] This Synod was prevailed upon, by the florid speeches of the Lord Chancellor, and the flatteries, threats, and promises, of the court Lords, to grant the King half a tenth (21).

(21) Ibid. p. 118.

[*T*] *He held a tenth Synod at London, the 15th of April*, 1426.] This assembly did nothing but grant the King half a tenth towards carrying on the war (*).

(*) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 123, 124.

[*U*] *Pope Martin* V. *shewed his displeasure against the Archbishop.*] The state of this affair is briefly this. His Holiness, it seems, thought this prelate to blame for having made no opposition to the statute of *Premunire* 1 Henry IV. But, Henry V being the greatest Prince in Christendom, the Pope did not think it adviseable to remonstrate in his time. But now, the English affairs being somewhat upon the decline, he laid hold of the opportunity, and expostulated severely with the Archbishop for his remissness, in a letter dated December the 5th 1426 (22). If it be asked, what was Chichley's peculiar guilt in this matter, since he could not oppose a statute, which was passed before his time; and why his predecessors Courtney and Arundel were not reprimanded upon this score: the answer is, that the Pope seems to have had a peculiar grudge against Chichley; first, because that prelate, in his first Synod, had moved for the annulling *Papal Exemptions* (23); and, in the next place, because he had written to King Henry V to stop the Cardinalate of the Bishop of Winchester (24). Besides, the Papacy had been hitherto greatly embroiled by schisms: but now Pope Martin, having got the better of his competitors, had time to look about him (25). The Archbishop, not willing the matter should come to extremities, sent an excuse of his conduct to Rome. But the Pope, it seems, was not satisfied with this answer; for his Holiness's next letter is still more severe, and suspends the Archbishop's legantine power. Upon which Chichley appealed from the Pope to the next General Council, and, if none met, to the tribunal of Christ (26). The Pope's next to the Archbishop is dated the sixth of May, and requires him to make his utmost effort for repealing the statute. He is likewise severely reprimanded for having said, *the Pope's zeal in this matter was only to raise a good sum of money upon the English* (27). The next letter is in a still higher strain. It is directed to the two Archbishops, and, to mortify Chichley, the Archbishop of York is named first. In this the Supremacy flies a very lofty pitch: for his Holiness pretends to make void the statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunire* made in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, and commands the Archbishops never to act upon the authority of those statutes. It is dated the 8th of December (28). To mollify the Pope's displeasure, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, wrote in Chichley's behalf. The University of Oxford likewise interceded for him with Pope Martin, in a letter bearing date the 24th of July that year; in which, after giving him a very extraordinary character, calling him *the mirror of life, the light of manners, a person most dear to the people and clergy, and a golden candlestick set up in the Church of England*, they besought his Holiness, *that he would not suffer the credit of so eminent a prelate to be blasted by the secret calumnies of detractors* (29). To which purpose also, in the Parliament at Westminster (30), the House of Commons petitioned the King to send an ambassador to the court of Rome to intercede *with the Pope in behalf of the Archbishop* (31). These apologetical applications the Archbishop sent by an express to Rome, and wrote a very submissive letter to the Pope, protesting that he had done, and would still do, his utmost towards repealing those statutes. One passage in his letter is particularly remarkable. He tells the Pope, *he hears he had proceeded to a sentence against him, which had never been done from the days of St Augustin* (32) *to that time: that he knew this only by report, having not so much as opened the bulls, which contained the censure, because he had been commanded by the King to lodge those instruments, with the seals whole, in the Paper-Office, 'till the meeting of the Parliament* (33). The Archbishop had already moved the Commons to vote for the repeal of the *Premunire* act. But the Commons, after debating the matter, had come to no resolution, either for repealing or explaining that act (34). And here the matter rested for that time.

(22) See Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. in the Records, p. 95.

(23) Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 387.

(24) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 124, &c.

(25) Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1429.

(26) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 110.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Epist. Acad. Oxon. 36 in Archiv. & Wood, Hist. &c. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 212.

(30) Rot. Parl. 6 H. VI.

(31) Ar. Duck, ubi supra, p. 133.

(32) The first Archbishop of Canterbury.

(33) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 111.

(34) Id. ib. p. 100.

[*W*] *He held an eleventh Synod at London, the 5th of July*, 1428.] In their first session, at the request of the Archbishop of York Lord Chancellor, and Walter Hungerford Lord Treasurer, they granted the King half a tenth. This Synod was prorogued, by reason of the excessive heat of the summer, to St Martin's day in November following; and then again to the 20th of October the next year: at which time, the Archbishop of York, with some other Lords, was sent to them again from the King; at whose request, a tenth and a half was granted, and solemn processions were ordered to be made for the success of the war. These liberal concessions were rewarded by an act of Parliament, granting the Clergy, assembled in Convocation, the privilege, as was enjoyed by members of Parliament, of being exempted, they and their servants, from arrests (35).

(35) Ibid. p. 137.

[*X*] ——

1430 [X]; a thirteenth, the 15th of September 1432 [Y]; a fourteenth, the 7th of November 1433 [Z]; a fifteenth, the 7th of October 1434 [AA]; and a sixteenth, the 30th of April 1437 [BB]. About this time, Archbishop Chichley founded the Convent of St Bernard [CC], and the College of All-Souls [DD], at Oxford (y). The next year 1438, he held a seventeenth Synod at London [EE]; and an eighteenth, the 21st of November 1439 [FF]. This was the last Synod called by this Prelate (z); who, about the

(y) Ib. p. 156, 157.

(z) Ibid. p. 166.

[X] —— *a twelfth, the 19th of February,* 1430.] In this Synod Delegates were chosen, to be sent to the Council of Basil, and two pence in the pound was allowed them out of all the revenues of the Clergy. This Synod also, at the solicitation of the Archbishop of York Lord Chancellor, granted the King a whole tenth. It likewise prohibited the use of false weights and measures under pain of excommunication (36).

(36) Id. ib. p. 141, 142.

[Y] —— *A thirteenth, the 15th of September,* 1432.] It was summoned in relation to the dissention between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Basil; and it was unanimously concluded to send Delegates to the Fathers at Basil, and others to his Holiness at Bologna; and, for the expences thereof, they voted a penny in the pound out of all the profits of the Clergy, besides the two pence granted by the former Synod. They likewise granted the King half a tenth (37).

(37) Ibid. p. 144.

[Z] —— *A fourteenth, the 7th of November,* 1433.] It was called on occasion of the differences still subsisting between the Pope and the Council; and it was resolved to nominate more Delegates, many of those, who were sent before, being dead at Basil: whereupon eight Doctors of Divinity and Law were chosen, to be sent to Basil, provided the Fathers would admit them without imposing upon them any new oath. In this Synod, three quarters of a tenth were granted to the King towards re-establishing the affairs of France, which declined daily (38).

(38) Id. ibid. p. 150, 151.

[AA] —— *A fifteenth, the 7th of October,* 1434.] About this time, the Clergy complained grievously of the proceedings of the King's Judges, and the Common Lawyers; 'That, against all law and equity, priests 'were brought before the secular courts; that the 'power of the ecclesiastical judges was restrained by 'their unjust prohibitions; and particularly that they 'wrested the statute of Richard II against Provisors, 'to the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Courts.' The Archbishop hereupon, in a pathetical speech to the Synod, expressed 'how solicitous he was that the 'Church should receive no prejudice under his government, and that it might be delivered from the illegal 'oppression of the Lawyers, and be restored to it's antient dignity;' and commanded them to consider 'what measures were to be taken to ease the Clergy of 'the weight of those oppressions?' But, the plague breaking out in the city, the Synod was soon dissolved, having only appointed a holiday to be kept in honour of St Frideswide, Protectoress of the University of Oxford, and denounced excommunication (39), against all those that should detract from the privileges and jurisdiction of the Church (40).

(39) See the remark [GG].

(40) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 153; and M. Parker, ib. p. 419.

[BB] —— *And a sixteenth the 30th of April,* 1437.] This Synod did nothing more than grant the King a tenth for carrying on the war in France (41).

(41) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 155.

[CC] *He founded the convent of St Bernard.*] The Archbishop had a long time designed to erect some noble monument, for the service of religion and learning, and for his own glory, at Oxford, the place of his education. For, at that time, the estates of private persons, as well as the publick revenues, being greatly exhausted by the long continuance of the French war, the University was so thin and empty, that most of the colleges and halls were quite forsaken by the students. Wherefore, that he might by his bounty repair the decays of learning occasioned by the general poverty of the kingdom, he gave orders for building a large and stately edifice, of a square form, in the north part of the suburbs of Oxford, which he designed for a college. But, when the work was almost finished, whether it was, that he found fault with the structure, or did not like the situation of it, he changed his mind, and gave it to the monks of St Bernard, for the reception of novices out of all the convents of that order, to study the Arts and Divinity. Afterwards, at the dissolution of the monasteries, it was purchased by Sir Thomas White, merchant of London, who founded there the college of St John Baptist (42).

(42) Id. ib. p. 155—157.

[DD] —— *And All-Souls college.*] Having chosen another place for building a college, very commodious for the students, in the middle of the town, near St Mary's church, and pulled down the houses, which stood there, he laid out a square court; and on the 10th of February 1437, the first stone of this auspicious building was laid, and the inspection of the work was committed to the care of one John Druel, a clergyman, who executed that trust with great integrity and diligence (43). The walls of this new structure were finished about the latter end of the year 1439, and the workmen had begun to lay the roof. The Archbishop had purchased lands and manors for the perpetual maintenance of his foundation: all which he acquainted the King with, and humbly besought him to permit, that the college might be founded in his name, because the lawyers were of opinion, that the splendor and authority of the King's name was of great importance towards founding a college in due and lawful manner. Whereupon the King, by his letters patent under the Great Seal, erected this building into a college, and granted it very large privileges. He also gave the founder leave to place in it a Warden and Fellows, and to make laws and statutes for the government of the society. Upon which the Archbishop went the next year to Oxford, where he solemnly consecrated the chapel of his college, and made Richard Andrew, Doctor of Laws and Chancellor of Canterbury, Warden of it. He also appointed twenty Fellows, being all choice men pick'd out of the whole University; to whom he gave power to elect into their society twenty more: out of which number he ordered that twenty-four should study Divinity and the liberal sciences, and the other sixteen the Civil and Canon Law. He also commanded all the members of his foundation to pray for the souls of King Henry V, of Thomas Duke of Clarence, and of the nobility and common soldiers that had been killed in the French war. For which cause he ordered his college to be called *The College of All-Souls departed in the faith.* He added also two chaplains, several choristers, and servants. After this he prescribed them laws and statutes, and committed the care of beautifying and enlarging it to Robert Keyes, afterwards Warden (44).

(43) Ibid. p. 157, 158.

(44) Ib. p. 168—171.

[EE] *In 1438, he held a seventeenth Synod at London.*] The King having appointed some persons of eminent quality to go Ambassadors to the Council of Ferrara, the Bishops voted them an allowance suitable to their rank; which however was not complied with by the Proctors for the Clergy in the Lower House, who were more inclined in favour of the Council of Basil; only the Proctors for the Convents granted four pence in the pound out of their revenues. In this Synod the Archbishop complained heavily of a late injury offered him by Pope Eugenius, who, by his sole authority had given the Bishoprick of Ely *in commendam* to Lewis Archbishop of Rouen, and by his bull had confirmed him in the government of that See; and therefore he recommended it to the Synod to consider, how to put a stop to a proceeding, which had never been attempted by any Pope before. But Philip Morgan, who was then Bishop of Ely, outliving the Archbishop of Rouen, the Pope's design was frustrated (45).

(45) Ibid. p. 160.

[FF] —— *And an eighteenth, the 21st of November,* 1439.] The Archbishop, being hindered by some indisposition, was not at the opening of this Synod. However, a few days after, he came, and in a long speech, in which he could hardly refrain from tears, he reckoned up the miseries of the Church, proceeding from *the penalties daily inflicted by the ecclesiastical judges, which by the statute of* Premunire *were designed against* Provisors; *and from the citations of the clergy to the secular courts.* Whereupon it was unanimously agreed, that the Archbishop should present a remonstrance to the King upon the subject of these grievances. Which being done, the King answered, 'That he 'would lay their petition before the next Parliament, 'and that in the mean time he would take care that 'no one should be molested by his Judges upon the ac- 'count

(a) Lyndewood Provincial. edit. Oxon. in calce, v. 73.

(b) Antiq. Brit. ubi supra, p. 427.

(c) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 174.

the same time, drew up a form of excommunication [*GG*], ordering it to be published in all the cathedral and parochial churches of his province (*a*). He was the first, who ordered the Proctors of the Court of Arches to wear the same habit in Court that Bachelors of Arts do in the Universities (*b*). He was a very liberal benefactor to the University of Oxford [*HH*], and to the church of Canterbury [*II*], and contributed largely towards the building of Croydon church, and Rochester bridge (*c*). This illustrious Prelate died in a good old age, the 12th of April 1443, having sat twenty-nine years and upwards, and was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury [*KK*].

'count of that statute, unless the cause were first approved by himself or the Privy-Council.' This gracious answer of the King's so pleased the Synod, that they immediately granted him a whole tenth, with this express condition, that the revenues and benefices belonging to the college of *All-Souls* (of which the Archbishop was the founder) should not be included in the concession (46).

(46) Ib. p. 166—168.

[*GG*] *He drew up a form of excommunication.*] I shall transcribe part of it from Lyndewood (47), and give it the reader as a specimen of the English language at that time.

(47) Provincial. in calce, p. 73. edit. Oxon.

Fyrste, Yei be accursy'd that presume to take away or pryse any chirche of the right yat longyth thereto, or else agayn right to stroy, breke, or strobyll ye liberties of the chirche.

And also yoo that parcheses any maner of letterys from any temporal courte, to let any process of spiritual juggs in such causes as longyth to spiritual courte: And all yoo yat with puple and noyse come to spiritual courte, and put the juggs or partyes yat their pletts in feer, or else for alsmoche as the partyes sew in spiritual courte such causes as longyth to spiritual courte, make or procure any of the said parties, advocats, procurators, or other mynysteres of spiritual courte, to be endytt, or resbytt, or any wise be vexyd, *&c.*

This excommunication, most probably, was drawn up in consequence of a decree of the Synod of 1434 (48).

(48) See the remark [*AA*].

[*HH*] *He was a benefactor to the University of Oxford.*] There had been begun some time before, by the munificence chiefly of the Duke of Glocester, a lofty and magnificent structure; the upper part of which was designed for a library, and the lower for the Publick Divinity Schools. To this work the Archbishop gave a great sum of money himself, and was very earnest in soliciting all the Bishops and Peers, who came to the Parliament at Westminster, to contribute towards it: all which is gratefully acknowledged by the University in their letters to him (49). He also gave two hundred marks to the publick chest of the University; which he ordered to be kept by three Masters of Arts, two Regents, and one Non-Regent, who were to be chosen yearly, and were bound by an oath to the faithful discharge of that trust: out of which money the University might borrow for the publick use five pounds, every particular college five marks, a Master of Arts forty shillings, a Licentiate or Batchelor two marks, and an Under-Graduate one; with this condition, that every one should deposite a sufficient pawn, which, if the money were not repaid within a month, was to be forfeited. Besides which benefactions, it appeared by his private accounts, that he had allowed yearly stipends to several poor students. And, to perpetuate the memory of these favours, it was ordered by a publick decree of the University, that Archbishop Chichley's name should be registered among their benefactors, and read every year in the Publick Schools by the chaplain of the University; and that a solemn mass should be said for him on the anniversary of his death (50).

(49) Epist. Acad. Oxon. 26.

(50) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 171—174.

[*II*] *And to the church of Canterbury.*] He laid out a considerable sum of money in beautifying and adorning that cathedral, and in building a steeple, and a library, which he furnished with many valuable books in all kinds of learning; which are all reckoned up in a publick instrument made by the Prior and Monks of Canterbury, and described among the publick acts of that church; in which they promise on their parts, that his body should be laid in the tomb that he had caused to be built on the north-side of the chancel, and that no one beside should ever be buried in that place (51).

(51) Ib. p. 174.

[*KK*] *He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury.*] His body was deposited (according to what was said in the preceding remark) under the monument built by himself; on which is his effigy at full length in his *Pontificalia*, and under it another of a skeleton in it's shroud; and round the side pillars, which are gilt and painted, are small images, in niches, of the apostles, *&c.* The inscription on his monument is as follows (52). *Hic jacet* Henricus Chichele *Legum doctor, quondam Cancellarius* Sarum, *qui anno septimo* Henrici IV *Regis ad* Gregorium *Papam* XII *in ambasciata transmissus, in civitate* Senensi *per manus ejusdem Papæ in* Menevensem *Episcopum consecratus est. Hic etiam* Henricus *anno secundo* Henrici V *Regis in hac sancta ecclesia in Archiepiscopum postulatus, & à* Joanne *Papa* XXIII *ad eandem translatus est: Qui obiit Anno Domini* MCCCCXLIII, *Mensis Aprilis die* XII.

(52) Dart's Hist. and Antiquities of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. p. 158; and Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 174.

Cœtus sanctorum concorditer iste precetur,
Ut Deus ipsorum meritis sibi propitietur.

Round the verge, at the bottom of the monument is written;

Quisquis eris qui transieris, rogo memor eris,
Tu quod eris mihi consimilis qui post morieris,
Omnibus horribilis, pulvis, vermis, caro vilis.

Mr Camden, in his *Remains*, attributes this inscription to him.

Pauper eram natus, post primas hic elevatus,
Jam sum prostratus, & vermibus esca paratus.
Ecce meum tumulum MCCCCXLIII.

T

(a) The Worthies of Devon, by J. Prince, fol. Exeter, 1701, p. 200.

CHICHESTER (Arthur) a brave officer in the XVIth century, and made Lord Deputy of Ireland and Baron of Belfast [*A*] in the beginning of the XVIIth, was born at Ralegh, near Barnstaple in the county of Devon (*a*). Some part of his youth he spent in the university, but that being too sedentary a life for his active genius, he went into

[*A*] CHICHESTER (Arthur) *a brave officer in the sixteenth century, &c.*] The family of *Chichester* hath flourish'd for many generations at Ralegh abovemention'd. *Arthur*, who is the subject of this article, was the second son of Sir *John Chichester*, of that place, Knight, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, Knight. They had a very numerous issue; namely, five sons, four whereof were knights, and one, (*viz.* Arthur) was made a Baron: And eight daughters, all married into the chiefest families in those parts. 1. Elizabeth to Hugh Fortescue of Phillegh, Esq; 2. Dorothy to Sir Hugh Pollard of King's Nimpton, Knight. 3. Eleanor to Sir Arthur Basset of Umberlegh, Knight. 4. Mary to Richard Blewet of Holcomb rogus, Esq; 5. Cecilia to Thomas Hatch of Aller, Esq; 6. Susanna to John Fortescue of Buckland Phillegh, Esq; 7. Bridget to Sir Edmund Prideaux of Farway, Baronet; all in Devonshire. And, 8. Urith to —— Trevillian of Nettlecomb in Somersetshire, Esq; (1).

(1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 199, 200.

[*B*] He

into the wars [*B*]; and at every place where his Sovereign's ſervice required, there he was, by ſea and land, in England and in France; in the laſt of which, for ſome ſignal exploit done by him in the preſence of King Henry IV, he was knighted by that excellent Prince (*b*). But his aſſiſtance being moſtly wanted in Ireland, where things were in the utmoſt confuſion, he put himſelf into that ſervice: and in this employment manifeſted great valour and wiſdom, ſo fairly and evenly tempered, that his generous actions expreſſed an uncommon capacity (*c*). In June 1600, he was at the taking of the ſtrong caſtle of Ballinſhor (*d*). And in the enſuing winter, was put in garriſon at Carrickfergus, with eight hundred and fifty foot and a hundred and twenty-five horſe, under his command (*e*). In Auguſt 1602, he, and Sir Henry Danvers, took the ſtrong fort of Eniſlaghlin, wherein moſt of the Earl of Tir-Oen's plate and choice goods were depoſited (*f*). The March following he expelled Brian Mac-Art from Killultagh, where he had ſecretly lodged himſelf with five hundred men (*g*); and brought the rebels in Ireland to ſo low a condition, that they were forced to eat human fleſh [*C*]. In a word, he was ſo effectually aſſiſtant, as one expreſſes it (*h*), firſt to plow and break up that barbarous nation by conqueſt; and then to ſow it with the ſeeds of civility, when he was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland (which was in 1604) that he did more than could be done in ſeveral years before. Good laws and proviſions had indeed been made by his predeceſſors, but they were like leſſons ſet for a lute out of tune, uſeleſs, till the inſtrument was fitted for them. Being therefore raiſed to that eminent ſtation, in which he was ſworn the third of February (*i*), he acted with ſuch prudence and reſolution, that he quite put an end to all inſurrections in that kingdom; and did three great things towards a reformation therein (*k*). The firſt was, his management of the moſt ſtubborn Parliament that ever was in Ireland, which nevertheleſs he prevailed with to attaint the Earls of Tir-Oen, and Tirconell, Sir Cahir O Dogharty, and others, and to make an Act of Recognition, and give the King a ſubſidy. The ſecond was, the plantation of the forfeited eſtates in Ulſter, which he very much influenced and promoted. And the third was, the eſtabliſhing a new circuit for Judges of Aſſize in the province of Connagh, and retrieving the circuit of Munſter, which had been diſcontinued for two hundred years (*l*). So that, whereas the circuits were before confined to the Engliſh Pale, they were extended by him throughout the kingdom (*m*). By this wiſe regulation, Ireland was, in a ſhort time, ſo cleared of thieves and capital offenders, that ſo many malefactors were not found in the two and thirty ſhires of that kingdom, as in ſix Engliſh ſhires in the weſtern circuit (*n*). He alſo reduced the mountains and glinns on the ſouth of Dublin, which uſed to be thorns in the ſides of the Engliſh, into the county of Wicklow (*o*). And ſo watchful was he over the actions of ſuſpected perſons, that Tir-Oen was heard to complain, 'He could not drink a full carouſe 'of ſack, but the State was, within a few hours, advertiſed thereof (*p*).' In the year 1612 (*q*), he was, for a reward of his great ſervices, advanced to the dignity of Baron of Belfaſt (*r*). Whilſt he continued Lord-Deputy, namely in 1614, the harp was firſt marſhalled with the arms of Great Britain (*s*): and about the ſame time the Iriſh began to imitate the Engliſh faſhions, and to cut their mantles into cloaks (*t*). In the beginning of the year 1616, after this worthy perſon had continued Lord-Deputy of Ireland above eleven years (*u*), King James I. appointed him Lord High-Treaſurer of that kingdom (*w*), and recalled him to England; not out of any diſpleaſure, but, as far as can be conjectured, through the artifices of the Iriſh Papiſts, over whom he kept a ſtrict hand (*x*). Being thus returned home, ſo conſiderable were his abilities that he was not ſuffered to lie unactive: for in May 1622 he was ſent by King James I. to the Palatinate, and from thence to the Emperor (*y*). While he was in Germany, Manheim was ſeaſonably victualled through his prudent direction and advice. And being in that place when it was beſieged by Count Tilly the Emperor's General, his Lordſhip ſent the Count word, 'That it was againſt the 'law of nations to beſiege an Embaſſador.' Tilly returned for anſwer, 'That he took no 'notice that he was an Embaſſador.' Upon which the Lord Chicheſter replied to the meſſenger, 'Had my Maſter ſent me with as many hundred men, as he hath ſent me on 'fruitleſs meſſages, your General ſhould have known, that I had been a Soldier, as well 'as an Embaſſador (*z*).' At his return from this embaſſy, in the October following, his Lordſhip was very well received by King James, and the 31ſt of December made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council in England (*a*). He died about the ſame time as his Maſter King

(*b*) Ibid. and Fuller's Worthies, in Devon, p. 254.

(*c*) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Hiſtory of Ireland, by R. Cox, Part i. fol. edit. 1689, p. 437.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 440.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 447.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 449.

(*h*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) R. Cox, Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 9.

(*k*) R. Cox, Pref. to the 2d part of the Hiſtory of Ireland.

(*l*) Ibid. and Hiſt. P. ii. p. 9.

(*m*) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Sir John Davis, in his Diſcourſe of Ireland, p. 270.

(*o*) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 271; and Fuller's and Prince's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 255, & 201.

(*q*) R. Cox ſays it was Feb. 23, 1615, P. ii. p. 33.

(*r*) Iriſh Compendium, 3d edit. 12*mo*, 1735, p. 97; and Fuller and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Iriſh Compendium, ibid.

(*t*) Fuller and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Clark's Lives, in Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 206, Lond. 1662.

(*w*) Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

(*x*) See R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 25—33.

(*y*) Fuller, Prince, and Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra. Camdeni Annal. Jac. I.

(*z*) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra. Lloyd's State Worthies, 2d edit. 1679, p. 754.

(*a*) Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He went into the wars.*] In his youth he was guilty of great extravagance, and, to ſupport it, robbed one of Queen Elizabeth's Purveyors. To avoid being proſecuted for that crime, he fled into France, where he behaved with great bravery and conduct. The fame of which reaching the Queen's ears, his friends took thence an opportunity to ſue for his pardon, which the Queen readily ſent him, with an invitation home.° Whereupon ſhe employed him in her wars in Ireland, where he made his fortune, as is related in this article. This is mentioned in no hiſtorian, but has been handed down in the family, as a certain fact. The famous Richard Boyle, created afterwards Earl of Corke, is ſaid to have been his Secretary, when he was Lord-Deputy.

[*C*] *That they were forced to eat human fleſh.*] Three children were ſeen eating the entrails of their dead mother, upon whoſe fleſh they had fed twenty days, and roaſted it with fire; and it was manifeſt that ſome older people had been in ſuch a ſtarving condition, that they murdered and eat children for a long time together, and were at laſt diſcovered and executed for that barbarity. In ſhort, as R. Cox, Eſq; obſerves (2), the famine of Jeruſalem did not exceed that amongſt the rebels of Ireland, and therefore it is no wonder, that on the 30th of March 1602, the Earl of Tir-Oen, not knowing of Queen Elizabeth's death, did at Melifont, in moſt humble manner, and upon his knees, make his ſubmiſſion to the Deputy.

(2) Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 449.

King James, namely, about the beginning of the year 1625 (*b*): but, in *This* superior to his Sovereign, that he died in as great honour as any Englishman of his age (*c*); and to the great grief of his country, because it was in such a time as most required his assistance, courage, and wisdom, which seldom meet, but in him were united, and challenged an equal share in his perfections (*d*). He was buried at Belfast, in Ireland (*e*) [*D*]. He was stout in his nature, above any disorder upon emergencies, resolved in his temper above any impressions from other Princes, and high in his proposal beyond the expectation of his own. With regard to Ireland his sentiments were, that time must open and facilitate things for reformation of religion, by the Protestant plantations, by the care of good Bishops and Divines; the amplification of the college; the education of wards; an insensible seizure of Popish liberties; reducing the number of Privy-Counsellors, which were fifty or sixty at least, and that occasioned great debates, and caused business to be divulged, &c (*f*). In a word, he was *a good soldier*, and *a true Englishman* (*g*), which is as great a character as can be given. He married Letice, daughter of Sir John Perrot Lord-Deputy of Ireland [*E*]; and having no issue by her, made his youngest brother, Sir Edward Chichester, Knt, his heir: who was created by King Charles I. Baron Belfast, and Viscount Chichester, of Carrick-fergus in the county of Antrim. His son Arthur was created Earl of Donegall; which dignity hath been ever since enjoyed by his posterity (*h*).

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 510. Mr Prince, by mistake, says it was about the year 1620.

(*c*) Fuller, ubi sup.

(*d*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 510. Alex. Spicer, his Chaplain, wrote elegies on his death, printed in 1625. Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, ubi supra, p. 754, 755.

(*g*) R. Cox, Preface to P. ii. of his Hist. of Ireland.

(*h*) Prince, ubi supra. Irish Compend. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 437.

[*D*] *He was buried at Belfast in Ireland.*] Mr Prince supposes, that his brother and heir, the Lord Edward Chichester, might afterwards bring over, and lay his remains in the sepulchre belonging to his house at Eggesford in Devonshire. And observes, that in a little oratory adjoining to the church of Eggesford, on the north side of the chancel, he saw this memorial of him; namely, a head cut out in coarse marble, where his face is represented to the life, with a look stern and terrible, like a soldier. They who are skill'd in sculpture, say it is an excellent piece of art (3). There are extant *two Letters* of my Lord Chichester's writing, in the Cabala (4).

[*E*] *He married Letice, &c.*] Mr Nicholls, author of the Irish Compendium, is guilty of a very great error (5), in saying, that 'he married Mary eldest 'daughter to John Digby the first Earl of Bristol.' Whereas, he that married that Lady, was, Arthur, the first Earl of Donegall, son of Sir Edward Chichester, Knight, mentioned above in the text (6). C

(3) Prince, ubi supra, p. 201.

(4) Edit. 1663, p. 211, 213.

(5) Page 97, edit. 1735.

(6) See Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 437.

CHILLINGWORTH (WILLIAM) a learned Writer and Divine of the last Century, was son of Mr William Chillingworth, Citizen, and some time Mayor, of Oxford; and was born in St Martin's parish in that city, in October 1602. After he had been educated in Grammar learning at a private school in that city, he was admitted a Scholar of Trinity-College, the 2d of June 1618 (*a*). June the 18th, 1620, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); the 16th of March 1623, he was admitted Master of Arts (*c*); and the 10th of June 1628, he was elected Fellow of his College [*A*]. About this time, by the arts and insinuations of the famous Jesuit John Fisher, Mr Chillingworth was converted to the Romish Religion [*B*], and persuaded to retire to the Jesuits College

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 40.

(*b*) Id. Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 215.

(*c*) Ib. col. 226.

[*A*] —— *Fellow of his college.*] 'He was then 'observed, *says the Oxford Antiquary* (1), to be no 'drudge at his study, but being a man of great parts 'would do much in a little time when he settled to it. 'He would often walk in the college grove, and con-'template; but when he met with any scholar there, 'he would enter into discourse, and dispute with 'him, purposely to facilitate, and make the way of 'wrangling common with him; which was a fashion 'used in those days, especially among the disputing 'Theologists, or among those that set themselves apart 'purposely for Divinity.' Mr Chillingworth did not confine his studies to Divinity: he applied himself likewise, with good success, to the Mathematicks (2), and had the reputation of a Poet, as appears from these verses of Sir John Suckling:

There Selden, and he sat hard by the chair;
Weniman not far off, which was very fair;
Sands with Townsend, for they kept no order;
Digby and Shillingsworth a little further (3).

Our author's intimate friends, at this time, were Sir Lucius Cary, afterwards Lord Viscount Falkland, Mr John Hales of Eton, &c. but more particularly Mr Gilbert Sheldon, who succeeded Dr Juxon in the See of Canterbury, in 1663 (4).

[*B*] *He was converted, by John Fisher the Jesuit, to the Romish religion.*] The conversation and study of the University scholars, in our author's time, turned chiefly upon the controversies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; occasioned by the uncommon liberty allowed the Romish priests by King James I. and King Charles I. Several of them lived at or near Oxford, and made frequent attempts upon the young scholars, some of whom they deluded to the Romish religion, and afterwards convey'd to the English Seminaries beyond sea. Among these priests was the celebrated John Fisher (5), who was, at that time very conversant at Oxford; and Mr Chillingworth being accounted a very ingenious man, he used all possible means to be acquainted with him. Their conversation soon turned upon the points controverted between the two Churches; but more particularly on the necessity of an infallible living judge in matters of faith. Mr Chillingworth found himself unable to answer the arguments of the Jesuit on this head; and, being once convinced of the necessity of such a judge, he was easily brought to believe, that this infallible judge was to be found in the Church of Rome, and that therefore the Church of Rome must be the true Church, and the only Church, in which men could be saved. He therefore forsook the communion of the Church of England, and, with incredible satisfaction of mind, embraced the Romish religion (6). Mr Des Maizeaux has given us a letter (7), which Mr Chillingworth wrote on this occasion to his friend Mr Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he desires him seriously to consider the following queries. I. *Whether it be not evident from Scriptures, and Fathers, and reason, from the goodness of God, and the necessity of mankind, that there must be some one Church infallible in matters of faith?* II. *Whether there be any other society of men in the world, besides the Church of Rome, that either can upon good warrant, or indeed at all, challenge to itself the privilege of infallibility in matters of faith.* After which, he concludes his letter with these words; 'When you have applied your most 'attentive consideration upon these questions, I do 'assure myself, your resolution will be affirmative in 'the first, and negative in the second. And then the 'conclusion will be, that you will approve and follow 'the way, wherein I have had the happiness to go 'before you; and should think it infinitely increased, 'if it would please God to draw you after.'

[*C*] *Dr*

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50.

(2) *Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth, &c.* by M. Des Maizeaux, Lond. 1725, 8vo, p. 2.

(3) Session of the Poets. See the Works of Sir John Suckling, Lond. 1719, 12mo, p. 5.

(4) Historical and Critical Account, &c. p. 3.

(5) His true name was *John Perse* or *Persey*. See an account of him in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, &c.* Romæ 1676, p. 487.

(6) Historical and Critical Account, &c. p. 3—7; and Wood, ubi supra.

(7) Ibid.

College at Douay (*d*). But Dr Laud, then Bishop of London, who was his godfather (*e*), corresponding with him by letters [*C*], and pressing him with several arguments against the doctrines and practices of the Romanists, Mr Chillingworth, who began now to see the arguments, by which he had been converted, in another light, left Douay, after a short stay there [*D*], in 1631 (*f*). Upon his return to England, with the approbation of Bishop Laud, he retired to Oxford, where he pursued his enquiries into religion with great care and diligence, reading the best books, and conversing with the learnedest men, of both persuasions; till, at last, the Protestant principles appearing to him the most agreeable to Scripture and reason, he declared for them; and, about the year 1634, wrote a paper [*E*] in confutation of the arguments, by which he had been seduced; tho' such was his love of truth, that, even after his return to Protestantism, he made no scruple to re-examine the grounds of it, as appears by a letter he wrote to Dr Sheldon, *containing some scruples he had about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England* (*g*); which seems to have occasioned the report, that he had turned Papist a second time, and then Protestant again (*h*). Nor is it strange, that this seeming inconstancy of temper and judgment, for which our author has modestly apologized [*F*], should

(*d*) Id. Athen. ubi supra.

(*e*) Ib. col. 41.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) See the remark [*K*].

(*h*) M. Des Maizeaux's *Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth, Chancellor of the Church of Sarum*, Lond. 1725. 8vo. p. 13—18.

[*C*] *Dr Laud—corresponded with him by letters.*] Archbishop Laud, in his speech before the Lords, on the first day of his trial, March 12, 1643, appealed to the letters, which had pass'd between him and Mr Chillingworth, in order to vindicate himself from the charge of Popery. 'Mr Chillingworth's learning and 'abilities, *says he* (8), are sufficiently known to all 'your Lordships. He was gone, and settled at 'Dowaye. My letters brought him back; and he 'lived and died a defender of the Church of England. 'And that this is so, your Lordships cannot but know: 'for Mr Pryn took away my letters, and all the papers, which concerned him, and they were examined 'at the Committee.' These letters are supposed to be lost. Mr Prynne, who took away Archbishop Laud's papers, pursuant to an order of the House of Commons, kept them till after the Restoration, when, by order of the King in Council, they were deliver'd to Dr Sheldon Archbishop of Canterbury. But very few of those papers, which Prynne had published in several pamphlets and books, came into the Archbishop's hands: And many, even of those which had not been published, were found wanting; among which were the letters in question (9).

(8) Wharton's History of the Troubles and Trial of William Laud, &c. p. 227.

(9) Ibid. Pref.

[*D*] *He left Douay, after a short stay there.*] Mr Chillingworth was soon tired with the company of his new friends at Douay, as appears from the following passages of Mr Lacy, a Jesuit, who wrote a bitter invective against him, after he had published his book, intitled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*, &c. 'Had he not made, *says that author* (10), 'so much hast in running back from the Catholique, 'as though he had come thither only to fetch fire of 'faction, he might have acquainted himself better 'with the practice of the holy Church, in this very 'point of miracles, and relations concerning saints.' Again: 'Yet, had the man but stay'd, *says he* (11), 'to have learned his catechisme among us, he might 'have knowne the use and meaning of our ceremonies: 'now having come into the Church, as Cato came 'unto the theater, only to go out againe; what mervaile if he returne a ridiculous censurer of what he only saw and understood not? Such post-hast were hardly tolerable in a spie, much lesse in one who comes 'to see and censure.' Elsewhere he says (12): 'Would 'any man think, that this man was never Catholique 'above two months at once, who knowes the Jesuits 'so well?' That Mr Chillingworth met with a kind and respectful treatment from the Jesuits, during his short stay among them, may be inferred from the abovecited author, who says (13): 'Indeed he lost his 'fellowship by it (*by changing his religion*), but I presume the Catholique would have given him a better, 'had he but held out his yeares probation.' Some Protestant writers have indeed insinuated the contrary; particularly Dr Fuller, who, mentioning Mr Chillingworth, tells us (14), 'he was an acute and subtil disputant, but unsettled in his judgment, which made 'him go beyond the seas, and in some sort was conciled to the Church of Rome: but, whether because 'he found not the respect he expected (which some 'shrewdly suggest) or because his conscience could not 'close with all the Romish corruptions (which more 'charitably believe) he returned into England, &c.' Besides this groundless insinuation, there are two faults in this narrative: for, first, Mr Chillingworth's *going beyond the seas* was not occasioned by his being *unsettled in his judgment*, but, on the contrary, by his being *settled* in his opinion in favour of the Romish Church; and, secondly, he was *conciled to the Church of Rome*, not *in some sort*, but entirely and sincerely. Anthony Wood has suggested the same thing in regard to Mr Chillingworth's treatment by the Jesuits, besides some other mistakes, and malicious reports, which we shall set down in his own words. 'About the same time, '*says he* (15), being much unsettled in his thoughts, 'he became acquainted with one who went by the 'name of John Fisher, a learned Jesuit and sophistical 'disputant, who was often conversant in those parts '(*Oxford*). At length, by his persuasions, and the 'satisfaction of some doubts which he could not find 'among our great men at home, he went to the Jesuits 'college at St Omer, forsook his religion, and —— 'became a Roman Catholic.' But 'so it was, that 'finding not that satisfaction from the Jesuits concerning various points of religion, or (as some say) not 'that respect, which he expected (for the common report among his contemporaries in Trinity College 'was, that the jesuits, to try his temper, and exercise 'his obedience, did put him upon servile duties far 'below him) he left them in the year 1631, returned 'to the Church of England (though the Presbyterians 'said not, but that he was always a Papist in his 'heart, or, as we now say, in masquerade) and was 'kindly received by his godfather Dr Laud, then Bishop of London.' Mr Chillingworth did not retire *to the college of St Omer*, as this writer asserts, but to that of Douay, if Archbishop Laud, who certainly knew it best, is to be believed (16). Neither is it at all probable, what the Presbyterians said, that Mr Chillingworth continued still a Papist in his heart, after his return to the Church of England.

(10) The Judgment of an University Man, &c. 1639, 4to, p. 39.

(11) Ibid. p. 40.

(12) Ibid. p. 13.

(13) Ibid. p. 18.

(14) Worthies of England, Oxfordshire, p. 339.

(15) Ubi supra.

(16) See the remark [*C*].

[*E*] *A paper.*] This paper is now lost. It is true, we have a paper of Mr Chillingworth's on the same subject; but it seems to be written on some other occasion, probably at the desire of his friends. It was first publish'd, in 1687, in the *Additional Discourses of Mr Chillingworth* (17).

(17) See the remark [*I*].

[*F*] *His modest Apology for this seeming inconstancy of temper and judgment.*] There are numberless passages in Mr Chillingworth's works, wherein his religious conduct is strongly justified. But we shall select only the following from his celebrated piece, intitled *The Religion of Protestants*, &c. in answer to Mr Knott's *Charity maintained by Catholics*, &c. 'I know a man, '*says our author* (18), *speaking of himself*, that of a 'moderate Protestant turn'd a Papist, and the day that 'he did so (as all things that are done, are perfected 'some day or other) was convicted in conscience, that 'his yesterdaies opinion was an error, and yet thinks 'hee was no schismatique for so doing, and desires to 'be informed by you whether or no hee was mistaken. 'The same man afterwards, upon better consideration, 'became a doubting Papist, and of a doubting Papist 'a confirm'd Protestant. And yet this man thinks 'himself no more to blame for all these changes, than 'a travailer, who using all diligence to find the right 'way to some remote citty, where he had never been '(as the partie I speak of had never been in Heaven) 'did yet mistake it, and after find his error, and

(18) Chap. v. §. 103.

'amend

should expose him to the most malicious and ill-grounded calumnies [G], as well as to several disputes with those of the Romish Religion [H]. But, in 1635, he was engaged

'amend it. Nay, he stands upon his justification so 'farre, as to maintain that his alterations, not only to 'you, but also from you, by God's mercy, were the 'most satisfactory actions to himselfe, that ever he did, 'and the greatest victories that ever he obtained over 'himselfe, and his affections to those things which in 'this world are most precious; as wherein, for God's 'sake, and (as he was verily persuaded) out of love to 'the truth, he went upon a certain expectation of 'those inconveniences, which to ingenuous natures are 'of all most terrible. So that though there were 'much weaknesse in some of these alterations, yet cer- 'tainly there was no wickednesse. Neither does he 'yeeld his weaknesß altogether without apologie, see- 'ing his deductions were rational, and out of some 'principles commonly received by Protestants as well 'as Papists, and which by his education had got pos- 'session of his understanding.' Here, we see, Mr Chillingworth was so far from thinking such changes of religion sinful or disreputable, that he glories in them, and makes them matter of triumph.

[G] *He was exposed to the most malicious and ill-grounded calumnies.*] So, I think, we may very well call the following passage in one of Dr Wood's controversial *Letters* to Mr Bulstrode. 'Can there be any 'thing more notoriously false, *says he* (19), than the 'words of Chillingworth, cited by you; *I see plainly,* '*and with my own eyes, Councils against Councils, a* '*consent of Fathers of one age, against a consent of* '*Fathers of another age; the Church of one age,* '*against the Church of another age.* If I could find 'what he said here to be true, I would soon discard 'all Revealed Religion, and would turn Deist: for I 'don't see any argument that can be more for a Deist's 'purpose than this; and, if the truth were known, 'he was one in masquerade; for a confirmation of 'which I can give you a very good testimony, that at 'the bottom he was such, notwithstanding his book 'which he writ against us. Chillingworth having an 'intimate friendship with the gentleman of the Horse 'to the grandfather (as I think) of the present Lord 'Mountague of Coudrey, was ask'd by this gentleman '(who heard all the world extolling Chillingworth for 'his great learning, and particularly in controversy) 'as a true and sincere friend, to tell him his opinion 'freely and candidly, which was the true Religion: to 'which he answered in short, that he (*the Enquirer*) 'should keep to the Religion in which he was (which 'was the Roman Catholick) for if there were any reli- 'gion, that it was the right, and that if there were 'none, that the worst that could happen to him was 'but so much pains lost. I don't say that these are 'the words of his letter, but I remember that they 'were much to this purpose. Now it is plain by this 'letter (which I don't doubt you will say it is feigned) 'that this great champion of your religion was but a 'sceptick in religion at the best, and what most of 'your greatest men are; for if they can believe that 'so many learned and holy men have been deceived 'for so many ages in matters of this consequence, have 'they not reason to doubt, that these latter ages have 'been deceived so too, and so consequently there must 'be very little or no security of the Christian Faith.' Till the original of Mr Chillingworth's letter, here referred to, is produced (which it has never yet been) we may fairly set down this story as a malicious and ill-grounded calumny.

(19) *Letters between Dr Wood, a Roman Catholick, the Pretender's Physician, and Whitelock Bulstrode, Esq; a Member of the Church of England,* &c. p. 136. This Letter is dated June 14, 1710.

[H] *He had several disputes with those of the Romish Religion.*] One of these was Mr John Lewgar, a great zealot for the Church of Rome; who was a beneficed Clergyman in Essex, but quitted both his religion and preferment, to turn Roman Catholick (20). Anthony Wood pretends (21), he was converted by the force of Mr Chillingworth's arguments, with whom he had several conferences, after that gentleman's return to England, about matters of religion. But, if Mr Chillingworth induced Mr Lewgar to turn Papist, it is strange neither of them should take any notice of it in the letters which passed between them. However, Mr Lewgar, between whom and Mr Chillingworth there had always been an intimate friendship, as soon as he heard that Mr Chillingworth was returned to the Church of England, sent him a very angry and abusive letter, to which Mr Chillingworth returned an answer full of affection and charity (22). This letter was first printed in the year 1662, with this title: *Mr Chillingworth's letter touching Infallibility*, 4to. In the last page is the *Imprimatur* of M. Frank, chaplain to Dr Sheldon, then Bishop of London, dated the 5th of August 1662. It was afterwards inserted in the fifth edition of Mr Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*, &c. in the year 1684, with this title: *Reasons against Popery, in a letter from Mr William Chillingworth to his friend Mr Lewgar, persuading him to return to his mother the Church of England from the corrupt Church of Rome.* It was printed again at the end of the contracted edition of Mr Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*, &c. in 1687, with this title: *Out of Mr Chillingworth's Manuscript, A Letter to Mr Lewgar, concerning the Church of Rome's being the guide of faith and judge of controversies.* But, notwithstanding all these several impressions, Mr Grascome, having met with an imperfect copy of it, inserted it as a piece of Mr Chillingworth's never before published, in the *Preface* of his book intitled *Certamen Religiosum* (23), &c. in which he tells us, it was communicated to him by Sir Thomas Fanshaw, a curious collector of uncommon pieces. The famous Dr Hickes, though a man of great knowledge in books, thought this piece had been first published by Mr Grascome, and as such reprinted it in 1705, in the *Appendix* to a book intitled; *several letters, which passed between Dr George Hickes and a Popish priest*, &c. in the preface to which, speaking of the *Appendix*, he says, 'The second paper is a let- 'ter of Mr Chillingworth, about the Infallibility of 'the Church of Rome. I have published it—because 'I think it worthy to be read of all men, especially 'by Protestants, who, when they happen to be assault- 'ed publickly or privately by Popish priests, may 'make this use of it, to defy them to answer this let- 'ter, and in the mean time to forbear.' Mr Lewgar could not help being touched with a letter, which shewed so much love, sincerity, and moderation. He desired to see his old friend again; and Mr Chillingworth had a *Conference* with him about Religion before Mr Skinner and Dr Sheldon (24). There passed afterwards several papers between them concerning the pretended Infallibility and Catholicity of the Romish Church; and we have a paper of Mr Chillingworth's, intituled, *A Conference concerning the Infallibility of the Roman Church*, &c. which seems to contain the abstract or summary of their dispute (25). We have, in the same manner, the substance of a dispute he had with Mr Daniel, or Dan à Jesu, a Jesuit, whose real name was John Floyd; wherein he disproves the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, by an argument taken from the contradictions, which are contained in the doctrine of Transubstantiation (26). He had another with a gentleman, whom he does not name; in which he confutes the same Infallibility, by proving, that either the present Church of Rome errs, in offering tapers and incense to the Virgin Mary, or that the antient Church of Rome did err, in condemning as hereticks the Collyridians for offering a cake to her (27). Besides the pieces already mentioned, Mr Chillingworth wrote one to demonstrate, that the doctrine of Infallibility is neither evident of itself, nor grounded upon certain and infallible reasons, nor warranted by any passage of Scripture (28). And in two other papers, he shews, that the Church of Rome hath formerly erred; first, by admitting Infants to the Eucharist, and holding, that without it they could not be saved; and, secondly, by teaching the doctrine of the *Millenaries*; both which doctrines are condemned as false and heretical by the present Church of Rome (29). He wrote also a short *letter*, in answer to some objections put to him by one of his friends, wherein he shews, that neither the Fathers, nor the Councils, are infallible witnesses of tradition, and that the Infallibility of the Church of Rome must first of all be proved from the Scripture (30). We must not forget our author's *Answer* to some *Passages* in the *Dialogues*, published under the name of Mr *Rushworth* (31). The occasion was this: The Lord Digby desired Mr Chillingworth to meet Mr *White*, the true author of those dialogues, at the lodgings of Sir Kenelm Digby, a late convert

(20) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(21) Ibid.

(22) See a Letter to Mr Lewgar, at the end of Mr Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, &c. Lond. 1687, 4to.

(23) Printed at Oxford in 1704, 8vo.

(24) See A Conference between Mr Chillingworth and Mr Lewgar, in the Additional Discourses of Mr Chillingworth, &c. Lond. 1687, 4to.

(25) See the Additional Discourses, &c.

(26) Ibid. p. 91.

(27) Ibid. p. 41.

(28) Ibid. p. 26.

(29) Ibid. p. 80.

(30) Ibid. p. 90.

(31) Ibid. p. 103.

engaged in a work, which gave him a far greater opportunity to confute the principles of the Romish Church, and to vindicate the Protestant Religion: we mean his *Religion of Protestants, a safe way to Salvation* [*I*], which was published about the latter end of the year

convert to the Church of Rome. The Lord Digby himself was there. Their conference turn'd upon *Tradition*; and as Mr White had treated the same matter in his Dialogues, which were not yet published, Mr Chillingworth, probably at the request of the Lord Digby, selected out of them some passages relating to that subject, and confuted them (32). The foregoing pieces were published together in the year 1687, under the title of *Additional Discourses of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed.*

[*I*] *His* Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation.] The whole title is: *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation: Or, An Answer to a Book intitled;* Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholiques; *which pretends to prove the contrary. By William Chillingworth, Master of Arts of the University of Oxford.* Edward Knott (33), the Jesuit, had put out, in 1630, a little book, intitled, *Charity mistaken, with the want whereof Catholickes are unjustly charged, for affirming, as they do with grief, that Protestancy unrepented destroies salvation.* In 8vo. This book was answered by Dr Potter, Provost of Queen's College in Oxford, in a piece, intitled, *Want of Charitie justly charged on all such Romanists, as dare (without truth or modesty) affirme, that Protestancie destroyeth Salvation. In answer to a late Popish pamphlet, intituled,* Charity mistaken, &c. 1633. The Jesuit replied in 1634, under this title: *Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintayned by Catholiques. By way of Reply upon an Answere lately framed by D. Potter to a Treatise which had formerly proved, that* Charity *was* mistaken *by Protestants: With the want whereof Catholiques are unjustly charged, for affirming, that Protestancy unrepented destroyes Salvation. Devided into two parts.* Mr Chillingworth undertook to answer this Reply: which gave him frequent occasions to resort to his most ingenious and learned friend the Lord Falkland, at Great Tew, his Lordship's seat in Oxfordshire; whose curious library, as well as conversation, was of great use to him on this occasion (34). Mr Knott, being informed that Mr Chillingworth was preparing an Answer to his book against Dr Potter, came out with an abusive piece against him, intituled, *A Direction to be observed by N. N. if hee meane to proceede in answering the Booke intitled,* Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholicks, &c. 1636. 8vo. The Jesuit's design in this pamphlet being to prejudice the publick against Mr Chillingworth's answer, he charged him in it with Socinianism, the most odious imputation he could find, and the fittest for his purpose (35). Mr Chillingworth's Answer to Mr Knott was very near finished by the beginning of the year 1637; when Archbishop Laud, who knew our author's freedom in delivering his thoughts, and was under some apprehension he might indulge it too much in his book, recommended the revisal of it to Dr Prideaux (36), Professor of Divinity at Oxford; and desired it might be published with his approbation annex'd to it (37). And to Dr Prideaux were added Dr Baylie, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Dr Fell, Lady Margaret's Professor in Divinity, for the examinination of Mr Chillingworth's book, which was soon after put to the press at Oxford. Mr Knott was then lurking about that place, and found means, by bribery, to have the sheets from the press, as they were wrought off (38). The impression of our author's Answer to the first part of Mr Knott's book being near finished; he acquainted Dr Baylie with his reasons for not answering the second part; and the Archbishop being consulted thereupon (39), it was agreed, that Mr Chillingworth, in the *Conclusion* of his work, should give the reasons he had for not publishing an answer to the second part. Accordingly the book was published, and presented by the author to the King, with a very elegant, modest, and pious dedication; in which we learn this remarkable circumstance, that Dr Potter's vindication of the Protestant Religion against Mr Knott's book was *written by special order from* his *Majesty*; and that, by giving such an order, that most pious and religious Prince, besides *the general good*, had also *some aime at the recovery of* Mr Chillingworth *from* the *dangerous deviation* he happened then to be in, by the change of his religion (40). Next to the Dedication were printed, as the Archbishop had desired, the approbations of Dr Baylie, Dr Prideaux, and Dr Fell; who had examined Mr Chillingworth's book with such rigour and severity, as made him say (41), it had *passed a fiery trial.* And Mr Knott affirmed (42), that so many alterations had been made by the censors in Mr Chillingworth's manuscript, that the book was quite another thing from what it was first drawn up by the author. Anthony Wood, upon the authority of Mr Cheynell (43), tells us, that Dr Prideaux, after the examination and correction of Mr Chillingworth's book, used in private conversation to compare it to *an unwholesome Lamprey, by having a poisonous sting of Socinianism throughout it, and tending in some places to plain infidelity and atheism* (44). Dr Fuller takes notice of the same story, but with this judicious remark (45): *A passage in my opinion inconsistent with the Doctor's approbation prefix'd in the beginning of the book.* This *Approbation* is as follows: *Perlegi hunc librum——in quo nihil reperio doctrinæ vel disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversum, sed quam plurima quæ fidem orthodoxam egregie illustrant, & adversantia glossemata acute, perspicue, & modeste dissipant.* After so full and express an attestation to the orthodoxy of Mr Chillingworth's performance, is it probable, Dr Prideaux should afterwards represent it, among his friends, as a book full of Socinianism, and even Infidelity and Atheism? But Mr Wood was fond of defamatory reports, however ill-grounded, when they concerned any adversaries to Popery.——Mr Chillingworth's *Preface* is inscribed 'To the author of *Charity maintained*; with an answer to his pamphlet, entituled *A Direction to* N.N.' He expresses what care and diligence he had employ'd to make his answer unexceptionable; how earnestly he desired, before the printing of it, to confer with Mr Knott, and hear what he could offer in vindication of any one argument in his book; and complains, that, instead of agreeing with this fair and reasonable proposal, he had used base and oblique means in order to deter him from publishing his answer (46). Then he proceeds to vindicate, first, the Protestants in general; secondly, the Divines of the Church of England; and, lastly, himself, from the calumnies and foul aspersions cast upon them in the Jesuit's pamphlet (47). But, the Jesuit having excepted against Mr Chillingworth's being a fit champion for the Protestant cause, because he *had often, and even not very long since, profess'd that he would never subscribe to their thirty-nine Articles* (48); and, secondly, because he *had set down in writing, motives, which enduced him to forsake Protestantisme,* and had never answered them: Mr Chillingworth replies to these two objections in the close of his preface (49). The book itself is divided into seven chapters, in answer to so many of which the Jesuit's first part consists, which are reprinted with our author's answers. In the first chapter Mr Chillingworth asserts, that *Papists are uncharitable in condemning Protestants*: in the IId, that *the Scripture is the only rule, whereby to judge of controversies*: in the IIId, that *no Church of one denomination is infallible*: in the IVth, that *the Creed of the Apostles contains all necessary points of meer belief*: in the Vth, that *the Religion of Protestants is a safer way to Salvation than the Religion of Papists*: in the VIth, that *Protestants are not Hereticks*: and, in the VIIth, that *they are not bound by the charity, which they owe to themselves, to re-unite themselves to the Roman Church.* This performance of our author's was received with uncommon applause; insomuch that two editions of it were published within less than five months. It has been re-printed several times since the Restoration. The first edition of it was printed at Oxford in 1638: the second, the same year, at London, with the *Imprimatur* of Dr Samuel Baker, chaplain to Dr Juxon, then Bishop of London. The third edition came out in 1664, with the licence of Dr Stradling, chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon. To this edition were added some other pieces of Mr Chillingworth, *viz.* the *Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy,* and *nine Sermons, the first preached before his Majesty Charles* I. *the other upon special and eminent occasions* (50). The fourth edition came out in 1674; and the fifth in 1684.

(32) See M. Des Maizeaux, &c. ubi sup. p. 41, 42. See also Letters between the Lord George Digby and Sir Kenelm Digby, Knt. concerning Religion, Lond. 1651, p. 84, 85.

(33) His true name was Matthias Wilson.

(34) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 329.

(35) See the substance of this piece, which is very scarce, in M. DesMaizeaux, ubi supra, p. 106—136.

(36) Afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

(37) Remains of Archbishop Laud, Vol. II. p. 128.

(38) Ibid. p. 141.

(39) Ibid. p. 142.

(40) See the Dedication.

(41) Preface, §. 4.

(42) Christianity maintained, &c. p. 79.

(43) In his Discussion of Mr John Fry's Tenets, &c. p. 33.

(44) Athen. Oxon. ibid.

(45) Worthies of England, ubi sup.

(46) Pref. §. 3.

(47) Ib. §. 9—38.

(48) See the next remark.

(49) Ibid. §. 39, ad finem.

(50) See the remarks [*R*] [*S*].

year 1637 (*i*). In the mean time, he had refused preferment, which was offered him by Sir Thomas Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal, because his conscience would not allow him to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles (*k*) [*K*]. But these scruples were not of long

(*i*) Ibid. p. 141.

(*k*) Ib. p. 56—103.

1684, with the addition of Mr Chillingworth's *Letter to Mr Lewgar*. In 1687, when the nation was in imminent danger of Popery, Mr Chillingworth's book being looked upon as the most effectual preservative against it, Dr John Patrick, at the request of the London Clergy, published an abridgment of it; with some additional pieces of Mr Chillingworth against Popery, which had not been as yet printed. It came out with this title: *Mr Chillingworth's book, called* The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation, *made more generally useful, by omitting personal contests, but inserting whatsoever concerns the common cause of Protestants, or defends the Church of England: with an addition of some genuine pieces of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed.* In quarto. In the *Advertisement* Dr Patrick informs us, that the manuscript, out of which most of the *additional pieces* were faithfully transcribed, was an original of Mr Chillingworth's own hand-writing, in the custody of the Reverend Dr Tennison, to whom the reader was obliged for their publication. These pieces were published with this title; *Additional Discourses of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed*; with the licence of William Needham, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft (51). The fixth edition of Mr Chillingworth's book was printed in 1704, with the *additional Discourses*, and the *table of contents* of the contracted edition. But this impression is very full of typographical errors. The seventh edition came out in 1719; the eighth, in ——; and the ninth, in 1727. This last edition was prepared from that of 1664, carefully examined and compared with the two preceding editions. The various readings of these editions are taken notice of at the bottom of each page, with the words *Oxf.* or *Lond.* after them. The tenth and last edition is of the year 1742, with the *Life of Mr Chillingworth*, by the Reverend Mr Thomas Birch (52). In 1638, Mr Knott published a pamphlet, intituled, *Christianity maintained: Or, A Discovery of sundry doctrines tending to the overthrowe of the Christian Religion, contained in the Answere to a book entituled* Mercy and Truth, &c. Printed at St Omer, in 4to. This last pamphlet of Mr Knott's is but a paraphrase of the first: The same accusations are brought over again, and little or no notice is taken of Mr Chillingworth's answers. Mr Knott himself was so sensible, that this piece could never be looked upon as a satisfactory answer to Mr Chillingworth's book, that, in the preface, he promises a larger work. The *doctrines tending to the overthrowe of the Christian Religion*, which he imputes to Mr Chillingworth, are these: 1. *That fayth necessary to Salvation is not infallible, the grounds of which doctrine*, he says, *lead to Atheisme.* 2. *That the assurance we have of Scriptures is but moral.* 3. *That the Apostles were not infallible in their writings, but erred with the whole Church of their time.* 4. *That* his *principles are injurious to the miracles of our Saviour and his Apostles.* 5. *That by resolving faith into reason*, he *destroyes the nature of faith, and beliefe of all Christian verities.* 6. *That* his *doctrine is destructive of the theological virtues of Christian hope and charity.* 7. *That it takes away the grounds of rational discourse.* 8. *That it opens a way to deny the blessed Trinity, and other high mysteries of the Christian faith.* 9. *That it layes grounds to be constant in no religion.* 10. And lastly, *That it provides for the impunity and preservation of whatsoever damnable error against Christian faith.* Mr Knott dedicated this piece to the King. There is subjoined to it a little piece, printed the same year, and at the same place, under the title of; *Motives maintained, or, A Reply unto Mr Chillingworth's Answere to his own motives of his conversion to Catholicke Religion.* Mr Wood did not know, that Mr Knott was the author of this pamphlet: if he had, he would undoubtedly have named him; whereas he only describes the author by the letters I. H. (53), which are at the bottom of the dedication to the King. But Mr Knott had used the same initials at the end of his dedication to that Prince, prefixed to his *Charity maintain'd*, &c. The next pamphlet against Mr Chillingworth was printed likewise at St Omer, with this title; *The Church conquerant over human wit, Or, The Churches Authority demonstrated by M.* William Chillingworth *(the proctour for wit against her) his perpetual contradictions, in his booke entituled* The Religion of Protestants, &c. 4to. The author was John Floyd the Jesuit (54); who published, in 1639, by way of Appendix to this piece, another intitled; *The totall Summe, or, No danger of Damnation unto Roman Catholiques for any errors in faith*, &c. 4to. The third and last pamphlet against Mr Chillingworth's book was printed, in 1639 (probably at St Omer) under the title of *The Judgment of an University man concerning Mr William Chillingworth his late pamphlet* (55), *in answer to* Charity maintained, 4to. The author of it was Mr William Lacy, a Jesuit, who, at the time of writing it, lived at Oxford (56). At the same time was printed a sequel to this piece, by the same hand, under the title of *Heautomachia, Mr Chillingworth against himself.* But our author's performance was not only attacked in his life-time, but even nine years after his death, by his old antagonist Mr Knott, who, as in his last pamphlet, he had charged him with *Socinianism*, so, in a book published in 1652, he charges him with *Infidelity*: for he entitled it; *Infidelity unmasked: Or, The Confutation of a Booke published by Mr William Chillingworth, under this title:* The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation. Printed at Ghent, in 4to (57).

(51) See the remark [*H*].

(52) This Life is the same with that printed in the General Dict.

(53) Wood, ubi supra, col. 43.

(54) See his article.

(55) So he calls [illegible]

(56) See his article.

(57) See the article KNOTT (EDWARD).

[*K*] *He refused to subscribe the thirty-nine Articles.*] Mr Chillingworth, considering, that, by subscribing the articles, he must not only declare *willingly* and *ex animo*, that every one of the *Articles* is *agreeable to the word of God*, but also that *the Book of Common-Prayer contains nothing contrary to the word of God*; that *it may lawfully be used*; and that *he himself would use it*; and conceiving, at the same time, that, both in the *Articles*, and in the *Book of Common Prayer*, there were some things repugnant to the Scripture; or that were not lawful to be used: he fully resolved to lose for ever all hopes of preferment, rather than comply with the subscription required (58). One of his chief objections to the *Common-Prayer* related to the *Athanasian Creed*; the *damnatory clauses* of which he look'd upon as *contrary to the word of God*. Another objection concerned the *Fourth Commandment*; which, by the prayer subjoined to it, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, &c. appeared to him to be made a part of the Christian Law, and consequently to bind Christians to the observation of the Jewish Sabbath (59). See, in Mr Des Maizeaux (60), *a letter, which he wrote upon this occasion*, to his good friend Dr Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. It seems there passed several letters between our author and Dr Sheldon upon this subject. For Mr Chillingworth being now intent upon a full enquiry into the sense of the Articles, every step afforded him new scruples. Thus he objected, 1. To the XXth Article, importing, that *the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith.* 2. To the XIVth Article, that *voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety*, &c. which seemed to him to condemn the doctrine of *Evangelical counsels*, maintained by the Fathers, and by several eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Bishop Andrews, Bishop Morton, Bishop Mountague, &c. 3. To the XXXIst Article, that *the offering of Christ once made*, &c. 4. To the XIIIth Article, that *works done before the grace of Christ*, &c. which seemed to him to confine God's grace within too narrow bounds, and to exclude from salvation the most virtuous among the Pagans. Lastly, he objected to the Articles in general, as an imposition on mens consciences, much like the authority assumed by the Church of Rome (61). These scruples of our author, about subscribing the Articles, furnished his antagonist, the Jesuit (62), with one objection against him, as an improper champion for the Protestant cause. To which Mr Chillingworth answers, in the close of his *Preface* to the *Religion of Protestants*, &c. that, 'though *he* 'does not hold the doctrine of all Protestants absolutely true—yet *he* holds it free from all impiety, and 'from all error destructive of salvation, or in itself 'damnable. And this, *he* thinks, in reason, may sufficiently

(58) M. Des Maizeaux, ubi supra, p. 78, 84.

(59) Ibid. p. 78—82.

(60) Ibid. p. 86.

(61) Ib. p. 99—101.

(62) Mr Knott. See the preceding remark.

long continuance, being, probably, removed by the arguments of his good friend, Dr Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (*l*): for, being promoted to the Chancellorship of Salisbury, with the Prebend of Brixworth in Northamptonshire annexed, the 20th of July 1638, he complied with the usual subscription [*L*]. About the same time, he obtained the Mastership of Wigstan's Hospital in Leicester (*m*). In 1640, Mr Chillingworth was deputed, by the Chapter of Salisbury, as their Proctor to the Convocation, which met with the Parliament, and was opened the 14th of April (*n*) [*M*]. He was likewise deputed to the Convocation, which met the same year with the new Parliament, and was opened the 4th of November (*o*). He was zealously attached to the Royal party, and, in August 1643, was present, in the King's army, at the siege of Glocester; where he advised and directed the making certain engines, for assaulting the town [*N*], after the manner of the Roman *Testudines cum pluteis* (*p*). Soon after, having accompanied the Lord Hopton, General of the King's forces in the West, to Arundel-Castle in Sussex, and chusing to repose himself in that garrison, on account of an indisposition occasioned by the severity of the season, he was there taken prisoner, the 9th of December 1643, by the Parliament forces under the command of Sir William Waller, who obliged the castle to surrender (*q*). But, his illness increasing, and not being able to go to London with the garrison, he obtained leave to be conveyed to Chichester; where he was lodged in the Bishop's palace, and, after a short illness, died [*O*], some time in the

(*l*) See the remark [*K*].

(*m*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*n*) Nalson's Impartial Collection of the great Affairs of State, &c. Vol. I. p. 353; and Vol. II. p. 260.

(*o*) MS. H. Wharton. in Biblioth. Lambeth, Vol. A. p. 264.

(*p*) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. II. Part iii. an. 1643.

(*q*) Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, B. viii. edit. Oxf. 8vo, 1720, p. 473.

'ciently qualify him for a maintainer of this assertion, 'that *Protestancy destroys not salvation*.' Then he adds this remarkable declaration: 'For the Church of 'England, I am persuaded, that the constant doctrine 'of it is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes 'it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly he shall be 'saved; and that there is no error in it, which may 'necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace, 'or renounce the communion of it. This, in my opinion, is *all* intended by subscription; and thus much 'if you conceive me not ready to subscribe, your *charity*, I assure you, is much *mistaken* (*).' Mr Chillingworth expresses here, not only his readiness to subscribe, but also what he conceives to be the sense and intent of such a subscription; which he now takes to be a subscription of *peace* or *union*, and not of *belief* or *assent*, as he formerly thought it was. And, as he did, within a few months, actually subscribe, we have reason to believe he did it in the same sense; especially if we consider, that this was also the sense of Archbishop Laud (63), with which Mr Chillingworth could not be unacquainted; and of Dr Sheldon (64), who laboured to convince him of it, and was, no doubt, the person that brought him at last into it. Dr Bennet, indeed, in his *Essay on the* XXXIX *Articles* (65), undertakes to prove, from the foregoing passage of Mr Chillingworth, that he was of opinion, that a subscription of *belief* or *assent* to the articles is required of the Clergy. But, besides the plain import of our author's words, it may be observed, that the Romish controversists have always understood Mr Chillingworth's sense of subscription to be as we have represented it, and have charged it upon him as a novelty he had introduced into the Church of England (66). Archbishop Sancroft, and several other Divines of the Church of England, have concurred in opinion with Mr Chillingworth, that her articles are not articles of *belief* and *assent*, but of *peace* and *union*, and consequently may be subscribed as such.

[*L*] *He complied with the usual subscription.*] He did it in the following words, as appears from the subscription-book of the Church of Salisbury: *Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, Clericus, in Artibus Magister, ad Cancellariatum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis beatæ Mariæ Sarum, una cum Præbenda de Brixworth alias Bricklesworth in comitatu Northampton, Petriburgensis Diocæseos in eadem Ecclesia fundata & eidem Cancellariatui annexa, admittendus & instituendus, omnibus hisce articulis & singulis in iisdem contentis volens & ex animo subscribo, & consensum meum iisdem præbeo*; 20 *die Julii* 1638. Gulielmus Chillingworth. Hence it appears, that Mr Chillingworth did actually subscribe, and that in the legal form: both of which have been questioned by several persons. Mr Knott affirms (67), that Mr Chillingworth never subscribed the Articles; and the Bishop of Bangor (now (†) Bishop of Winchester) concludes (68), upon the same false supposition, that Mr Chillingworth's enjoying a preferment in the Church, *without subscribing*, was an effect of the particular favour, which the churchmen of those days had for him, as a convert from the Church of Rome.

(*) Alluding to the title of the Jesuit's book.

(63) Relation of a Conference between W. Laud, &c. and Mr Fisher, &c. Lond. 1639, p. 50—52.

(64) See the copy of a Letter from Dr Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth, *apud* M. Des Maiseaux, ubi supra, p. 103.

(65) Ch. xxxiv. p. 429.

(66) See Mr Lacy's Judgment of an University Man, &c. p. 156. Mr Cressy's Exomologesis, &c. edit. 1647, p. 404; and Mr Woodhead's Humble Apology for the Nonconformists, &c. Pref.

(67) Infidelity Unmask'd, &c. c. i. §. 24, p. 56.

(†) In 1743.

(68) A Letter to Dr Snape, prefixed to Mr Pilloniere's Reply to Dr Snape's Vindication of a passage in his Second Letter, &c. Lond. 1718, p. 43, 44.

[*M*] *He was Proctor for the Chapter of Salisbury to the Convocation which met——the* 14*th of April* 1640.] The proceedings of this Convocation (which sat after the dissolution of the Parliament, and made several Canons and Constitutions) being highly resented in the next Parliament by the House of Commons, who declared them to be against the right of Parliament, and the liberty of the subject (which votes were agreed to by the house of Lords). A bill was brought in, and pass'd the Commons (but was thrown out by the Lords) for punishing and fining the members of the Convocation; wherein Mr Chillingworth, as Proctor for the Chapter of Salisbury, was fined a thousand pounds (69).

[*N*] *He advised and directed the making certain engines, for assaulting the town of* Glocester.] Mr Rushworth's account of this matter is as follows (70): 'The King's forces, by the direction of Dr Chillingworth, had provided certain engines, after the manner of the Roman *Testudines cum pluteis*, wherewith 'they intended to assault the city between the south 'and west gates: They ran upon cart-wheels, with a '*blind* of planks musket-proof, and holes for four 'musqueteers to play out of, placed upon the axle-tree, to defend the musqueteers, and those that 'thrust it forwards, and carrying a bridge before it: 'the wheels were to fall into the ditch, and the end 'of the bridge to rest upon the town's breast-work, so 'making several compleat bridges to enter the city.' But, before the effect of Mr Chillingworth's machines could be proved, the siege was raised by the approach of the Earl of Essex's forces. That Mr Chillingworth was present at the siege of Glocester, is farther confirmed by a letter of Bishop Barlow's, in answer to one from a friend, who had quoted Mr Corbet's (‖) *Relation of the siege of Glocester*, in which, that writer mentions Mr Chillingworth very unworthily, calling him the *Jesuitical Doctor Chillingworth*. The Bishop's words are (71): 'For Mr Chillingworth, none ever 'questioned his loyalty to his King. What Corbet '(in his book you mention) writes of him, that he 'was in the siege of Glocester, in the King's army, 'assisting it to take the city, is a great commendation 'of his loyalty and truth: for I know Mr Chillingworth was there in the siege (but whether as a Chaplain, or Assistant only, I know not). For going 'thither to see Sir William Waller my good friend, 'who was a commander there, I did also see Mr Chillingworth among the commanders there.'

[*O*] *His death*.] We have a very particular account of Mr Chillingworth's sickness and death, written by his great adversary Mr Cheynel, who accidentally met him in Arundel-Castle, and frequently visited him at Chichester till he died. It was at the request of this gentleman, that our author was removed to Chichester. Here Mr Cheynel attended him constantly, and behaved towards him with as much charity and compassion, as his rigid orthodoxy would permit. And no doubt, it was out of a desire to shew his zeal in that respect, as well as his entire devotion to the Parliament, that he published his account of Mr Chillingworth;

(69) Nalson, ubi supra, p. 285, 286; and Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. IV. ann. 1641, p. 236.

(70) Ibid. Vol. II. ann. 1643.

(‖) Mr Corbet was Chaplain to Col. Massey, Governor of Glocester.

(71) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 346.

(r) Chillingworthi Novissima, &c. See remark [Q].

the month of January [P] 1643-4, and was buried, according to his own desire, in the Cathedral Church of Chichester (r) [Q]. Besides our author's works already mentioned, there are extant *nine Sermons* [R], a Tract in defence of *Episcopacy* [S], and some other pieces,

worth; which he intituled, *Chillingworthi Novissima: Or, The sicknesse, heresy, death and buriall of William Chillingworth (in his own phrase) Clerk of Oxford, and, in the conceit of his fellow-soldiers, the Queen's arch-engineer, and grand-intelligencer. Set forth in a letter to his eminent and learned friends: A relation of his apprehension at Arundel, a discovery of his errors in a briefe catechisme, and a short Oration at the buriall of his heretical book. By Francis Cheynell, late fellow of Merton College. Published by Authority.* London, 1644, in *quarto*. He prefixed to it an epistle, or dedication, 'To the learned and eminent friends of 'Mr Chillingworth, and in particular to Sir John 'Culpepper, Knight; Dr John Prideaux, Bishop of 'Worcester; Fell, Dean of Christ-Church; Bayly, 'Dean of Sarum; Sheldon, Warden of All-Soules; 'Potter, Provost of Queene's; and Morley, Canon of 'Christ-Church.' Then comes the *Relation* itself, with a new title, no less curious than the first: *A briefe and plaine Relation of Mr Chillingworth's sicknesse, death, and buriall; together with a just censure of his work, by a discovery of his errors collected out of his book, and framed into a kind of atheisticall Catechisme, fit for Racovia or Gracovia; and may well serve for the instruction of the Irish, Welsh, Dutch, French, Spanish, Army in England, and especialy for the black Regiment at Oxford.* The whole piece is a most ludicrous, as well as melancholy, instance of fanaticism and religious madness. But, as we cannot reasonably suspect the truth of the most material passages it contains, we may learn from it, that Mr Chillingworth was attended, during his sickness, and provided with all necessaries, by one Lieutenant Golledge, and his wife Christobell, at the command of the Governor of Chichester: that, at first, he refused the assistance of Sir William Waller's Physician, but afterwards was perswaded to admit his visits, though his distemper was too far gone to leave any hope of his recovery: that his indisposition was increased by the abusive treatment he met with from most of the officers, who were taken prisoners with him in Arundel Castle, and who looked upon him as a spy, set over them and their proceedings: and that, during his whole sickness, he was often teazed by Mr Cheynell himself, and by an officer of the garison of Chichester, with impertinent questions and disputes (72). If this be a true account, as most probably it is, the Earl of Clarendon was misinformed in relation to Mr Chillingworth's death. For, after having observed, that he was taken prisoner in Arundel Castle, he adds (73): 'As soon as his person was 'known, which would have drawn reverence from 'any noble enemy, the Clergy that attended that army 'prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; 'so that, by their barbarous usage, he died within 'few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of 'many who knew him not, but by his book, and the 'reputation he had with learned men.' From whence it may be inferr'd, that the Noble Historian did not know, or had forgot, that Mr Chillingworth was sent to Chichester; but believed, that he died in Arundel Castle, within a few days after the taking of it by Sir Sir William Waller. Mr Wood, who had before him Mr Cheynell's *Relation*, tells us (74), the Royal party in Chichester looked upon the impertinent discourses of Mr Cheynell to our author as a shortning of his days.

(72) See large Extracts from this pamphlet in M. Des Maizeaux, ubi supra, p. 320—370.

(73) Hist. of the Rebellion, B. viii. edit. Oxford, 8vo, 1720, p. 473.

(74) Ubi supra.

[P] *He died some time in the month of January.*] It may be thought strange by those, who are unacquainted with the many defects in history, that no body as yet has settled the exact day of Mr Chillingworth's death. Anthony Wood (75) says, *he gave way to fate on the 24th of January, or thereabouts*, but he quotes no authority for it. Dr Walker, who has taken almost his whole account of our author from Wood, yet affirms (76), that *his death happen'd on the 20th of January*: but why he differs from the Oxford Antiquary, he does not tell us. Le Neve says (77), Mr Chillingworth *died the 20th of January, or thereabouts*. But Mr Des Maizeaux, from several circumstances in Mr Cheynell's Narrative, has made it highly probable, that he died on Tuesday the 30th of January 1643 (78).

(75) Ibid.

(76) Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Part ii. p. 63.

(77) Fasti Eccles. Anglic. p. 267.

(78) Des Maizeaux, ubi supra, p. 346.

[Q] *He was buried at Chichester.*] We learn from the author of the *Relation* abovementioned (79), that the Presbyterian party were unwilling, at first, to allow Mr Chillingworth Christian burial, but afterwards consented, that he should be buried by those *of his own perswasion*; which was accordingly performed in the Cathedral Church, most of the Royal Party of that city attending his body to the grave. Here Mr Cheynell gave a new and uncommon instance of his zeal and orthodoxy. For he met the *Malignants*, as he calls them, at the place of interment, with Mr Chillingworth's book in his hand, which, after a ridiculous and fanatical speech, he flung into the grave, [illegible] *with* it's *author, and see corruption*. It may serve to amuse the reader, if we transcribe here Mr Cheynell's whimsical lamentation over Mr Chillingworth, in Scripture phrase. '*Howle, ye firre trees, for a cedar is* '*fallen*: lament, *ye sophisters*, for the master of sen'tences (shall I say) or fallacies is vanish'd: wring 'your hands, and beat your breasts, *ye Antichristian* '*Engineers*, for your arch-engineer is dead, and all 'his engines buried with him. Ye daughters of Ox'*ford*, weep over *Chillingworth*, for he had a consi'derable and hopeful project how to clothe you and 'himself *in scarlet and other delights*. *I am distressed* '*for thee, my brother* Chillingworth (may his execu'trix (*) say) *very pleasant hast thou been unto me*, '*thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of fa*'ther, husband, brother. *O how are the mighty* '*fallen, and the weapons*, nay engines, *of warre perish*'*ed!* O tell it not in *Gath*, that he who raised a 'battery against the Pope's chaire, that he might '*place reason in the chaire instead of Antichrist*, is 'dead and gone: *publish it not in the streets of Askelon*, 'that he who did at once batter *Rome*, and under'mine *England*, the reforming Church of *England*, 'that he might prevent a Reformation, is dead; lest 'if you publish it, you puzzle all the Conclave, and 'put them to consider, whether they should mourn or 'triumph.'

(79) Chillingworthi Novissima, &c.

(*) His sister.

[R] *His* Sermons.] They were printed together in the year 1664, with this title: *Nine Sermons: the first preached before his Majesty King Charles the First: the other eight upon special and eminent occasions.* The first of these discourses, preach'd before the King, at Oxford, on a publick fast day, was published at Oxford, by his Majesty's command, after the author's death, *in 1644; and was the first sermon* of our author's printed before the Restoration. The publisher of these *Sermons* justly observes, that they were *fitted* by the author *to the congregations to which he was to speak*, and *intended only for the benefit of hearers, not of readers*. But yet a judicious reader will soon perceive, that they come from a masterly hand. He will find in them in a noble simplicity, attended with sublime and exalted thoughts, with an unfeigned zeal for the glory of God, and the good of mens souls.

[S] *His Tract in defence of Episcopacy.*] The design of this piece was to shew, that *Episcopacy is not repugnant to the government settled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apostles.* The occasion was this: Dr Morton, Bishop of Durham, having composed a treatise, intitled, *The Judgment of Protestant Divines, of remote Churches, as well such as were the first reformers of religion, as others after them, in behalfe of episcopal degree in the Church*: his manuscript was sent to Archbishop Usher, who was then at Oxford; and he published it *without* the author's *name to it, and knowledge of it* (80), under the title of *Confessions and Proofes of Protestant Divines of reformed Churches; that Episcopacy is in respect of the office according to the word of God, and in respect of the use the best.* The learned Primate added to it a *brief treatise* of his own, with his name prefixed to it, *touching the original of Bishops and Metropolitans*. And, in order to complete that collection, Mr Chillingworth furnished him with the aforesaid tract; which being subjoined to the other two, as a conclusion, was intitled, *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, deduced out of the premises by W. C.* This little piece was printed by itself in 1644, in 4to, with this title: *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy*; but without the author's name. It was again

(80) Life of Thomas Lord Bishop of Duresme, by Dr John Barwick, p. 173.

pieces, in the cause of religion and loyalty, never yet printed [T]. The opinions of some eminent writers concerning this great man, will deserve our notice in the remark [U].

again printed in 1660, with a *Speech* of my Lord Falkland *concerning Episcopacy*: and here our author's tract is intitled, *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, demonstrated by Mr William Chillingworth*. This performance of our author's was attacked, in 1707, by Mr Alexander Lauder, a Scotch Divine, in a book intitled, *The antient Bishops considered, both with respect to the extent of their Jurisdiction, and nature of their power: In answer to Mr Chillingworth and others.*

[T] *His other pieces——never yet printed.*] They are in the library of Lambeth, among the manuscripts of Mr Henry Wharton, purchased by Archbishop Tenison. Mr Wharton, in the catalogue of those manuscripts, drawn up by himself, observes, that the volume marked M is *Volumen Chartaceum in fol.* containing, *A Collection of papers, formerly belonging to Archbishop Laud, many of them wrote with his own hand, but most of them endorsed with his hand, together with some papers of the Archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft, and many of Mr Chillingworth*: and after having set down part of the contents of that volume, he adds: *Several Papers of Mr William Chillingworth*, viz. 1. *Mr Peake's five questions proposed to Mr Chillingworth, about the nature of faith, and the resolution and consequences of the faith of Protestants.* 2. *Mr Chillingworth's answer to Mr Peake's questions*: first draught imperfect. 3. *Mr Chillingworth's answer to the same*: being complete and perfect. 4. The beginning of *A Treatise against the Scots: by Mr Chillingworth.* 5. *Passages extracted out of the Declarations of the Scots; by Mr Chillingworth.* 6. *Observations upon the Scottish Declaration; by Mr Chillingworth.* 7. *A Treatise of the unlawfulnesse of resisting the lawfull Prince, although most impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous; by Mr Chillingworth.* 8. *A Letter of Mr Chillingworth excusing his writing against the rebels* (81). 9. *Notes of Mr Chillingworth concerning God's universal mercy in calling men to repentance.* 10. *A problematical Tentamen of Mr Chillingworth against punishing crimes with death in Christian societies*: cancelled. 11. *A Letter of Mr J. to Mr Chillingworth, of the imperfection of Natural Religion and Reason, without the assistance of Revelation*: wrote in 1637. 12. *A short Discourse of the Nature of Faith; by Mr Chillingworth.* 13. *A larger Discourse of the Nature of Faith; by Mr Chillingworth.* 14. *Of the Absurdity of departing from the Church of England, for want of a succession of visible professors in all ages; by Mr Chillingworth.* 15. *A briefe Answer to several texts of Scripture, alledged to prove the Church to be one, visible, universal, perpetual, and infallible; by Mr Chillingworth.* 16. *A Letter of Dr. Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth, to satisfy his scruples about subscribing* (82). 17. *Letter of Mr Chillingworth to Dr Sheldon, containing some scruples about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England.* 18. *Letter of Mr Chillingworth to Dr Sheldon, containing his scruples about Subscription, and the reason of them* (83).

(81) It is printed in M. Des Maizeaux, ubi supra, p. 300.

(82) See the remark [K].

(83) Vide ibid.

[U] *The opinions of some eminent writers concerning* Mr Chillingworth.] We begin with Archbishop Tillotson, who, in his Sermon on *The Efficacy, &c. of Divine Faith* (84), says: 'I know not how it comes to 'pass, whether through the artifice of the Popish 'party——or through the ignorance of too many 'well-meaning Protestants; I say, I know not how it 'comes to pass, but so it is, that every one that offers 'to give a reasonable account of his Faith, and to establish religion upon rational principles, is presently 'branded for a *Socinian*; of which we have a sad instance in that incomparable person Mr *Chillingworth*, 'the glory of this Age and Nation; who, for no other 'cause, that I know of, but his worthy and successful 'attempts to make the Christian Religion reasonable, 'and to discover those firm and solid foundations, 'upon which our Faith is built, hath been requited 'with this black and odious character. But if this be '*Socinianism*, for a man to enquire into the grounds 'and reasons of Christian Religion, and to endeavour 'to give a satisfactory account why he believes it, I 'know no way but that all considerate inquisitive 'men, that are above fancy and enthusiasm, must be 'either Socinians or Atheists.' Mr Locke had a high value for Mr Chillingworth, and recommends the reading of his works, in several of his pieces. Particularly, in his tract, containing *Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*, after having observed, that the art of speaking well consists chiefly in two things, perspicuity and right reasoning, and proposed Dr Tillotson as a pattern of the former, he adds (85): 'Besides perspicuity, there must 'be also right reasoning; without which perspicuity 'serves but to expose the speaker. And for attaining 'of this, I should propose the constant reading of '*Chillingworth*, who, by his example, will teach 'both perspicuity, and the way of right reasoning, 'better than any book that I know; and therefore 'will deserve to be read upon that account over and 'over again; not to say any thing of his argument.' Bishop Barlow, in a letter to one of his friends, who had writ to him for his judgment, *wherein Mr Chillingworth's peculiar excellency above other writers consisted*, returns the following answer (86): 'You desire 'to know, wherein Mr Chillingworth's excellency, 'above other writers, did consist? So that you seem 'to take it for granted, that he has an excellency (if 'not above all, yet) above many, or most writers; 'and I think so too. But then the case must be cautiously stated; for his excellency we speak of, cannot 'consist in any extraordinary knowledge he had of '*Antiquity* (sacred or civil) of *Councils* and *Fathers*, 'or learned mens animadversions upon them; nor in 'any great skill he had in several *Tongues* and *Languages*, &c. But his excellency, wherein he excelled many (if not most) writers, did arise from, 'and consist in his *Logick*, both *natural*, and (by exceeding great industry) *acquired*——But that *Logick*, 'in which Mr Chillingworth's excellency did principally consist, was his *acquired Logick*: he industriously 'studied it, finding the exceeding use of it, especially 'in controversies of religion. *Logick* (and that only) 'makes a man to write so, that his arguments shall 'be, 1. *Consequent*. 2. *Evident*. For that (and that 'only) enables a writer really to know, whether the 'premises do indeed infer the conclusion; or otherwise are false, or fallacious, and sophistical, and not 'truly logical and concluding arguments. And for 'this Mr Chillingworth (after an industrious and diligent reading *Aristotle's* and *Crakenthorp's Logick*, 'who were best able to instruct him) was of greater 'ability to judge truly, than most (if not all) the writers I have yet met with. Besides, Mr Chillingworth, in all his disputes against *Popery*, draws his 'arguments, not from the *Fathers* or *Councils* (though 'in several things they may be of good use, though 'they be not infallible) but from the *sacred Scriptures*; which being of divine authority and infallible, 'are a sure and just ground of that confidence we are 'speaking of.' We shall only add the following judicious observation of Bishop Hare, in relation to the reading of our author. 'Mr Chillingworth, *says he* (87), is certainly a good a reasoner, and may be read 'with much advantage: but I fear the reading of him 'by young Divines hath had one great inconvenience: 'They see little shew of *reading* in him, and from 'thence are induced to think, there is no necessity of 'learning, to make a good Divine; nay, that if he 'had been more a scholar, he had been a worse reasoner; and therefore not to study the antient writers 'of the Church, is one step to the being *Chillingworths* 'themselves: I fear, I say, the reading Mr *Chillingworth* in their first years has had this influence, to 'make them think, that good parts and good sense 'would do without learning, and that learning is 'rather a prejudice than an improvement of them. 'But 'tis a great mistake to judge of a man's learning 'by the shew that is made of it. Mr *Chillingworth* 'had studied hard, and digested well what he read; 'and so must they who hope to write as well, and be 'as much esteemed.'

(84) Vol. XII. Serm. vi. published by Dr Barker, p. 167.

(85) A Collection of several pieces of Mr John Locke, &c. p. 262.

(86) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 347.

(87) Scripture Vindicated, &c. Pref. p. 32.

T

CHURCHILL (Sir WINSTON) a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed loyalty, and an eminent Hiſtorian in the reign of Charles II. He was deſcended from an antient and very honourable family in Dorſetſhire, who had been owners of land in that county, from a very little after the Norman Conqueſt, down to the time of his birth (*a*); ſo that in point of deſcent, there was no need of having recourſe to art, in order to give luſtre to a family, which, in itſelf, had all the genuine marks of ſplendor that conſtitute true nobility, *viz.* a known lineage of worthy perſons through a long ſeries of years, whoſe names are to be found in our records, the only certain evidences of Engliſh gentility [*A*]. He was the ſon of John Churchill, Eſq; of Minthorn in Dorſetſhire, a very eminent Lawyer, who added that and other eſtates to thoſe which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, by his ſucceſs in his profeſſion (*b*), by Sarah, daughter and coheireſs of Sir Henry Winſton, of Standiſton in Glouceſterſhire, Knt (*c*). He was born at Wooton Glanvile in Dorſetſhire, ſome time in the year 1620, as ſome ſay (*d*), but Anthony Wood tells us that he was born at London, but fixes his birth in the ſame year (*e*). He was diſtinguiſhed in his youth by the mildneſs and modeſty of his diſpoſition, as well as by a natural turn to learning, which occaſioned his being ſent to St John's college at Oxford, where he had ſcarce attained the age of ſixteen (*f*). He ſtudied there with great induſtry and application, and would probably have betaken himſelf to ſome learned profeſſion, if the diſorders of the times, and the circumſtances of his family, had not obliged him to leave the univerſity ſooner than he intended, and before he had taken a degree (*g*). He engaged, from principles of loyalty, in the cauſe of his unfortunate Sovereign King Charles I, for which he ſuffered ſeverely in his fortune, and having married while young, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Drake of Aſhe in Devonſhire, ſhe was forced to ſeek a refuge in her father's houſe, when Mr Churchill's undeſerved misfortunes left him none that he could call his own, and there moſt of his children were born, and conſequently were, by the mother's ſide, allied to ſome of the beſt and nobleſt families in this kingdom [*B*]. At the King's

(*a*) Baronage, by Collins, Vol. I. p. 191.

(*b*) Genealogical Notes relating to the Family of Churchill.

(*c*) Lediard's Life of John Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 6, edit. 1743.

(*d*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 193.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 820.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 6.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 820.

[*A*] *The only certain evidences of Engliſh gentility.*] A certain German writer, after the battle of Hochſtedt, drew up an account of this family, in the manner of that country, without authorities (1), and therefore, little or no regard ought to be paid to it. The higheſt that, with any appearance of truth, and hiſtorical certainty, can be traced of this line, is Gitto de Leon, a Norman, who flouriſhed, *Anno Domini* 1055, under William the Baſtard, Duke of Normandy. His ſecond ſon, Wandrill took the ſurname of Courcil from a Lordſhip of that name, of which he was the owner. He had two ſons, Roger and Rowland. From the latter, deſcend the family of Courcils, who have large poſſeſſions in ſeveral provinces of France, at this day. Roger de Courcil attended Duke William in his expedition into this kingdom, and as a reward for his ſervices had lands giving him in Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Shropſhire, among which was the Lordſhip of Churchill, as it was afterwards called in the county of Somerſet, the place of his abode (2). This Roger by his wife Gertrude, daughter to Sir Guy de Torbay, had John his ſon and heir, whoſe wife was Joan de Kilrington, by whom he had Sir Bartholomew de Chercile, who held the Caſtle of Briſtol for King Stephen. In whoſe ſervice he was killed, and in honour of him, the ſmall town of Churchill, was ſo called (3). He married Agnes, daughter to Ralph Fitz Ralph, Lord of Tiverton, and by her had Pagan de Chercile, whoſe ſon Roger had free warren in his lands in Chercile in the reign of Edward I. To this Roger ſucceeded Elias de Churchelle, whoſe wife was Dorothy, a daughter of the ancient family of Columbiers, and by her had three ſons, John, who married Joan, daughter and coheir to Roger Dawney of Norton, and left only two daughters his coheirs, Margaret, the wife of Andrew Hilberſdon of the county of Devon, and Agnes, married to Thomas Gifford of Theuborough in Cornwall, whereby the Lordſhip of Churchill and other lands devolved on them. Giles ſecond ſon, had the Lordſhip of Yampton and Lineham in Devonſhire, which eſtates, by a female heir, deſcended to the family of Croker of the ſame county, ſo that William, the third ſon of Elias was the chief heir-male (4). This William was ſeated at Rockbear in the county of Devon, and left iſſue, Giles Churchill, Eſq; father of Charles Churchill, Eſq; who for his firm adherence to the Houſe of York, was in great favour with King Edward IV, who advanced him to the marriage of Margaret, only daughter of Sir William Wodvile, by whom he had Thomas Churchill, Eſq; whoſe wife was Grace, daughter and coheir to Thomas Tylle of Tylle-houſe in the county of Cornwall, and by her he had William Churchill, his heir and ſucceſſor, who married Mary, eldeſt daughter to Richard Creuſe of Wieroft-caſtle in the county of Devon, Eſq; and by her he had three ſons, Roger of *Catherſton*, *William* of Corton, and John, who was ſeated at Muſton, all in the county of Dorſet. The ſaid Roger marrying Jane, relict of Nicholas Mogg, and daughter to William Peverell of Bradford, by her had Matthew Churchill of Bradford, who marrying Elizabeth, daughter to John Chaplet of Herringſton in the county of Dorſet, had John, his heir, grandfather of Sir Winſton, and another ſon, named Jaſper, father of Sir John Churchill, an eminent Counſel in the reign of King Charles II, who marrying Suſan, daughter to Edmund Prideaux, Eſq; by her, left only four daughters, who were his coheirs (5).

(1) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 1, 2.

(2) E. Libro Dom. Dei, fo. 47, 58, 80.

(3) MS. Remarks upon Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle. See alſo his epitaph in the Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 3.

(4) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 191.

[*B*] *To ſome of the beſt and nobleſt families in this kingdom.*] The family of the Drakes of Aſhe in the county of Devon, were very ancient and honourable, and were firſt ſeated at Exmouth in the ſame county, where there had been no leſs than ten ſucceſſions, all of the name of John (6). Sir Bernard Drake, grandfather of Sir Winſton Churchill, by his mother's ſide, was a great Courtier, and a famous ſea Captain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was a perſon of ſo high ſpirit, that he gave the famous Sir Francis Drake a box on the ear for aſſuming his Arms, which were a Wivern diſplayed, Gules; and this provoked the Queen to ſuch a degree, that ſhe gave a new Coat to Sir Francis Drake, and for his creſt, a ſhip on a Globe held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds, and in the rigging hung up by the heels a Wivern with wings diſplayed, Gules; of which, when ſhe aſked Sir Bernard his opinion, he boldly anſwered, *Madam, tho' you could give him a finer, yet you could not give him an ancienter Coat than mine* (7). This gentleman, who deceaſed *Anno Dom.* 1585, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Bartholomew Forteſcue of Fillegh in the ſame county, anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Clinton (8), had iſſue, Sir John Drake, Knt. who married Eleanor, ſecond daughter, and one of the coheireſſes of John, Lord Boteler of Brampfield (9) in the county of Hertford, a perſon of very illuſtrious deſcent, and who eſpouſed, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir George Villiers of Brokeſby in the county of Leiceſter, Knt. ſiſter to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of the Kings, James and Charles I (10). The ſon of this gentleman, and the brother of Lady Churchill, was Knighted by King Charles II, and afterwards created a Baronet by the ſame Prince, Auguſt 31, 1660 (11); he was alſo intended among the reſt of the loyal Gentlemen of Devonſhire to have been made a Knight of the Royal Oak, if the King, for very good reaſons, had not thought fit to deſiſt from that deſign; but his name ſtill

(5) Remarks on the Genealogy of the Family of Churchill.

(6) Sir William Pole's Deſcents of Devon, MS.

(7) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 245.

(8) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 29.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 465.

(10) See the article VILLIERS (GEORGE) Duke of Buckingham, in this Dictionary.

(11) Dugdale's Cat. of Baronets.

King's return Mr Churchill's affairs wore another aspect, he removed to his seat at Minthorn in Dorsetshire, and was elected a Burgess for the borough of Weymouth in that county, for that Parliament which met May 8, 1661 (i), and soon after, viz. in the latter end of 1663, his Majesty was pleased to confer upon him the honour of knighthood (k). The security and quiet of the times reviving in his breast that love of literature which had possessed him in his youth, he associated himself much with men of learning, and with such as were remarkable for being the patrons of learning, which induced the Members of the Royal Society, soon after it's foundation, to elect him a Fellow of that noble establishment for the promoting useful knowledge (l). In the year 1664, Sir Winston Churchill, together with Sir Richard Rainsford, Sir Thomas Beverly, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Edward Smith, Sir Allen Broderick, and Col. Cook, were appointed Commissioners of the Court of Claims in Ireland (m), with power to hear and adjudge the qualifications of those who had forfeited their estates, in which office he did very great service, by contributing, in conjunction with his collegues, to settle that nation in a state of tranquillity, which, at the time of their coming over, was in very great distraction (n) [C]. Upon his return from thence, he was constituted one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the Green Cloth, an office of consideration and credit at Court, and received also other marks of his Majesty's kind acceptance of his services. But, as his attendance at Court did not take up any great portion of his time, he had leisure enough to resume his studies, and this lead him to review and publish a kind of Political Essay upon the History of England, in which having treated many points, and more especially one, according to those high notions of loyalty which he had imbibed in his youth, and upon which he always acted (o), they drew a censure upon his book by men of different principles, who likewise attacked his conduct in Parliament with great virulence. It is perhaps owing to the notions then conceived to it's prejudice, that, notwithstanding the reading and learning shewn therein, very little regard is now paid to his work [D]. The dislike

(i) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. III. p. 445.

(k) Alphabetical List of Knights, made by Charles II.

(l) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 432.

(m) Sir Richard Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

(n) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 297.

(o) He published this work in 1675.

still remains in the list of those who were proposed for that honour, from whence it appears, that he was then esteemed to have an estate of eight hundred pounds a year (12); this family is now extinct, but in honour of his descent from it, his Grace, the late Duke of Marlborough, took for his supporters, two Wiverns, Gules (13); and the present Duke has for his sinister supporter, a Wivern, Argent, wings expanded (14).

[C] *Was in very great distraction.*] The design of this Court, which was erected in virtue of the Act of Settlement, was to distinguish, among the old Irish, between the innocent and the guilty. The period assigned by the King's Declaration, was the 2d of May 1661, which the Irish Parliament enlarged to the 1st of August 1662, and prolonged it afterwards to July 2, 1663. The place in which they sat was at the King's Inns in Dublin, and out of about four thousand Claims, they determined before their commission expired, about six hundred and thirty, by which, numbers of persons and their heirs were restored, who would otherwise have lost their estates (15). This certainly contributed not a little to calm the minds of the native Irish, but at the same time it occasioned a very high clamour amongst Cromwell's soldiers, and all those to whom these lands had been disposed of, by the powers that were then lately in being; and to this, we are to impute that resentment with which some writers speak of this Court of Claims, and of those who sat therein (16).

[D] *Very little regard is now paid to his work.*] The title of this book at large, runs thus: DIVI BRITANNICI, *being a Remark upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Isle, from the year of the world* 2855, *unto the year of Grace* 1660, by Sir *Winston Churchill*, Knt. London 1675, fol. It is dedicated to King Charles II; and in the Dedication, the author takes notice, that having served his Majesty's father as long as he could with his sword, he spent a great part of those leisure hours, which were forced upon him by his misfortunes, in defending that Prince's cause, and, indeed, the cause of Monarchy itself, with his pen; and he very clearly avows, that he looked upon his work as the funeral Oration of that deceased government, or rather as his title speaks it, the Apotheoses of departed Kings. This being the nature of his work, it was natural to expect, that the stile should correspond therewith, that it should be raised and florid, and not subjected to the rules of History, for which the author never meant it. But notwithstanding this, the dates are generally very exact, the facts are well supported by authorities, there are abundance of curious and judicious observations interspersed through it, and if it was not for that flaming zeal, that Enthusiasm of Loyalty which runs through it, and which, if it was a weakness in the author, was also the foible of those times, and the more excusable in a person who had fought and suffered for his principles, it might be considered as a very extraordinary performance. In order to justify in some measure this account, it may not be amiss to cite a very curious passage from his Introduction. Thus it runs; 'What the number and strength of the Norman was; 'may be nearly computed by what he did abroad in 'that holy, and what he suffered at home in that unholy war, common called the Barons' War: the 'first, for religion; the last, for liberty. The one 'having consumed as many lives as there were stones 'in the walls of the Holy City they fought for; 'the other not so fatal, because poised with a 'more equal force, but altogether as formidable; 'there being at least 50,000 always ready to do 'execution on either side. So stood the case for 'the first two hundred and fifty years after the 'entrance of William the First. The computation of 'the middle times, must be taken from the preparation of Edward the Third, when he took two Kings, 'and missed but little of taking two kingdoms at once, 'engaging himself in a double edged war, that ended 'not with his own life or theirs; wherein, though 'it is supposed he exhausted as much of the force as 'the treasure of the kingdom, yet he did not so 'weaken his successor Richard II, but that he was 'able to take the field with 300,000 foot, and 100,000 'horse attending him (as Walsingham tells us) whose 'testimony has the more credit, by how much it is 'seconded by Emilius, the French Historian, who had 'no cause to magnify the number of the English at 'that time. Later computations may be taken from 'the preparations of Henry the Eighth, at Bullen; 'Queen Elizabeth, at Tilbury, at either, not so little, 'as 185,000 foot, and 40,000 horse in readiness for 'present service; for I am willing to pass by the consideration of those vast numbers which supported 'that unnatural quarrel betwixt the two fatal Houses of 'York and Lancaster, as likewise the late war betwixt 'King Charles the First and the Republican Faction, 'when it is believed there were no less than three 'hundred thousand foot, and sixty thousand horse 'actually engaged in arms, and from those parades at 'the reception of King James, when he made his first 'entry into England, and more especially at the happy 'Restauration of our Sovereign, that now is, whose 'Life-guard at his landing, were no less than fifty 'thousand of perhaps the best horse in the world; 'not reckoning those appointed for the defence of the 'Realm. However, all the computations of our land 'forces

(12) List of the intended Knights of the Royal Oak, MS. belonging to the late Peter Le Neve, Esq;

(13) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 203.

(14) See the Coats of Arms at the Head of the fourth Volume of the Peerage, No. 7.

(15) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 6.

(16) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 297.

dislike of the party did not stop here, but followed him so closely, that after the dissolution of that which was stiled the Long Parliament, he was, in 1678, dismissed from his post of Clerk of the Green Cloth (*p*), though much against his Master's will, who, as soon as he delivered himself from the restraint which the situation of his affairs had put him under, restored him again to his office, which, during the rest of that reign, he held, and was the oldest Clerk of the Green Cloth at King Charles's death (*q*). He remained in his office, and enjoyed the same if not a greater degree of favour from Court, during the short reign of King James II, and having had the pleasure to see his eldest surviving son raised to the Peerage, and the rest of his children in a fair way of promotion, he departed this life the twenty-sixth of March 1688 (*r*), and three days after was buried in the parish-church of St Martin in the Fields, leaving issue by his Lady beforementioned several children both sons and daughters, as the reader may see in the notes [*E*]; besides three sons and as many daughters that died in their infancy, and of whom therefore it was not necessary to give any farther account.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 7.

(*q*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 821.

(*r*) Peerage of England, by Collins, Vol. I. p. 193.

'forces fall so short of our Maritime, that, as there is 'no comparison to be made betwixt them; so we may 'say, that we have rendred ourselves more formidable 'by our Cannon Law at sea, than any other people by any 'Law of Arms whatsoever.' We are told by Anthony Wood (17), that there being some passages in this work about the King's power of raising money without Parliament; this gave such offence to the Members of the Parliament then sitting, that the leaf in which this occurred being cancelled, and reprinted without that offensive passage in a great part of the edition, the author hoped thereby to please and to give content. If Mr Wood had been pleased to inform us, which page this was, it would have shewn more accuracy and better acquaintance with a work that he has censured very severely. *In the said book*, says he, *which is very thin and trite, are the Arms of all the Kings of England, which made it sell among Novices, rather than from the matter therein.* Another critical Historian, who seems to have had Mr Wood in his eye, speaks also very slightly of our author's performace (18). 'There 'are, *says he*, some later Histories, which are so well 'known to all that are any thing curious in these 'matters, that I need do little more than mention 'them; such are Sir Winstone Churchill's *Divi Britannici*, which gives the reader a diverting view of the 'Arms and exploits of our Kings down to the Restora'tion in 1660, &c.' Another writer treats our author's character as well as book with less decency, for he charges him (19) not only with asserting that the King might raise money without a Parliament, but with consenting to his daughter's kindness for the Duke of York, and receiving in gratifications from the Crown ten thousand pounds. But considering this as a political pamphlet written to serve a particular turn, and written at a time when the *press being under restraint*, that which was intended for the cure, proved really the cause of libels, we are not bound to receive all the author of it says for Gospel.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 821.

(18) Nicholson's Historical Library, p. 74.

(19) A Seasonable Argument to persuade all Grand Juries to petition for a new Parliament, &c. 4to, 1677, p. 19.

[*E*] *As the reader may see in the notes.*] The eldest of his sons that lived to man's estate, was John, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, &c. of whom in the next article. The next, George Churchill, of whom we shall also speak hereafter. Charles Churchill, the Duke's second brother was born at Ashe the 2d of February 1656. He was likewise bred to arms, and was noted for several brave actions. At thirteen years of age, he was made Page of Honour to Christian King of Denmark; and at sixteen, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his brother Prince George. At the Revolution, he succeeded Major-General Oglethorpe in his regiment of foot; and in 1692, at the battle of Steenkirk, August 23, he was Brigadier-General. The Brigade under his command behaved bravely, as they did, likewise the year following, at the battle of Landen, where he himself gave the greatest proofs of his courage and conduct in the defence of the villages of Lare and Neder Winden, and where he took his nephew the Duke of Berwick prisoner. He was made Major-General of Foot, and Governor of Kinsale in Ireland, by King William, and after many battles fought with great bravery and conduct was esteemed one of the best Commanders of Foot in Europe. By his gracious Mistress, Queen Anne, he was made Governor of the Tower of London, General of the army, and General in Chief of Foot, and had a great and honourable share in the ever memorable battle of Blenheim: after which, for his many and great services, he was made Governor of Brussels, Colonel of the Coldstream regiment of Foot-guards, and Governor of her Majesty's island of Guernsey. *In the year 1702, he married Mary*, daughter and sole heiress of James Goulde of Dorchester, Esq; by whom he had no issue; he died much lamented, December 29, 1714; and his widow about three years after his decease, married the Right Honourable the Earl of Abington. *Theobald Churchill*, Sir Winston's youngest son, had his academical education in Queen's College in Oxford, where he commenced Master of Arts, June 13, 1683; and entering into Holy Orders, died unmarried, December 3, 1685, and was buried in the parish-church of St Martin in the Fields in Westminster. Arabella Churchill, the eldest of Sir Winston's children, was born in March 1648, was Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York, and beloved by the Duke, afterwards King James II, by whom she had two sons and two daughters. The eldest, *James Fitz-James*, was created by his father, Duke of Berwick; he was also Knight of the Garter and of the Golden-Fleece, Marshal of France, and Grandee of Spain of the first class. He was justly reputed one of the greatest officers of his time, and being Generalissimo of the armies of France, fell by a cannon-shot at the siege of Philipsburgh in 1734. Henry Fitz-James, Grand Prior of France, Lieutenant-General and Admiral of the French gallies, was born in 1673, and died in 1702. Henrietta, born in 1670, married Sir Henry Waldgrave of Cheuton, grandfather to the present Earl of Waldgrave, and died in 1730: the younger daughter was a Nun. This Lady afterwards married Colonel Godfrey, by whom she had two daughters; the eldest, Charlotte, married the late Lord Viscount Falmouth; and the younger, Elizabeth, espoused Edmund Dunch, Esq; E

CHURCHILL (JOHN) Duke of Marlborough, and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, one of the ablest Statesmen and most polite Courtiers, as well as one of the greatest Captains and most illustrious Heroes, that our nation, or indeed any other, has produced. He was born at Ashe, the seat of his grandfather by the mother's side, in Devonshire, on Midsummer day 1650, a little before noon, and two days after was baptized by Mr Matthew Drake Rector of that parish (*a*). We have already shewn that his father's circumstances were far from being easy, either at this time, or for several years afterwards, therefore we need not at all wonder, that his son had not those advantages in his education which were due to his birth (*b*). Yet there is reason to believe, that a learned father would not in any degree neglect the care of a son, who was the first hopes of his family, for though he had an elder brother, Winston Churchill, yet he soon died, and therefore John, while a child, was considered as the heir, and treated accordingly. A

(*a*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 17, edit. 1743.

(*b*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 765.

worthy clergyman in the neighbourhood instructed him in the first principles of literature, under the eye of his father, and from them both he received such a tincture of true religion and zeal for the Church of England, as continued to manifest itself throughout his whole life, and tho' no man was less a bigot, yet never any person of his rank shewed either greater respect for, or firmer belief in, the Christian faith, than he (c). His father carried him very early to Court, where the beauty of his person, the pregnancy of his parts, and the modesty of his behaviour, recommended him, when but twelve years of age, to the peculiar notice of James Duke of York, to whom he soon afterwards became a Page, and at the same time a favourite (d). It is generally agreed, that he had a pair of colours given him in the Guards during the first Dutch war, that is, about the year 1666, but the manner in which he obtained them is somewhat differently reported [A]. That war ending soon after, and Mr Churchill being impatient to gain some practical knowledge in the trade of arms, which he now considered as his profession, obtained leave to go over to Tangier, then in our hands and besieged by the Moors (e), where he resided for some short time, and where he had the first opportunity of shewing his courage, and of acquiring experience, which never any did in less time than he; for, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe, his very first actions were in their nature as great as any in his whole life, and the first time he was honoured with a command in chief, he appeared as much a General as in the last of his most glorious actions. Upon his return to England he continued his attendance at Court, and received, as well from the King as from the Duke, daily marks of kindness and favour, notwithstanding the slanderous tales that flew about the Court as to his amorous adventures (f). In 1672 the Duke of Monmouth commanding a body of English auxiliaries in the service of France, Mr Churchill, who was always for seeing action, attended him, and was very soon after made Captain of Grenadiers in his Grace's own regiment. He had a share in all the actions that were performed in that famous campaign, which brought the republick of Holland lower in a few months, than the Spaniards were able to bring her in many years. At the siege of Nimeguen Captain Churchill distinguished himself particularly, insomuch that he was taken notice of by the celebrated Marshal Turenne, who bestowed on him the name of the handsome Englishman, by which he was generally known while he continued in the French army, more especially after a very gallant action he performed, in recovering a post of importance from the Dutch, with half the number of men that had been under a French Lieutenant-Colonel, who was entrusted with the defence of it, and who quitted it upon the enemy's approach (g). But the most soldier-like action of this war was the reduction of the strong fortress of Maestricht, which had in it a garrison of ten thousand men at that time, and those too well provided and well commanded. In the night of the fourteenth of June, the Duke of Monmouth being Lieutenant-General of the trenches, attacked, and made himself master of a half-moon, but the Dutch before day sprung a mine to the right with so good effect, that the French troops, though the best in the whole army, were beaten out of those posts, nor could the forces ordered for that service recover them, till the Duke of Monmouth with ten or twelve English voluntiers, threw himself into the hottest fire, and thereby inspired the forces with such ardour that they again drove out the Dutch, and became a second time masters of all the posts which they had attacked the day before (h). The share Captain Churchill had in this business was so very remarkable, that the French King thanked him for it at the head of the line, and assured him that he would acquaint his Sovereign with the particulars of his gallant behaviour, which he did; and his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, on their return to England, in relating what happened at the attack, told the King his father, that he was indebted to Captain Churchill for much of his glory, and for his safety altogether, since by his bravery he had preserved his life (i). This good fortune which began in the second year of our hero's life, attended all his succeeding undertakings, so that his sword was never drawn but victory pursued. The laurels he brought from France very justly entitled him to preferment at home, and his Majesty

(c) Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough.

(d) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 193.

(e) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(f) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 19.

(g) Military Hist. of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

(h) An Account of the Siege of Maestricht, printed by Authority, in fol. 1673.

(i) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 194.

[A] *Is somewhat differently reported.*] It is said by some, that Sir Winstone Churchill perceiving his son's inclination to Arms, and being desirous to gratify it, applied to the Duke of York, and by his interest with that Prince, procured him an Ensign's commission (1). Another account is given, which is the more probable, and which I have heard confirmed by persons that had a relation to the Duke of Marlborough's family. He was first Page to the Duke, and in that quality attended his Royal Highness frequently when the Guards were exercised and mustered before him, to which the youth being extremely attentive, and upon being asked some questions relating to their exercise, answering with an unexpected degree of penetration and sagacity, the Duke, who, in the judgment of Marshal Turenne, had a very good military genius, and was to the last degree fond of troops, shewed himself highly pleased, as well with his capacity as his inclination, and thereupon, to encourage and enter him in the world, gave him the next pair of Colours that fell (2). Those who are fond of secret History and marvellous adventures, have reported, that the Duke gave him this commission, that he might have an opportunity of sending him to Tangier out of the way of the Duchess of York, who was thought to look upon him with an air of tenderness, that made his Royal Highness not a little uneasy (3). But whoever considers, not only the the great difference of rank, but the vast disproportion in age between them, for Mr Churchill could not be above fifteen, when this is supposed to have happened, the several easy and natural motives exclusive of the young Gentleman's merit, that might induce the Duke to have a more than ordinary affection for him, and the constancy of that Prince's favour towards him through all the different changes of both their circumstances, will see no cause whatever to recur to any such slight anecdotes as these, which tarnish so many reputations, and, at the same time, are not so much as reported by any who could be supposed to have a just knowledge of the truth of them, if, which is very improbable, they had been really facts.

(1) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 18.

(2) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(3) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 18, 19.

Majesty having made him Lieutenant-Colonel of Littleton's regiment, the Duke made him Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and soon after Master of the Robes (*k*). The second Dutch war being over, Colonel Churchill found himself again obliged to pass his days at Court, where he was no less distinguished as a fine gentleman, than he had been admired for his military qualities in the camp [*B*]. He behaved with great prudence and circumspection in those troublesome times that ensued, and gave frequent demonstrations of his inflexible attachment to the Protestant Religion, as well as an inviolable fidelity to his most gracious Master. In the beginning of the year 1679, when the King's pleasure was signified to the Duke of York, that he should pass some time in the Low Countries, Colonel Churchill attended his Royal Highness and his family, first to the Hague and then to Brussels, waited upon him in his short trip to England, and in his journey to Windsor, and returned with him upon the King's recovering from that illness, which brought over the Duke a second time to Brussels (*l*). He likewise accompanied him the next year in travelling by land into Scotland, where the King his brother gave him not only leave to reside, but in some measure put the management of that kingdom into his hands, which has not been numbered amongst the wisest actions of that Monarch's reign. His Royal Highness arrived at Edinburgh on the *fourth* of December 1680, whither Colonel Churchill attended him, and being then considered as a favourite, was very respectfully treated, and generally applied to by the Nobility of Scotland (*m*). He returned with his Master to London, and went down with him a second time by sea, when he had the misfortune to be obliged to retire thither again, upon the heats raised against him in the House of Commons. While he waited upon the Duke, here he had a regiment of dragoons given him, and thinking it now time to settle himself in the world, he made his addresses to Mrs Sarah Jennings, who then waited on the Lady Anne, afterwards Queen of Great Britain. This young Lady, who was then about twenty-one, and justly esteemed both for her person and her parts one of the finest women in this island, he married in 1681, and thereby added very considerably to the interest he already had at Court (*n*). In the spring of the year 1682 the Duke of York returned to London, and having procured his Majesty's leave to quit that kingdom, and to reside as formerly at Court, he resolved to return to Scotland by sea to bring up his family, and for that purpose embarked on board the Gloucester-frigate, commanded by Sir John Berry, May 4, 1682, but unluckily ran upon the Lemon-oar, a dangerous sand that lies about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber, where his ship was lost with some persons of quality, and upwards of one hundred and twenty persons on board her (*o*). This melancholy accident afforded his Royal Highness an opportunity of shewing the tender affection that he had for Colonel Churchill, of whose safety he was particularly careful, by taking him with him in the boat in which himself escaped the danger. The circumstances of this shipwreck are very differently reported, but with regard to the Duke's concern for Colonel Churchill all writers are agreed, though hardly in any other point [*C*]. The stay of

(*k*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*l*) Temple's Memoirs.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*n*) Chauncy's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 560.

(*o*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 29.

[*B*] *For his military qualities in the camp.*] It may be reasonably looked upon as a thing not a little strange, that, considering the great figure the Duke of Marlborough made for so many years, there should be so few materials preserved of the earlier part of his life; and that those we have, are much fitter to adorn Novels, than to enrich Histories. It is for this reason, that all one can say upon this subject, must be borrowed from tradition, and from the reports of those, who were well acquainted with this great man in the dawn of his life. On this, which is the best authority that can be had, I may venture to acquaint the reader, that very few people of his rank, were either so much or so generally esteemed, as Colonel Churchill; and I dare assure him, that at a time when the Court of England was considered in all respects, as the most splendid and the most polite in Europe, that of France only excepted, Colonel Churchill was distinguished by the general reputation, of being one of the best natured and best bred men in it. It is very certain, that his amours are much talked of, and in so gallant a Court, as that of King Charles II, a very young, a very handsome, and a very rising man, might be excused, if he fell into some errors of this kind; but it is on all hands allowed, that even at this time, his prudence had so much the better of his passions, that he never suffered himself to be carried away by any of them, to such a degree, as to be in any respect wanting, either to his duty or his interests, which, whoever is well acquainted with human nature, will look upon to be a very extraordinary thing at his time of life; since experience, as well as reason, will inform us, that tho' commanding armies and gaining victories are great things, yet in respect to the powers of the human mind, it is a still greater, with faculties capable of commanding and conquering, to be able to controul desires, and to keep every appetite in due subjection. This he did in a very great degree, and yet in his youth, he *was thought for a Courtier somewhat too free a speaker.* He had wit, and indeed a great deal of wit, but his supreme excellency was his penetration, for which he was highly distinguished long before the great rise of his fortunes; for by the natural strength of his judgment, he would pronounce so clearly, both of men and things, that his remarks were frequently talked of, and as they were almost always justified by the event, he was admired as one of the shrewdest men of those times; but together with this admiration, there went no small mixture of envy. He was so sensible of the inconveniences that might arise from the liberty that was natural to him in discourse, that he declined as much as he could all political subjects, and never had any notion of becoming a Member of the House of Commons, but contented himself with pushing his fortune in his own way, or as the gamesters say, he would bowl only upon ground that he perfectly understood. In short, his affability gained him a general good report, for which he had a just esteem; his application to the profession of arms, secured to him the character he truly deserved, of being, in it's most extensive sense, a good officer; and his steady zeal for the person and cause of the Duke, which at that juncture was very conspicuous, procured him that interest and influence, which no man in the world knew better, how to direct or to apply.

[*C*] *Tho' hardly in any other point.*] This business of the Duke's shipwreck in going to Scotland has exercised many pens, and has been transmitted to posterity in very different lights; but with respect to the saving Colonel Churchill, it is agreed, that when the ship was lost, the Duke was asleep; and that upon his being awaked, and finding nothing to trust to but the long boat, he named some particular persons who should go into her with him, and amongst others, Colonel

of his Royal Highness in that kingdom was but very short; for as he sailed from England in the beginning, so he arrived with his family in the river of Thames from Scotland, before the end of the month of May 1682, and was received with the utmost marks of brotherly affection by the King. The first use made by his Royal Highness of this sun-shine of favour, was to obtain a title for his favourite, Colonel Churchill, who, by Letters Patents bearing date December 1, 1682, was created Baron of Eymouth in the kingdom of Scotland (p), and was also appointed Colonel of the third troop of Guards. These were the last favours he received from that King, and no doubt his Lordship would have much more regretted the loss of so kind and good a Prince, had he not been succeeded by the Duke of York, to whom the Lord Churchill was still dear. This appeared plainly upon the first *accession* of King James, who not only continued him in his post in the Bed-chamber, and in his command in the Guards, but sent him also his Ambassador to France to notify his accession, which high office he discharged with much advantage to his reputation (q) [D]. On his Lordship's return from France he was constituted High-Steward of the borough of St Alban's, on the sixteenth of March 1685, an honour seldom conferred but upon persons of the highest quality (r). He assisted at the coronation of King James on the twenty-third of April following, and on the fourteenth of May the same year he was created a Peer of England, by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge in the county of Hertford, a manor that belonged to him in right of his wife, into whose family it came a little before by marriage (s). In the month of June, his Lordship being then Lieutenant-General of the King's forces, was ordered into the West, upon the Duke of Monmouth's making a bold but very inconsiderate attempt, in which, amongst many other errors, his greatest was that of assuming the lofty title of King, and setting a price upon

(p) Crawfurd's Peerage, p. 141.

(q) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 623.

(r) Chauncy's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 465.

(s) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 194.

Colonel Churchill (4), tho' a certain author turns the tables, and says, the Colonel was very instrumental in saving his Royal Highness's life (5), which very possibly might, and if there was any room for it must, be true. A certain reverend Prelate (6) gives us the following account of it, which, considering the respect paid to his authority, deserves, if possible, to be explained and corrected. 'The Duke had leave given 'him to come to the King at New-Market; and there 'he prevailed for leave to come up and live again at 'Court. As he was going back to bring the Duchess, 'the Gloucester frigat that carried him struck on a 'bank of sand. The Duke got into a boat: and 'took care of his dogs, and some unknown persons, 'who were taken from that earnest care of his to be 'his Priests. The long-boat went off with very few 'in her, tho' she might have carried off above eighty 'more than she did. One hundred and fifty persons 'perished: some of them, men of great quality. 'But the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect 'which was laid chiefly to Legge's charge.' Another writer who penned his accounts of things at this time, and without any view of publishing them, tells this story thus (7): 'May the 10, 1682, this day came 'news, that his Highness had been in great danger of 'being cast away in his voyage back to the North, 'the ship he was in having struck upon Yarmouth 'sands, and that a great number of the passengers had 'been lost; a piece of news, that was at first contradict-'ed, but in a day or two confirmed by a particular 'account, that the Gloucester, a third rate, in which 'the Duke of York had embarked for Scotland, had 'actually suffered shipwreck upon one of Yarmouth 'sands, called the Lemon-Oar; and that the Duke 'with about an hundred and sixty persons were saved: 'among those that perished were the Lords O Brian 'and Roxborough, and Mr Hyde Lord Clarendon's 'brother.' This account agrees very well with that given us by another writer, of there being above three hundred persons aboard the ship, of which the major part were saved, and amongst those who were drowned was the Duke's brother-in-law, Mr Hyde, which did not argue any great respect of persons in those who were suffered to go into the long-boat (8). What blame fell upon Legge, or who this Legge was, is not easy to determine; for as to Colonel Legge, then Master of the Ordnance, and a Privy Counsellor, afterwards Lord Dartmouth, and Admiral of the fleet, he was visiting the fortresses of the kingdom at this time by his Majesty's command (9). What there was of severity in the case, seems to have been no more than this; that two persons, one in the boat, the other on board the ship, stood with their swords drawn, to prevent that irregular crowding, which might have endangered the boat as well as the ship; and if the reader is curious to know who those persons were, we shall endeavour to satisfy him. He on board the ship was Sir John Berry, who after performing this service, escaped very narrowly himself, by swimming to a rope that was thrown over the stern of Capt. Wybourn's ship (10); and he in the boat was Colonel Churchill (11), who *for this service is very justly said to have contributed to the preservation of the Duke his master's life.*

(4) Life of King James II. p. 35.

(5) Churchill's Annals.

(6) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 523.

(7) Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 144, 145.

(8) Historian's Guide, p. 144.

(9) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 107.

(10) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 404.

(11) Churchill's Annals.

[D] *Which high office he discharged with much advantage to his reputation.*] We have an account of this matter from a reverend Prelate, who seems to be better acquainted with it than any writer of those times, and therefore upon his authority we must in this case wholly rely. His words upon the subject are these (12). 'In one thing only the King seemed to 'comply with the genius of the nation, though it 'proved in the end to be only a shew. He seemed 'resolved not to be governed by French counsels, but 'to act on an equality with that haughty monarch in 'all things. And as he entertained all the other foreign 'Ministers with assurances, that he would maintain 'the balance of Europe with a more steady hand than 'had been done formerly, so when he sent over the 'Lord Churchill to the Court of France, with the 'notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to 'observe exactly the ceremony and state with which 'he was received, that he might treat him who should 'be sent over, with the compliment in return to that 'in the same manner. And this he observed very 'punctually, when the Marshal de Lorge came over. 'This was set about by the courtiers, as a sign of ano-'ther spirit, that might be looked for in a reign so 'begun. And this made some impression on the Court 'of France, and put them to a stand. But not long 'after this the French King said to the Duke of Ville-'roy, who told it to young Rouvigny, now Earl of 'Galway, (from whom I had it) that the King of 'England after all the high things given out in his 'name, was willing to take his money, as well as his 'brother had done.' It may not be amiss to annex here, another piece of secret history from a writer, who was very well acquainted with these times, and yet he will be a bold man that should desire implicit credit to be given to either author (13); 'At this time,' says my author, 'the Favourites at Court began to be 'at strife with each other; the Lord Sunderland was 'made President of the Council, and continued Secre-'tary of State; his Lordship having artfully insinu-'ated to the Queen (he had then a misunderstanding 'with the Treasurer) that the friends and relations of 'the King's first wife, as Rochester, Clarendon, Dart-'mouth, and others, were in greatest favour, and in 'possession of the best places, while her friends, though 'she was Queen consort, were but slenderly provided 'for; and her friends being reckoned to be Lord 'Sunderland, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord 'Churchill, they began to play their private batteries 'against each other.'

(12) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 623.

(13) Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 223.

[E] From

upon his uncle's head, which afterwards became fatal to his own (t). His forces were, from the beginning, harrassed by a very inconsiderable body of horse commanded by Lord Churchill, which was one great reason that compelled him to venture all upon a battle, and knowing that his irregular troops would be very unequally matched, though somewhat superior in number to the King's forces, he laboured to remedy that inconvenience by attacking in the dark (u), which might probably have been attended with success, if Lord Churchill, who was more vigilant than other officers, had not sat up all night, and with part of Dunbarton's regiment kept the rebels in play till the infantry was formed, and then charging the Duke's horse that were commanded by Lord Gray; they were either broken or betrayed into immediate flight, which decided the fortune of the day and that early, for the battle of Sedgmore was over between four and five o'clock in the morning, on the sixth of July 1685 (w). This was a decisive stroke, and would have been so which ever side prevailed, for a great part of the nation, from the fear of Popery, were inclined to the Duke, but his army being defeated, and himself taken, the danger of the rebellion was entirely over. It is reasonable to suppose that Lord Churchill was extreamly well received by the King upon his return, but it was not long before his Lordship discerned that this victory had bad as well as good effects, that it confirmed the King in his opinion of his standing forces, and mis-led him into a belief, that at the head of an English army he might trample upon English liberty, but he soon found his mistake (x). Whatever share his Lordship had in the Royal favour, and whatever advantage accrued to him from his posts and preferments, it is a truth notorious, that he was never guilty of any mean compliance, nor had any concern in suggesting, or in executing any of the violent counsels in that unhappy reign. Those came from other men, and men of other principles, or rather of no principles at all, who hurried their master to his ruin, while Lord Churchill very prudently declined meddling much in business, spoke little except when his advice was asked, and then always recommended moderate measures (y). It is said that he declared very early to Lord Galway, that if his master attempted to overturn the established religion he would leave him, and this is the more probable, because during that whole reign, and indeed during his whole life, he never dissembled his zeal for the Church of England, on what side soever that Church was attacked. It is also said that he signed the Memorial transmitted to the Prince and Princess of Orange, by which they were invited to rescue this nation from Popery and slavery (z), but be that as it will, it is very certain that he remained with, and was entrusted by, the King, after the Prince of Orange was landed, November 5, 1688. He attended King James when he marched with his forces to oppose, and even to fight, the Prince, and had the command of a brigade of five thousand men, yet the Earl of Feversham suspecting his inclinations, advised the King to seize him, but his Majesty's affection to him was so great, that he rejected that motion, which gave his Lordship an opportunity of executing his design of retiring to the Prince; but he betrayed no post, carried off no troops, but with the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and four or five officers, withdrew from the King's quarters, and joined the Prince of Orange at Axminster, which is about twenty miles from Exeter, leaving a letter for the King, expressing the reasons of his conduct, and the grief of mind he was under from the part that he was obliged to take (a) [E]. It has been indeed said by a French Jesuit, and from him copied by some other spiteful writers, that he not only left the King, but also laid a design for betraying his Majesty, which was concerted with Colonel Kirke, who commanded at Warminster (b), and that it was prevented by the King's being taken with a bleeding at the nose, which was not stopped till a vein was opened. Some of these writers afterwards asserted, that he was concerned in Sir John Fenwick's plot for restoring King

(t) Life of King James, p. 135.

(u) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 38.

(w) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 210.

(x) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 438, 439.

(y) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 765.

(z) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 50, 51.

(a) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 497.

(b) Father Orlean's Revolutions of England, p. 312.

[E] *From the part that he was obliged to take.*] Whoever considers the great obligations that Lord Churchill lay under to King James, must naturally conclude, that he could not take the resolution of leaving him, and withdrawing to the Prince of Orange, but with infinite concern and regret; and that this was really the case, appears very plainly from the letter which follows; and which has so strict a relation to the history of this illustrious person, that it is absolutely necessary to give it a place here; the very language in which it is conceived, being perhaps the best proof of it's sincerity; for if any man will but consider with himself, what under such circumstances he would have wished to have said, he cannot help seeing, that this is what the Lord Churchill has said, in the shortest and most pathetic terms possible (14).

(14) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 407.

SIR,

'SINCE men are seldom suspected of sincerity when they act contrary to their interests: and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much over-paid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your Majesty and the world, that I am acted by an higher principle, when I offered that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your Majesty at a time, when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one, who lies under the greatest obligations imaginable to your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppose, and with which I am instructed nothing ought to come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majesty, has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your Majesty's true interest and the Protestant Religion; but as I can no longer join with such, to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect; so I will always with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect, that becomes, &c.'

[F] Which

King James (c): it is impossible to believe both these stories to be true, but we may rationally conclude them to be both absolutely false, as Yonge's contrivance was proved to be, who laboured to fix a conspiracy of the same nature upon his Lordship, and Dr Sprat Bishop of Rochester (d). It is supposed to have been in consequence of his Lordship's sollicitation, that Prince George of Denmark took the same step, as soon after his consort the Princess Anne likewise did, by the advice of Lady Churchill (e). His Lordship was received with great marks of esteem and respect by the Prince of Orange, who when he advanced with his army as far as Henley, sent Lord Churchill to London to re-assemble his troop of guards, which service he readily performed, and concurred in the application of the Lords to the Prince, at the close of the year, desiring him to take upon him the administration (f). But it is very remarkable, that in all the delicate conjunctures of those disturbed times, he acted not only with caution and circumspection, but with so true a spirit of moderation, that, notwithstanding the malice of one party, and the envy of the other, for he was very early exposed to both, he maintained his interest as well with the Prince of Orange as with Prince George and the Princess Anne, and was extreamly serviceable in composing those jars, which had otherwise prevented that settlement that was afterwards made by the Convention (g). But notwithstanding his influence and even activity in those important affairs, he carried every thing with so much silence and secrecy, that his sentiments were never to be collected otherwise than by the event, for he was ever an enemy to the noise and bustle, as well as to the heats and fury of a party, taking his measures after mature deliberation with steadiness, and behaving to persons of all ranks and of all sentiments, with a smoothness and civility that contented them, and made things easy to himself. He was entrusted in that critical conjuncture by the Prince of Orange, who gave him the rank of Lieutenant-General, with the care of new modelling the army, and reducing some new raised regiments, which he performed (h), and the Prince and Princess of Orange being declared King and Queen of England, the sixth of February 1689, Lord Churchill went immediately to congratulate them, and on the fourteenth of the same month was sworn of their Privy-Council, and one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the new King (i). On the ninth of April following he was raised to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough (k) in the county of Wilts; but, though a certain writer positively says, that he was made Viscount Churchill by King James (l), yet it may be looked upon as a thing out of doubt, that he never had that title either in England or in Scotland. He assisted at the coronation of their Majesties, and was very soon after appointed to command in chief the English forces that were sent over to Holland, in order to make a part of the army of the Allies, and according to his usual custom hastened early to his command, arriving at Rotterdam the seventeenth of May, from whence he proceeded immediately to the army, which was then commanded by the famous Prince of Waldeck. The Earl of Marlborough was at the head of those forces at the battle of Walcourt, which was fought August 15, 1689 (m), wherein the English troops distinguished themselves in so extraordinary a manner, that we find it both acknowledged and applauded even by the French Historians, and the Earl of Marlborough gave such extraordinary proofs of his conduct upon this occasion, that Prince Waldeck, speaking in his commendation to King William, said, *That he saw more into the art of war in a day, than some Generals in many years* (n). It is to be observed that King William commanded this year in Ireland, which was the reason that the Earl of Marlborough was at the head of the English troops abroad, and gave him an opportunity of laying the foundation of that fame amongst Foreigners, which he extended afterwards to the utmost bounds of Europe [F]. It

(c) Hist. of the Proceedings against Sir John Fenwicke, p. 95.

(d) See an Account of this written and published by the Bishop himself.

(e) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 293.

(f) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 500, 501.

(g) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 58, 59.

(h) Life of King William III. p. 159.

(i) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 515.

(k) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 195.

(l) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 293.

(m) Supplement to Rapin's Hist. p. 41.

(n) Life of King William III. p. 246.

[F] *Which he extended afterwards to the utmost bounds of Europe.*] It is the fault of almost all our historians, that they do not take pains enough in looking for foreign materials, in reference even to those parts of their histories, which relate to foreign parts; and which therefore it is impossible to treat clearly, from the materials that are to be met with at home. In reference to our hero's future exploits, this is very seldom the case; in respect to this campaign it is apparently so, for though Prince Waldeck's character of the Earl of Marlborough, has been over and over repeated, yet in our histories it seems to be a compliment rather than a character, because we are not sufficiently acquainted with the facts upon which it was founded. We will endeavour to relate these, in as narrow a compass as it is possible (15). The French army was commanded by the Marshal de Humieres, and was very little, if at all superior to that of the Allies, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck; and the true design of both Generals was the same, *viz.* each intended to hinder the other from passing the Sambre. At length however, Prince Waldeck after many marches and countermarches, found means to pass at Fontaine le Eveque. This alarmed the French Marshal, who though he pretended to seek nothing so much as an action, yet was really rather inclined to avoid it (16); and the Allies on the other hand, had no temptation to fight, unless they had some considerable advantage. But on the 15th of August, N. S. the cavalry of the Allies being for the most part abroad for forage, the Duke de Joyeuse, Lieutenant-General of the day, fell upon and defeated them; and either he or the Marshal himself, were so heated by this small success, that they resolved to push the affair as far as it would go (17), and at length attacked the little town of Valcourt; which though not regularly fortified, had a very good wall, and was strong by situation, lying at the distance of about half a league from the Prince of Waldeck's camp, having a sharp rugged ascent on the one side, and a flat open plain on the other (18). A numerous body of infantry in the town, kept a smart fire on the enemy in front, who were also galled by a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, Prince Waldeck caused to be erected on the eminence beforementioned. The Earl of Marlborough at the head of two regiments of horse and the guards, kept possession of the plain, and was a very calm spectator of the attack; for seeing the infantry of the Allies well covered by the wall, he would give the enemy no disturbance; but when after a furious attack which lasted an hour and half, the enemy found it was impossible to prevail, and the Marshal sent orders for a retreat; the Earl as soon as they began to move, fell in upon their flank, and as the French themselves allow, did terrible execution;

(15) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. II. p. 185.

(16) Riencourt, Tom. III. p. 165.

(17) Limiers, Tom. II. p. 507.

(18) Larrey, Tom. II. p. 104.

It doth not appear that his Lordship was employed any where in the beginning of the next campaign, but towards the close of it he proposed a scheme for reducing Cork, a place of great consequence in Ireland, and thought to be well fortified, with a small body of troops in the winter when they could be of no use elsewhere, to which King William assented (*o*). He landed near Cork in the latter end of the month of September, and though some small delay was occasioned by the Duke of Wirtemberg's disputing with him the command, yet he very soon reduced the place, having observed what those who were employed to fortify it had never discerned, that it was commanded by an adjacent eminence, upon which erecting a battery, the garrison capitulated and were made prisoners of war (*p*). The very important port of Kinsale, and two strong forts that were erected to cover it, soon shared the same fate, all the troops in them being made prisoners likewise, and the Earl having thus gloriously compleated the design which he had so wisely contrived, returned to England before the close of November, and on his first appearance at Court, King William was pleased to say of him (*q*), *That he knew no man so fit for a General who had seen so few campaigns*. It was thought proper, and much for the King's service, that the Earl should return to Ireland, which he accordingly did, notwithstanding the lateness of the season, and by his prudent management, and directing proper forts to be erected, kept the Irish in close quarters, and yet returned early enough to be ready to attend King William the next spring into the field (*r*). His Majesty shewed the entire confidence which at that time he placed in his Lordship, by sending him with Count Solmes before him to the army, in order to make the necessary dispositions for openihg the campaign (*s*), and very certain it is, that his behaviour on receiving and in discharging this commission, could not but raise his credit with so wise a Prince, since it was such that deserved the applause of one of the best officers, and most experienced Generals of that age, and this not grounded at all upon events, for the great scheme the Earl of Marlborough had formed was actually laid aside from the opposition of the Dutch (*t*) [*G*]. His Lordship returned into England in the beginning of the winter, attended the service of Parliament very assiduously, and his duty at Court as the nature of his office required, for in things of this kind there was no man in the world more punctual, and yet all this attention, all his past services, and all the knowledge King William had of the great abilities he had for his service, did not hinder his being disgraced, and that in a manner so sudden, so publick, and with such extraordinary circumstances, that it was as much the wonder of those times, as the real cause of it remains a secret even in these (*u*) [*H*]. The

(*o*) Burchet's Naval Hist. p. 430.

(*p*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*q*) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 572.

(*r*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 69.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 195.

(*t*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*u*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 90.

execution; so that this affair cost them two thousand killed and wounded, and the loss of the Allies did not exceed three hundred (19). One of the best French writers on the art of war, having given a very succinct account of this action, concludes with this remark, that he mentioned it only as a caution to prevent any General from making such another mistake, as Marshal de Humieres made here (20).

[*G*] *From the opposition of the Dutch.*] To explain this matter a little, it is necessary to observe, that the reason of the King's staying in Holland, was on the score of that famous Congress at the Hague, which was one of the most illustrious scenes in his whole reign (21). To have the more leisure to confer with so many great Princes that repaired thither, purely to pay their respects to his Majesty, he sent the Earl of Marlborough to the army, who upon his arrival, and receiving an account of the contents of two magazines, one of fire-wood and the other of dry forage, immediately pronounced that the design of Louis XIV. was against Mons and not Charleroy; upon which he proposed to the Deputies of the States-General in the army taking such a camp, as would have frustrated that design; but they depended so much upon their own intelligence, and looked upon a siege at that time of the year as a thing so impracticable, that they would not yield to his representations; and when Marshal Bouflers on the 4th of March invested Mons on the side nearest the Allies, their astonishment was so great, that they could hardly believe it (22). All precautions however were then too late, for the French King besieged and took the place in much less time than could have been expected. Prince Vaudemont being some time after with the King at Loo, is said to have spoken to him in this manner. 'There is somewhat in the Earl of 'Marlborough, that I want words to express; he has 'the fierceness of Kirk, the judgment of Laniere, the 'conduct of Mackay, and the intrepidity of Colchester 'altogether; and either my skill in faces deceives me, 'which yet it never did, or he will make a greater 'figure as a General, than any subject your Majesty 'has.' The King smiled and said, Marlborough *is obliged to you, but I really believe you will lose no credit by your prediction* (23).

[*H*] *As the real cause of it remains a secret even in these.*] It is natural to suppose, that upon the happening of an event of such consequence in it's nature, and so unexpected in it's manner, as the disgrace of this noble Peer; abundance of stories were told, which however easily refuted, from the knowledge of the inconsistency of their circumstances at that time, cannot be so well distinguished at this distance. If the reader has a mind to take a view of these and judge for himself, he may find them recapitulated in a work, to which he is directed in the margin (24). But as he *will probably expect to have some reason assigned here*, or at least our thoughts upon the subject, we shall give them with that freedom and impartiality, which a work of this kind demands; and in which there is nothing farther from our design, than either to flatter or to excuse, except it be to calumniate or defame. It is certain that King William took it much amiss, that upon settling the revenue, an independent provision was insisted upon for the Princess of Denmark, of fifty thousand pounds per ann. and there were some circumstances that rendered this still more disagreeable to his consort. As the whole of this transaction was attributed to the advice of the Countess of Marlborough, in whom the Princess of Denmark was known to have an entire confidence; and as the success of this measure in both Houses of Parliament, was ascribed to the extensive influence and indefatigable industry of the Earl of Marlborough: it seems highly reasonable to imagine, that though he was not immediately disgraced, yet from this time forward, he could not stand upon very favourable terms with the King, and much less with the Queen (25). He had also the misfortune to be envied and hated by all the King's personal favourites, and more especially by the Lord Sydney and Mrs Villers, afterwards Countess of Orkney; who no doubt were not wanting in their endeavours, to add credit to any informations, that were given to his Lordship's prejudice. It is no less certain, that at this juncture the King's counsels were most strangely betrayed; and from thence it has been suggested, not without some degree of probability, that it was insinuated the Countess of Marlborough being mistress of her husband's secrets, which were also those of the King; and being intimate also with a certain Lady warm in the interests of King James, there might possibly be a canal

(19) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(20) Memoirs de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. III. p. 195.

(21) Life of King William III. p. 297.

(22) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(23) Military History of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

(24) Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 73.

(25) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 90.

The Earl being in waiting at Court, as a Lord of the Bed-chamber, and having in that quality introduced to his Majesty Lord George Hamilton, a younger son of Duke Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Orkney and Field-Marshal of Great Britain, and returned from Court to his own house without receiving from the King any marks of coldness or displeasure, he was followed not long after, by the same Lord George Hamilton, with a very short and surprizing message, *That the King had no farther occasion for his service* (w). As he had been named to attend the King in the next campaign, in quality of Lieutenant-General of Foot, Lionel Talmash, Esq; was appointed in his stead; his troop of Guards was given to the Lord Colchester; and Lord George Hamilton, who brought him the message, had his regiment of Fuzileers; but his post in the Bed-chamber remained vacant some time after (x). This strange and unexpected blow was followed by one much stranger, for not long after, the Earl, by a warrant under the hand and seal of the Lord Viscount *Sydney*, then Secretary of State, was committed to the Tower for high-treason, which was the effects of a vile conspiracy formed by some desperate and profligate persons, who for their just deserts were at the time of framing it prisoners in Newgate, and supported by a horrid scene of forgery and perjury (y). His Lordship was soon after bailed, and the whole contrivance being fully and indisputably detected, a prosecution was commenced against the principal author of it, who was tried, convicted (z), and punished. Thus ended this strange affair, which had in all probability rendered a man of a less settled and sedate temper a malecontent, but it had no such effect upon the Earl of Marlborough, whose behaviour afterwards was as free from circumspection as from any colour of guilt. He behaved in Parliament as became an English Nobleman; he never failed to join with the Courtiers when he thought them in the right, and never opposed them from any other principle than a conviction in his own mind that they were in the wrong. His own and his Lady's interest with the Princess Anne of Denmark, made them still very considerable, nor was it in the power of their enemies, who had so much influence at one Court, to affect them even in the smallest degree in the other, and to the honour of both this noble pair it may be truly said, and now they are both dead it may be surely said without the least imputation of flattery, that never any persons appear to have deserved Court favour better than they did, since the greater measure they had of it, the better were the affairs of that Court managed in which they enjoyed it (a); so that, at this very time, the Earl of Marlborough and his Countess merited all things from King William, by the pains they took to keep the Princess of Denmark within those bounds of duty and respect, from which she wanted not either provocations or sollicitations to digress; and to how great a degree this might have distressed the Court, the History of those times will thoroughly inform the reader (b). The attempt made to represent the Earl as embarked in the Assassination Plot, failed through it's great improbability, which made an extraordinary degree of evidence necessary to support it, and yet it came with none at all, save the assurance given by an unhappy man, who said what he did purely to save his life (c). It is certain that the Earl of Marlborough acted very cooly upon this occasion, shewed very little concern, and no degree of warmth. After Queen Mary's death, when their respective interests brought the two Courts to better agreement, King William thought fit to re-call the Earl of Marborough to his Privy-Council, and June 19, 1698, appointed him Governor to the Duke of Gloucester with this extraordinary compliment (d), *My Lord, make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wish to see him.* His Lordship continued from this time forward in his Majesty's favour to the time of his death, as appears from his having been three times appointed one of the Lords Justices during his absence, *viz.* July 16, 1698, May 31, 1699, and June 27, 1700 (e). As soon as it was discerned that the death of Charles II. of Spain would become the occasion of another general war, the King endeavoured to provide for it early, by sending over a body of troops to Holland, and on the first of June the same year he declared the Earl of Marlborough General of Foot, and Commander in chief of those forces; and on the twenty-eighth of the same month, he was also pleased to appoint him Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to their High Mightinesses, upon which he went

(w) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 75.

(x) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(y) Duchess of Marlborough's Account of her own Conduct.

(z) Supplement to Rapin, p. 93, 94.

(a) Kennet, Burnet, &c.

(b) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 103.

(c) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 728.

(d) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 82. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(e) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 755, 768, 784.

canal of intelligence this way, established; and as the managers of this intrigue might lay hold, as it is said they did, of any remarkable instance of discovery, it might easily produce such a sudden disgrace as this of the Earl's, and that too without any explanation. It was immediately followed by forbidding the Countess of Marlborough the Court, as that was by the retiring of the Princess of Denmark from it, and in less than six weeks the sham plot followed this. We have an account of the last event, from the pen of Lady Marlborough herself, which the reader may peruse, and will from thence judge of the probability of the account that has been given (26). 'Soon after the 'Princess going to Sion, a dreadful plot broke out, 'which was said to have been hid some where, I don't 'know where, in a flower-pot, and my Lord Marlborough was sent to the Tower. To commit a Peer to 'prison, it was necessary there should be an affidavit 'from some body of the treason. My Lord R——y 'therefore, S——y of State, had sent to one 'Young, who was then in goal for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what 'they call a *legal evidence*; for as the C——rt 'L——rs said, Young, not having lost his ears, was 'an irreproachable witness. I shall not dwell on the 'story of this fellow's villany, the B——p of R——r 'having given a full account of it in print.' It is very apparent from all our Histories, but more especially from the Journals of the House of Lords, and the Resolutions that they came to, that these accusations never gained the least degree of credit, except amongst those who were disposed to believe any thing of one, against whom they were prejudiced (27).

(26) Conduct of her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough.

(27) See the Libels published against the Duke of Marlborough after his Disgrace.

[*I*] *Which*

went immediately over to Holland, where, as a particular mark of their respect, the States lodged him in the house of Prince Maurice, that he might with more conveniency confer with foreign Ministers (*f*). Upon the King's coming over and taking a view of the forces, he dined with the Earl of Marlborough at his quarters on the 30th of September, which was one of the last marks of honour and favour he received from that great Prince, who died on the eighth of March following, unless we reckon his recommendation of his Lordship to the Princess of Denmark a little before his death, as the properest person to be entrusted with the command of the army which was to protect the liberties of Europe (*g*) [*I*]. About a week after the King's death, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the most noble Order of the Garter, and soon after declared Captain General of all her Majesty's forces in England and abroad, and was immediately sent over to the Hague with the same character that he had the year before (*h*). At his first audience of the States-General, on the twentieth of March, he made a short, solid, and sensible speech, in which, without making use of many fine-turn'd periods, he gave them full, plain and hearty assurances of his Mistress's sincere intention to pursue the plan that had been formerly settled, as fully convinced them of her sincerity and of his own. His stay in Holland was very short, and it was his peculiar felicity to dispatch much, and even the most important business, in a very little time, of which he gave the strongest instance here, for the States not only concurred in all that he proposed, but of their own motive did what he could neither propose or expect, for they declared him Captain-General also of their forces, with an appointment of one hundred thousand florins *per annum*, and left to him the settling the rank of General officers, which he did in such a manner as was very honourable for his Sovereign, and entirely to their satisfaction (*i*). On his return to England he found the Queen's Council already divided, some being for carrying the war on as auxiliaries only, and others for declaring against France and Spain immediately, and so becoming principals at once; with these the Earl joined, and they carrying their point, war was declared the fourth of May, 1702, which was afterwards approved by Parliament, notwithstanding the Dutch at that time had not declared (*k*) [*K*]. The campaign was opened with but indifferent success, which was chiefly owing to the extraordinary caution of the Earl of Athlone, a very brave man, but either a little too circumspect, or, which is more probable, too much limited in his command. However that matter may be, certain it is, that the army had retired with some precipitation under the walls of Nimeguen, before the Earl of Marlborough took the command, which was on the twentieth of June (*l*). His presence and his activity soon changed the face of affairs, for though his army did not consist of above sixty thousand horse and foot, and that of the enemy was superior in number, commanded

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 86.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*h*) History of Europe for the year 1702, p. 86.

(*i*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*k*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 315.

(*l*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. III. p. 551.

[*I*] *Which was to protect the liberties of Europe.*] There has been a doubt raised, as to the high marks of favour shewn to the Earl of Marlborough in the last years, and even the last hours of King William's life and reign, for some have attributed them merely to policy. Mr Hornby, if he was really the author of the book cited in the margin, would persuade us, that it was not out of affection to the common cause, or a sense of the Earl of Marlborough's merit, but from his love to his own country, and his kindness to the Earl of Albemarle, that the King took these steps (28). His words are these. 'The late King, who was as 'well acquainted with his qualifications as his interest, 'had foreseen these effects of her Majesty's favour; 'and his own state of health giving him cause to apprehend a short continuance in this world, he had 'recommended him to his countrymen, as the man on 'whom they were chiefly to depend after his decease, 'when that he might be less a stranger to them, William resolves to sacrifice his resentments to their interest, and procure a reconciliation with the Earl, in 'order to introduce him into their acquaintance; and 'at the same time finding that his deluge of bounty to 'his new favourite, unlike the old one, had been only 'poured like water through a sieve, and that therefore 'he might stand in need of a friend after the loss of so 'kind a master, the King, to kill two birds with one 'stone, employed him to manage this affair, as if it 'were entirely of his own motion.' This has been esteemed a severe satire upon the memory of King William, but it appears to me in quite another light; for, granting it to be true, it shews a high command over his passions, and a strong affection for his country; and if these are faults, what are virtues! Yet the fact seems to be, that with the death of Queen Mary, the King's dislike to the Earl of Marlborough vanished; and there is no doubt that he was convinced, that all the stories told of him were false, and as to his parts and abilities, he was acquainted of them long before. In short, his conduct in this respect, was perfectly right; and as it was the last, it was the greatest action of his life; the clearest proof of his having a soul superior to little and narrow notions, and entirely taken up with the great view of saving England and Holland, and indeed all Europe, from being swallowed up by an overgrown power, conducted by a Prince, whose ambition was without bounds (29), and who could know no quiet, while his neighbours were free and independent.

(28) Caveat against the Whigs, P. iii. p. 50, 51.

(29) Life of King William III. p. 622.

[*K*] *Notwithstanding the Dutch at that time had not declared.*] This was a point of very great importance, and it cannot but be allowed, that the arguments which were offered in favour of an auxiliary war, were many of them very plausible; but the Earl of Marlborough opposed it by unanswerable reasons, and those conceived, as his always were, in very few words (30). He said, the war took rise from injuries received heretofore, and the want of security for the future; that England was as much interested in both as any other nation, and was therefore as much bound to act as a principal as they; that war was an evil in itself, considered in any other light than as an instrument, necessary to procure a safe and solid peace; which end the war could never answer, if England was not a principal. That a favourable opportunity now offered, for reducing France, which, let slip, might in all probability never return; and that the true question was, whether considering the power of France, England could be safe? for if she might, it was better to maintain peace; if not, that kind of war was best, that would make her safe. The majority of the Council concurred with him in opinion, and upon this the declaration of war was drawn, agreeable to the prerogative of the Crown; but it was not actually proclaimed, till the sentiments of the Parliament were known, and consequently the sense of the nation. The Earl of Marlborough procured also Lord Godolphin's being made High-Treasurer, which was a thing disagreeable to many, and not at all pleasing to that Lord himself; but the Earl insisted upon it as a measure absolutely requisite, since without it he could not depend upon the Treasury, or the punctuality of remittances so necessary to an army in the field; where a slip of this kind might in a single instance prove fatal (31).

(30) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(31) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 313.

[*L*] At

manded by the Duke of Burgundy, whose first campaign it was, yet the Earl never declined any opportunity of coming to action, but on the contrary pressed it all he could, and would have forced the French to a battle three several times, if he had not been hindered by the Dutch Deputies (*m*). Yet those who blame them do it without reason, for the very spirit of the army, and their offering the enemy battle, was of great use to their affairs, whereas any check would have destroyed them, the party which had opposed King William beginning to shew itself in several cities and provinces, so that they had reason to be cautious. On the other hand the Earl of Marlborough, far from complaining of their conduct, contented himself with shewing them clearly what advantages they lost, by which he gained their confidence highly, as he secured the affection of all their officers by his condescension and politeness (*n*). He very soon discerned that the States were made uneasy by the places which the enemy held on their frontiers, and therefore he readily consented to attack and reduce them, and accordingly, in this single campaign, he made himself master of the castles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts, the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenswaert, together with the city and citadel of Liege, which last was taken sword in hand, and the States, as they had reason, testified the highest satisfaction with regard to his Lordship's conduct and success (*o*). The Earl of Athlone did a gallant thing upon this occasion, he wrote to the States, that their thanks were due entirely to the Earl of Marlborough, whose measures he had opposed during the whole campaign, but was not at all less pleased with the advantages he had obtained. These had like to have been of very short date, for the army separating in the neighbourhood of Liege on the third of November, his Lordship was taken the next day in his passage by water, by a small party of thirty men from the enemies garrison at Gueldres, but it being towards night, and the Earl insisting upon an old pass given to his brother, and out of date, was suffered to proceed, and arrived at the Hague when they were in the utmost consternation on the news of the accident that had befallen him (*p*). His calmness of mind upon this occasion, and the dexterity with which he extricated himself in so unexpected a disaster, raised his credit prodigiously, and the Grand Pensionary made him a compliment upon that occasion, which did him more honour than all his victories, and the modesty of his Lordship's answer at least equalled the dignity of that compliment (*q*). On his return to England, he received the highest testimonies of the sense that his Sovereign and the nation had of his services, expressed in the thanks of the two Houses, and his being created Duke, which served only to encourage and confirm him in his noble resolution of continuing to render them still greater and more important services. A few of the most remarkable particulars during his stay in the winter, are taken notice of at the bottom of the page [*L*]. He was on the point of returning to Holland, when, on Feb. 20, 1702-3, his only son, the Marquis of Blandford, died at Cambridge at the age of eighteen. This afflicting accident did not however long retard his Grace, who was too wise a man to suffer even the nearest of his private concerns to prejudice the publick affairs, now almost wholly entrusted to his care, and therefore, after allowing a very short season to grief, passed over to Holland, and arrived at the Hague the sixth of March. It very soon appeared how much the common cause was assisted by the wise precautions, and judicious foresight, of the Duke of Marlborough, for he was very careful in obliging the Princes of the Empire, whose troops were in the British pay, to bring them early into the field, and perfectly compleat; and yet in his representations upon this head, though his remarks were very smart and strong, yet they were expressed in a language so decent and full of respect, that they were kindly received, and punctually complied with (*r*). The French had a great army this year in Flanders, in the Low-Countries, and in that part of Germany which the Elector of Cologne had put into their hands, and the Marshals Villeroy and Boufflers were sent to command there, assisted by Prince T'Serclaes de Tilly, the Marquis de Bedmar, and other experienced officers in the Spanish service, who, depending entirely upon that promptness with which the absolute power of the French King enabled him to execute all his projects, intended to act offensively, and to open the campaign with the siege of Liege on the eighteenth of April, for which prodigious preparations

(*m*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XI. p. 647.

(*n*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) History of Europe for 1702, p. 415.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 133.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*r*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 347. Memoires de Lamberty, Vol. II. 345.

[*L*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The Earl of Marlborough arrived in London on the 28th of November, some time after the Queen had been complimented by both Houses of Parliament, on the success of her arms in Flanders; in consequence of which there had been a publick Thanksgiving on the 4th of November, when her Majesty went in great state to St Paul's (32). Soon after a Committee of the House of Commons, of which Sir Edward Seymour, was Chairman, attended him with the thanks of the House. On the 2d of December, her Majesty declared her intention in Council, of creating his Lordship a Duke; which she soon after did, by the title of Marquis of Blandford, and Duke of Marlborough; she likewise added a pension of five thousand pounds a year out of the Post-Office during her own life (33), and sent a message to the House of Commons, signifying her desire that it might attend the honour she had lately conferred; but with this the House would not comply, contenting themselves in their address to the Queen upon this occasion, to applaud her manner of rewarding publick service; but declaring their inability to make such a precedent, for alienating the revenue of the Crown (34). The House did not shew the less respect for this to another motion, that was made in consequence as they very well knew of his advice, viz. that an additional number of troops might be employed in Flanders, to frustrate the designs of France, as she was then preparing to take the field early, and with a superior force (35). It was with this view, that a vote passed for taking ten thousand foreign troops into English pay, which was a very seasonable measure, and what indeed could not be avoided as things stood at that time; and there is no doubt that this raised his Grace's reputation not a little with the States-General, as it was an equal proof of his sincerity and interest.

(32) Hist. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 441.

(33) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 196.

(34) See the Address of the House of Commons presented Dec. 21, 1702, in answer to her Majesty's Message.

(35) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 312, 313.

parations were made, and all the necessary measures taken (s). Yet these were all broken by the vigilance and activity of the Duke of Marlborough, who, with the army of the Allies, was in the field before them, and on the thirteenth of April invested Bonn, the usual residence of the Elector of Cologne (t). This siege was carried on with so much spirit, and with a train of artillery so much superior to any thing that had been seen, as advanced it's progress beyond expectation. The French, in order to create a diversion, made a hasty march towards Maestricht, with a view to have surprized the army of the States under Marshal D'Averquerque, and in their way surrounded two battalions that lay in Tongeren, but though these were made prisoners of war, yet it was after so obstinate a defence, that the Dutch army had all the time requisite to provide against the surprize, so that the enemy's design miscarried (u); and after the surrender of Bonn on the fourth of May, the Duke of Marlborough re-joined the army of the Allies, and obliged the enemy to retire before him, and to shelter themselves behind their lines, which were soon after forced in two places (w). The Duke, upon this, formed a project of making himself master of Antwerp, which was frustrated by Marshal Boufflers attacking the Dutch General Opdam at Eckeren, on the nineteenth day of June, in which action both sides claimed the victory (x). The truth is that there were two actions, in the former of which the French were entirely successful, but lost all they obtained in the first by the second, and were obliged to abandon the passes they had taken, through which the Dutch, under the command of General Schlangenburgh, for Opdam in the beginning of the battle was obliged to fly with a few horse, made (y) not a safe only, but glorious retreat. The Duke of Marlborough, after this, would have attacked the French lines, but being hindered by the Dutch Deputies, Huy was invested and taken. His Grace proposed again attacking the lines, in a grand Council of War held the fourteenth of August, in which he was again restrained by the Dutch, and the siege of Limburgh resolved upon (z), which was very soon taken, as by the close of the year was the city of Gueldres, which left the Dutch secure on every side except that of Brabant (a). When the campaign was over his Grace went to Dusseldorp, to meet the late Emperor, then stiled Charles III. King of Spain, who made him a present of a very rich sword from his side, with a compliment more glorious than the present, and then returning to the Hague, after a very short stay came over to England (b) [M]. When measures were properly settled at home, the Duke, on the eighth of April 1704, embarked at Harwich for Holland, where he spent near a month, in adjusting all the necessary steps for executing the greatest design that had been formed within this century, which he covered so effectually, that when in the beginning of May he began his march for Germany, the French imagined that he intended to act upon the Moselle, and the whole of the expedition was conducted with such address, that he passed both the Maine and the Neckar before the French had any just notion of his intention, and indeed before it was known in it's full extent in Holland (c). After this, he took some steps that looked as if his design tended to the recovery of Landau, which put all the enemy's troops in motion on that side, while his Grace continued his march into the heart of the Empire, and had a conference with the Princes Eugene of Savoy, and Lewis of Baden, who complimented him in the highest terms on the generosity of his design, and the great *prudence he had shown in the conduct of it* (d). His Grace continued to press the march of his troops, and of the reinforcements sent him from Holland, with the utmost vigour, so that he arrived before the strong intrenchments of the enemy at Schellenburgh very unexpectedly on the twenty-first of June, and though there were in them twenty thousand men, and it was afternoon when they arrived, yet he could not be persuaded to delay the attack, but began it with the English and Dutch infantry, before the Imperialists, under Prince Lewis of Baden, could come up (e). The dispute was very obstinate and bloody, the Allies were twice repulsed, but at the third attack the Imperialists forced the intrenchment on the right, and soon after the English and

(s) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 8.

(t) Histoire de Louis XIV. p. 318.

(u) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 440.

(w) See Baron Spar's Letter to the States, dated June 27, N. S.

(x) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 21. Memoires de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 195.

(y) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 456.

(z) See those Resolutions translated from the French, and published in Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

(a) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 467.

(b) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 184.

(c) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 381.

(d) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 80.

(e) See the Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States, dated July 3, N. S. 1704, as also his Letter of the next day.

[M] *Came over to England.*] His Grace arrived here on the 13th of October 1703, and soon after King Charles III of Spain, whom he had accompanied to the Hague, came likewise over to England, and arrived at Spithead the day after Christmas. His Grace the Duke of Somerset, and his Grace of Marlborough, were immediately sent down to receive and to conduct him to Windsor (36). On the 28th he lay at Petworth, and on the 29th in the evening, he arrived in company of the two Dukes at Windsor. Upon this occasion, I must mention what most of our Historians have overlooked, *viz.* that on the 30th the Duke of Marlborough introduced to his Catholick Majesty the Spanish Merchants, and procured for them the strongest assurance of protection and favour, that the King could give (37). In the beginning of the month of January, the States-General desired her Majesty to give leave to his Grace of Marlborough to come to the Hague, which her Majesty granted, and his Grace embarked on the 15th of the same month on board the Mary Yacht, in which he passed over to Rotterdam (38), and went from thence immediately to the Hague, where he communicated to the Pensionary, whose affairs at this time were in the utmost distress; his sense of the necessity there was, of attempting something the next campaign for the relief of the Emperor, having the Bavarians on one side, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, making incursions to the very gates of Vienna; while his whole force scarce enabled him to maintain a defensive war; which unless speedily relieved, would certainly exhaust him. The Pensionary approved so much of the Duke's scheme as he opened to him, but it was agreed that he should not explain himself to the States, only measures were concerted, as if the next campaign was to open upon the Moselle; and even in this an air of secrecy was observed, which had very good effects. Matters being thus adjusted, and the Generals named who were to command on the frontiers of the State's dominions, the Duke returned to England (39) on the 14th of February following.

(36) London Gazette, Monday January 3, 1703.

(37) Hist. of Europe, for 1703, p. 485.

(38) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 45.

(39) London Gazette, Feb. 17, 1703.

[N] *Was*

and Dutch did the same on the left, so that the enemy were obliged to retire very precipitately, after losing one third of their troops at least (*f*). It was upon this occasion that the Emperor wrote the Duke a letter with his own hand, acknowledging his services in the most obliging manner, and offering him the title of a Prince of the Empire, which he modestly declined (*g*), till the Queen afterwards commanded him to accept of it. This great stroke, by which a way was opened for the relief of the Empire, was, by the Germans themselves, justly and universally ascribed to the Duke [*N*]. He prosecuted this success with all the diligence imaginable, and laboured to bring the enemy to a decisive battle, which the Elector of Bavaria declined by retiring under the walls of Augsburgh. At length, being joined by a new French army under the command of Marshal Tallard, he advanced to Hochstet, where, on the second of August, he was attacked by the Allies (*h*). Prince Lewis of Baden being detached with part of the army to make the siege of Ingoldstat, the remainder consisted of about fifty-two thousand men, commanded on the right by Prince Eugene, and on the left by the Duke of Marlborough; the French and Bavarians were about sixty thousand, commanded by Marshal Tallard on the right, and on the left by the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Marsin; the attack, though bold and hazardous, was conducted with all the caution imaginable, and the Duke receiving the Sacrament the evening before, went to the field with a resolution to conquer or to die (*i*). The dispute was for some hours bloody and doubtful, but at length Victory declared on the side of the Allies, the enemy losing at least half, some accounts say two thirds, of their army, of whom thirteen thousand, and amongst them Marshal Tallard, with twelve hundred officers, were made prisoners, and fourteen thousand killed or drowned, besides a vast number that were lost in their precipitate retreat (*k*). After this glorious action, by which the Empire was saved, and the whole electorate of Bavaria conquered, the Duke continued his pursuit till he forced the French to re-pass the Rhine, and then Prince Lewis of Baden laid siege to Landau, while the Duke and Prince Eugene covered it, and if through the slowness of the Germans that siege had not lasted too long, his Grace had projected an expedition on the Moselle, in order to have forced a passage that way into France; as it was, he took possession of Homburgh, Treves, &c. and had the pleasure of seeing Landau taken on the twelfth of November, after sixty-six days open trenches (*l*). He made a tour also to Berlin, and by a short negotiation suspended the disputes between the King of Prussia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good will of both parties. When the campaign was over he returned to Holland, where he received the publick thanks of the States for his services in the field and in the cabinet, and on the fourteenth of December he arrived in England, laden with the trophies of his victories (*m*), by which he gained a reputation truly immortal [*O*]. As he

(*f*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 85.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 223.

(*h*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 31. Memoires de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. III. p. 266.

(*i*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 236.

(*k*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 98.

(*l*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 315. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 505.

(*m*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 303. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 507.

[*N*] *Was by the Germans themselves justly and universally ascribed to the Duke.*] The transactions of this campaign, are so peculiarly glorious in respect to the memory of this noble person, that we are under an *indispensable necessity of detaining the reader, upon* some few of the most remarkable circumstances, that demonstrate the veracity of what is asserted in the text. In the first place, the great *capacity* of the Duke is visible, in forming so vast a design in his own mind, with respect to which he could not either ask or receive advice, but was obliged to lay the whole plan, and to contrive the means of overcoming the many difficulties, exclusive of all the hazards of war that lay in the way of it's execution, without the least assistance. We are next to advert to the great *secrecy* and wonderful *address*, with which he managed it. At home it was entrusted only to the Queen, the Prince of Denmark, and the Lord Treasurer Godolphin; abroad, only the Pensionary and another person had any intimation of it, neither was it communicated to them in it's full extent. But what is still more admirable, there was no intimation given of it to the Imperial Court, as appears from the memorial of the Imperial Minister, presented to the Queen in the middle of April, when the Duke was actually on his march, beseeching her assistance. It is no wonder therefore, that with all their intelligence, the French were deceived to the very last, and did not apprehend the Duke's true design, till he was within sight of the Danube. His Grace's *dexterity*, in opening his design to the States by degrees, and thereby obtaining their consent, not only to carry their troops with him to such a distance, but also to have them augmented by considerable reinforcements, which from the nature of their constitution at all times, and the situation they were in at this critical conjuncture, will to future ages seem incredible. His *celerity* in performing so extraordinary a march, as from the frontiers of Holland to the Danube, in about fifty days, without prejudice to his troops, is astonishing; but the most surprizing stroke of all was, the *firmness* the Duke expressed in attacking the enemy the same day that he arrived, when their entrenchments were not half finished, and before they were recovered from the confusion into which he had thrown them, *by his unexpected arrival*; to which, and to his persisting in making the last effort, the success of this affair (with the assistance of the divine favour) was absolutely due. The same thing happened again at Hochstet, where most of the Generals would have dissuaded his Grace from fighting; but he was inflexible, well knowing that to do nothing was the surest way to be undone, and that delay would have made the hazard greater; so that we may truly say, the fortune of the Duke of Marlborough arose from his conduct; and that he was victorious, in consequence of his chusing the fittest times for actions; being always cool and composed, observing and making the most of every advantage, and rendering his forces superior to the enemy, by that confidence which he placed in them, and which thro' the whole war they never failed to justify, by shewing that spirit, which Prince Eugene frankly said, he never saw in any other troops.

[*O*] *By which he gained a reputation truly immortal.*] It is impossible within the narrow compass to which we are confined, to mention all the honours this hero received; and it is the less necessary, as not our own histories only, but those of foreign nations also, will always preserve them, we shall content ourselves therefore with remarking, that, exclusive of the medals struck, and the Poems written in honour of this victory, of which Mr Addison's was really worthy of it, all the other testimonies of a just sense of his services were given, that even those services could merit. He brought over with him Marshal Tallard, and twenty-six other officers of distinction, one hundred twenty-one standards, and a hundred and seventy-nine colours, which by her Majesty's order, were put up in Westminster-Hall (40); he was received by the Queen and her Royal Consort, with the highest marks of esteem, and had the solemn thanks of both Houses of Parliament,

(40) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 306. London Gazette, Jan. 4, 1704.

the Duke's designs cost him much greater pains than the execution of them; so when they were once formed he was unwilling to part with them, what obstacles soever lay in the way of compleating them. He meditated therefore all the winter the project he had formed of penetrating from the Moselle, which project, by the way, is the original after which many have been copied since, and upon his going over to Holland, in the latter end of March, he laboured to put every thing in order for this favourite expedition, which might possibly have ended the war that campaign, but must have reduced the enemy to the greatest extremity in the next. The raising of magazines, which was the greatest obstacle apprehended in the execution of the Duke's scheme, he had wisely provided for, by causing them to be erected the winter before at Triers, and under various pretences keeping them there to this time (*n*). The States-General, upon his laying before them the great advantages that would follow from a successful campaign on the Moselle, consented, without much difficulty, to his leading their troops thither; and Prince Lewis of Baden also, without whose concurrence he could do nothing, promised him an interview at Creutznach. His Grace having done every thing at the Hague, and having marched part of the troops with a view to his great design, went in person to Coblentz, where he arrived on the sixth of May, and proposed two days after to have had an interview with Prince Lewis, but the next morning his Highness excused himself by a message, on account of his ill state of health (*o*). Upon this his Grace set out for Rastadt, the place of his Highness's residence, where he had a long conference with him, in a manner against his will, in which it is said his Highness promised him, to concur as far as in him lay to the execution of his designs; upon which the Duke returned to the army, passed the Moselle, and disposed every thing for the siege of Saar Lewis, but *Prince Lewis* of Baden falling sick again, and the Germans failing in every thing, the Duke was able to do nothing (*p*). On the other hand, the French, instead of reinforcing the army that should have opposed the Duke of Marlborough, pursued their plan of operations in the Low-Countries, as if they had depended upon this disappointment, and taking the advantage of the weakness of Marshal D'Averquerque's army, recovered Huy, and laid siege to Liege (*q*). His Grace, upon this, decamped on the sixth of June, and made so quick a march with his cavalry, that he obliged the enemy to raise the siege of the citadel of Liege; and soon changed the face of affairs on that side. But his back was no sooner turned, than Monf. d'Aubach, the Palatine General, who was left to act upon the defensive on the Moselle, retired precipitately, and, as if he meant to put it out of his Grace's power ever to resume his design of penetrating into France that way, burnt all his magazines at Triers, upon the first motion of the French towards him, without waiting for orders (*r*). The Duke, having recovered Huy, resolved to force the French lines, which some of the Dutch Generals opposed, but Marshal D'Averquerque, and the present King of Sweden, declaring positively in favour of the Duke's proposition, it was carried into execution with all the ease imaginable, by which, exclusive of the glory of the action, the French suffered a very considerable loss, and the Elector of Bavaria, and Marshal Villeroy, were obliged to retire with precipitation (*s*). Yet the Duke missed his principal design, which was recovering *Lorrain, Brussels, and Antwerp, by the slowness of some of the Dutch Generals.* He was in like manner disappointed in two other designs, in one, by the obstinacy of General Schlangenburg, in the other, by the opposition of the Dutch Deputies, which occasioned pretty warm disputes with the States, who at last gave him some kind of satisfaction. The campaign ended soon after with some successes, which would have made a considerable figure in a campaign under any other General, but are scarce worth mentioning where the Duke of Marlborough commanded, who though he bore them with admirable patience, yet was infinitely chagrined with such a train of disappointments (*t*). The season for action being over, he made a tour to the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. At the first of these he acquired the entire confidence of the new Emperor Joseph, who made him a present of the principality of Mindelheim; at the second he renewed the contract for the Prussian forces, and obtained every thing he asked from a Prince, with whom all other Ministers could do nothing; and at the last, he restored a perfect harmony, and adjusted every thing to the Elector's satisfaction; after which he returned to the Hague, where, in a single conference, he induced the States to agree

(*n*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 456.

(*o*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 313. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 469.

(*p*) Limiers, Tom. III. p. 183. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 316.

(*q*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 497. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 516.

(*r*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471.

(*s*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 506. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 472.

(*t*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 477. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 331.

ment (41). Besides this, the Commons addressed her Majesty to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which she did, by granting him the honour of Woodstock, with the Hundred of Wotton, that was vested in him and his heirs for ever by act of Parliament, which passed on the 14th of March following, with this remarkable clause, that they should be held by rendering to the Queen, her heirs and successors, on the 2d of August, every year for ever, at the Castle of Windsor, a standard, with three fleurs de lys painted thereon (42). On the sixth of January, the Duke was feasted by the City; and on the 8th of February, the Commons addressed the Queen to testify their thanks for the wise treaty which the Duke had concluded with the Court of Berlin, by which a large body of Prussian troops were sent to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy (43); so equal was this great man to all things, and so great was his dexterity in managing the most arduous negotiations; which he concluded in less time, than most ministers would have taken to enter upon business; and at the same time so extensive were his views, that every scene of action was alike the object of his care; and he had no sooner freed Germany from her fears, than he provided effectually for the relief of Italy, by engaging Prince Eugene to take upon him the command there, and by procuring for him this necessary and effectual assistance; so that in reality he was the very soul of the war, animating and directing it every where for the service of the common cause, and for the glory of his country.

(41) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(42) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 308, 309.

(43) London Gazette, Jan. 8, 1704. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 310.

agree to their proportion of the pay of ten thousand men that were to be sent into Italy, and towards the close of the year, embarked for, and arrived safely in, England (*u*). [*P*]. All things being concerted for rendering the next campaign more successful than the former, his Grace, in the beginning of April 1706, embarked for Holland. He remained at the Hague about three weeks, and found the States very well disposed to perform the promise they had given him, of making him easy in his command, which was not only a thing very reasonable in itself, but highly conducive to their interests, and very suitable to the inclinations of the people. In order to this General Schlangenburg was laid aside, which was a thing of great consequence with respect to other officers, and the Field Deputies were given to understand, that a very high deference was on all occasions to be paid to his Grace's sentiments (*w*). On his arriving in the army which was in the neighbourhood of Liege, he found new difficulties to struggle with. He had intelligence that the French army under Marshal Villeroy was perfectly compleat, while, as to that of the Allies, the Danish horse absolutely insisted upon being paid their arrears before they left their winter quarters, and as for the Prussian troops that were ordered to join them, they were at a great distance. While things were in this situation the French passed the Deule, whence the Duke very easily discerned that they hoped to treat him as they had done the last year, and placed their whole confidence in his disappointments. To prevent this his Grace applied himself to the Duke of Wirtembergh, with whom, ever since the little dispute they had in Ireland, he had a strict friendship, and having given him his own, and procured the Dutch Field Deputies to engage their promise, that all arrears should be duly paid, his Serene Highness generously declared that he thought it was all his Danish Majesty could expect, and that he would march his troops immediately without waiting for that Monarch's orders (*x*). This was a thing of the utmost consequence, for the French relied upon the obstinacy of the Danes, which induced them to hurry on an action in such a manner, that the Elector of Bavaria was forced to ride post to it, and scarce arrived in time. They were deceived in their expectations, for the Danish horse joined the Confederates on Saturday the eleventh of May, and the next morning, being Whitsunday, was fought the battle of Ramillies. The French must be allowed the honour of having offered the Allies battle, which, if they had not done, the Duke would have forced them to an action the next day (*y*). It began about one, and the Duke soon observing that his right wing would not be able to act on account of a morass, drew twenty squadrons from thence to the assistance of the left (*z*), where the Dutch cavalry had been broke by the French houshold troops, but the Danish horse, supported by this reinforcement, and encouraged by the presence of the Duke, broke them in their turn, and carried all before them. The Duke was twice in the utmost danger, once by a fall from his horse, and a second time by a cannon shot, that took off the head of Col. Bringfield as he was holding the stirrup for his Grace to re-mount (*a*). The dispute was indeed but very short, some of the best accounts say not above half an hour, others two hours, and then the French began every where to give way; so that the rout soon became total, and their baggage being placed between the two lines of the army, not only rendered the day irrecoverable, but hindered all regularity in the retreat (*b*). The loss of the enemy was very great; about six thousand killed, near the same number taken, and not many fewer than these deserted; their whole train, consisting of fifty pieces of cannon, several kettle-drums, one hundred and twenty standards and colours, demonstrated the entireness of the victory (*c*). If any farther proof of this was necessary, it was given by their retreat, or rather by the precipitation of their flight, by which they abandoned a great part of Brabant without any apparent necessity, and this was so far improved by the vigilance and wisdom of the Duke, that Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, and even Ghent and Bruges, submitted to King Charles III of Spain without a stroke, and Oudenard surrendered upon the first summons. The city of Antwerp followed this example, and thus, in the short space of a fortnight, the Duke reduced all Brabant, and the marquisate of the Holy Empire, to the obedience of King Charles (*d*). He gave, upon this occasion, such extraordinary marks of disinterestedness,

(*u*) Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 592.

(*w*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 495. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 337.

(*x*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 56. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 354.

(*y*) Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 12.

(*z*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 56. Histoire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 408.

(*a*) London Gazette, for May 20, 1706.

(*b*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 6. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 12. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*c*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 300. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 537.

(*d*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 452. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 538.

[*P*] *Embarked for, and arrived safely in, England.*] A new Parliament had been called this year, and great expectations were formed of their conduct, and it soon appeared with very good reason (44). Upon the 7th of January, the House of Commons, came to a resolution to thank his Grace of Marlborough, as well for his prudent negotiations, as for his great services. But notwithstanding this, it very soon appeared, that there was a strong party formed against the war; and a pamphlet was published, in which the conduct of his Grace of Marlborough was directly attacked; but the author soon after thought proper to write a letter (45) to the Duke by way of recantation. An attempt was also made in the House of Lords, to have procured from her Majesty all the papers relating to the last campaign, in hopes that something might have been found in them, which might have proved a ground for censuring his Grace's conduct; which, in the mean time, to take off all suspicion, they very highly commended, and spoke with the utmost bitterness of Prince Lewis of Baden and the Dutch (46). But this also was seen through and defeated, chiefly through the prudence of the Duke, who spoke always with much moderation of what had happened abroad, and having seen Prince Lewis of Baden after the campaign was over, in the tour he made through Germany, he treated him with the utmost deference and respect (47). Her Majesty at this time had some overtures made to her by the Duke of Savoy, in reference to the attempt upon Thoulon, which were referred to the Duke of Marlborough, such was the entire confidence the Queen reposed in him at that time (48); and as to the plan of the ensuing campaign, it was also entirely referred to his Grace; who at that time was very apprehensive that the French would act as they had done the year before, entirely on the defensive; and had therefore fixed on several steps proper to have forced them to change that scheme, if their own politicks (49) had not, very fatally for them, had that effect, as the reader will see in the text.

(44) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 426.

(45) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 348.

(46) See the Earl of Haversham's Speech upon that occasion.

(47) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(48) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 350.

(49) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

tereftednefs, as deferved more regard than have been hitherto paid them. Inftead of making thofe advantages to which his victory entitled him, he received and protected the inhabitants of thefe places as the King of Spain's fubjects, and when the government of the Auftrian Netherlands was offered him with the ufual appointments, he generoufly refufed it, put the adminiftration into the hands of the States of the province, and by various other inftances gave inconteftible proofs, that he did all for the Common Caufe and nothing for himfelf (*e*). In the latter end of May he made a fhort tour to the Hague, in order to prevail upon the States to have confented to certain meafures, particularly the fiege of Dunkirk, by which he hoped to have fhortened the war, but not being able to prevail, he was obliged to purfue his fucceffes in the way moft agreeable to them, and accordingly ordered Oftend to be invefted, before which the trenches were opened on the eighteenth of June (*f*). It was during this fiege, that, in my poor judgment, his Grace committed the greateft overfight in his whole life, for going to vifit this fiege, he expofed his perfon for more than an hour in the trenches, during as warm a fire as ever was feen, and this notwithftanding a letter the Queen did him the honour to write him on his victory, with her own hand, in which the only command fhe gave him was, *Be careful of yourfelf* (*g*). The fiege was conducted with fo much vigour, that the place furrendered on the twenty-feventh. The ftrong fortrefs of Menin, efteemed the mafter-piece of Marfhal Vauban, defended by a numerous garrifon under the command of one of the beft officers in France, was invefted next, the trenches opened before it on the twenty-fourth of July, and the fiege being carried on with extraordinary diligence and warmth, the place furrendered on the eleventh of Auguft (*h*). Dendermonde, which had been blocked up foon after the battle of Ramillies, furrendered, after a fhort fiege, on the twenty-fifth of the fame month; and on the fifth of September Aeth was invefted, and the trenches opened before it upon the eleventh. It was expected that this place would have made a pretty long defence, but, following the example of the reft, it furrendered on the twenty-firft. The Duke de Vendofme had been fent to command in Flanders inftead of Marfhal Villeroy, and though without doubt he was as good an officer, and as brave a man, as any fubject the French King had, and notwithftanding his army was reinforced to an equality at leaft with that of the Allies, he remained a calm fpectator of the Duke's conquefts, not daring to undertake any enterprize of importance, with an army that had quite loft their fpirits (*i*). The forces of the Allies after this glorious campaign being about to feparate, his Grace, on the fixteenth of October, went to the Hague, where the propofals which France had made for a peace, contained in a letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Duke of Marlborough, were communicated to the Minifters of the Allies, after which his Grace embarked on the fifteenth of November for England, where he arrived the day following (*k*), [Q]. The meafures neceffary for promoting the fuccefs of the enfuing campaign being very early fettled at home, and it being found abfolutely neceffary that his Grace fhould make a tour to Germany before the army entered upon action, he propofed to have been at the Hague before the end of March, but being hindered by contrary winds, he did not arrive there before the fifth of April, 1707 (*l*). He explained to the States the motives of his journey to Saxony, whither he went to confer with the King of Sweden, whofe fituation was at that time fuch as enabled him to have given law to Europe. His Grace accordingly made a journey to his Swedifh Majefty's head quarters, prefented him with the Queen his Miftrefs's letters, and after a very fuccefsful negotiation, in which it is certain that he made very favourable impreffions on the mind of that Prince, and gained a perfect acquaintance with his defigns (*m*), he returned by Hanover to the Hague, and having acquainted the States with the iffue of his journey, he fet out for Bruffels where he arrived

(*e*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 394. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*f*) Hiftoire Chronologique de Dernier Siecle, p. 273. Pointer's Chronological Hiftorian, p. 540.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*h*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 91. Hiftoire Chronologique du Dernier Siecle, p. 274. Pointer's Chronological Hiftorian, p. 540.

(*i*) Quincy, Hiftoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 16.

(*k*) London Gazette, for Monday November 18, 1706.

(*l*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 452.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. Burnet's Hift. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 473, 474.

[Q] *Where he arrived the day following.*] His Grace of Marlborough arrived at London on the eighteenth of November 1706 (50), and though at this time there was a faction forming againft him at Court, yet the great fervices he had done the nation, and the perfonal efteem the Queen always had for him, procured him an univerfal good reception, in which it feemed as if there was a competition who fhould oblige him moft. The Houfe of Commons, in their Addrefs in anfwer to her Majefty's Speech from the throne, fpoke of the fuccefs of the campaign in general, and the Duke of Marlborough's fhare in particular, in the ftrongeft terms poffible, and the very next day after they prefented this Addrefs, unanimoufly voted him their thanks (51). The Lords did the fame with refpect both to the Addrefs and their thanks, which were given his Grace by William Cowper, Efq; then Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal (52). They went ftill farther, for on the feventeenth of December they addreffed the Queen for leave to bring in a bill, to fettle the Duke's honours upon the male and female iffue of his daughters, which was granted, and Blenheim-houfe, and the manor of Woodftock, was, after the deceafe of the Duchefs upon whom they were fettled in jointure, entailed in the fame manner with the honours (53). Two days after this, the ftandards and colours taken at Ramillies being carried in ftate through the city, in order to be hung up in Guild-Hall, his Grace of Marlborough was invited to dine with the Lord Mayor, which he accordingly did. The laft day of the year was appointed for a General Thankfgiving, and her Majefty went in ftate to St Paul's, in which there was this fingularity obferved, that it was the fecond Thankfgiving within the year (54). On the feventeenth of January, the Houfe of Commons addreffed the Queen, fignifying, that as her Majefty had built the houfe of Blenheim to perpetuate the memory of the Duke of Marlborough's fervices, and the Houfe of Lords ordered a bill for continuing his honours, fo they were defirous to make fome provifion for the more honourable fupport of his dignity (55). In confequence of this, and of the Queen's anfwer, the penfion of five thoufand pounds a year from the Poft-Office, was fettled in the manner the Queen had formerly defired of another Houfe of Commons, who happened not to be in quite fo good a temper. Thefe points adjufted, his Grace made hafte to return to his charge, it being thought more efpecially neceffary, that he fhould give the foreign Minifters at the Hague to underftand (as he did) that the Queen of Great Britain would hearken to no propofals for a peace, but what would firmly fecure the general tranquillity of Europe (56).

(50) London Gazette, Nov. 18, 1706.

(51) See the Journal of the Houfe of Commons.

(52) See the Journal of the Houfe of Peers.

(53) Pointer's Chronological Hiftorian, p. 551.

(54) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 449.

(55) Pointer's Chronological Hiftorian, p. 553.

(56) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[R] Of

arrived on the second of May (n). The army of France was commanded this year by two great Princes, who were also great officers, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Vendosme. They were both esteemed enterprizing in their conduct, as they were indisputably very gallant in their persons, yet the highest honour to which they aspired with a superior army, was to move about a little from camp to camp without being obliged to fight, to which the Duke of Vendosme would never consent (o). His Grace of Marlborough was a little deceived in the beginning of the campaign, he knew the strength of the French army, and was well acquainted with the character of the Princes beforementioned, and therefore when he knew they had assembled their army without the lines, he took it for granted they intended to give him battle, upon which he advanced towards them, who were then encamped on the plains of Flerus, but, upon the approach of the Allies, the Duke de Vendosme occupied the pass at Ronquiers by so strong a detachment, that the Duke of Marlborough saw plainly, his intention was neither to offer battle nor to be forced to fight, upon which he was obliged to retire towards Brussels (p). His intention at the beginning of the campaign was to have besieged either Mons or Charleroy, in case the enemy declined fighting, and this the Dutch Deputies did not in the least oppose, but the Duke de Vendosme having seized the strong camp of Gemblours, his Grace of Marlborough saw plainly that there was no venturing to make a siege, without exposing all the great open towns of Brabant to be re-taken by the French, and this kept him in a kind of inaction during the remaining part of the campaign, except that, upon his receiving advice of the enemy's having detached a few squadrons and thirteen battalions into Provence, he advanced with a resolution of attacking Vendosme, even in the strong camp of Gemblours (q). But upon his approach he decamped, and by very quick marches gained a stronger post at Peiton, whither his Grace followed, and pushed him so close, that they were obliged to decamp again, and at last, after shifting from place to place, retired within their lines, where, having the Schelde and strong entrenchments before them, the army of the Duke of Vendosme could bear the approach of the Allies, without desiring to get out of their way (r). The Duke, finding all his endeavours to no purpose, and the weather being grown very bad, quitted the army on the twenty-third of September, and went to the Hague, from whence he set out again soon after for Franckfort, where he laboured to have infused some degree of warmth into the Princes of the Empire, and to have drawn his Imperial Majesty to have shewn more punctuality to his engagements than he had done hitherto since the war begun, in which, not meeting with his usual success, he returned again to the Hague (s), and after encouraging the States to persist in the resolutions they had taken for the support of the Common Cause, he embarked for England, without shewing any apparent concern at the close of the most barren campaign he ever made [R]. The very unexpected distastes the Duke had met with through the whole course of the winter, as well as the repeated applications of the States-General, induced him to go to Holland early in the Spring, and arriving at the Hague on the nineteenth of March, he found there Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had been at infinite pains to engage the Court of Vienna, and some of the Princes of the Empire, to come into a scheme which he knew would be grateful to the Duke, as well as of high consequence to the *Common Cause* (t). *In order to compleat this, however,* it was absolutely necessary to engage the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King George I, to part with some regiments that were to have composed the army that he was to command on the Rhine, and this the Duke of Marlborough was to undertake, which he did, and succeeded in his commission (u). Prince Eugene, who made a tour through the Empire, met his Grace at Hanover, and concerted with him there the operations of the campaign, after which he returned to Vienna, giving out that he was to command a separate body upon the Moselle, which was understood to be avoiding a junction with the Duke of Marlborough (w). The giving credit to this circumstance, trifling as it seemed, proved the ruin of the French affairs, for at the same time the Duke of Burgundy was sent to command in Flanders, Marshal

(n) Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 563.

(o) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 276. Limieres, Tom. III. p. 2 to.

(p) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 474.

(q) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(r) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 494, 495.

(s) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 485. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 499.

(t) Memoires de Lamberty, Vol. II. 345.

(u) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 12.

(w) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[R] *Of the most barren campaign he ever made.*] After the fatigue of so dissatisfactory a negotiation as that of Franckfort, the troublesome appendix of his labours in the field, which this year only repaid him not with laurels, his Grace no doubt hoped for some quiet at his return. His hopes however were disappointed, that fire which had been suspected the last year, had broke out in his absence, and it was known that the Queen had a female favourite who was in a fair way of gaining ground of the Duchess, and that she listened to the insinuations of a Statesman who was no friend to the Duke (57). He bore this with an unshaken serenity, bnt when he found not himself only but the Common Cause attacked, though in a very dark and sinister way, in the House of Lords, his patience was somewhat moved, and he could not help shewing his enemies for once, that however great in the field, or wise in the cabinet, he had still the like passions with themselves (58). His Speech however had a good effect, and prevented that project from taking place, which had done the French King more service, than even the cautious conduct of the Duke of Vendosme in the last campaign, I mean the scheme for lessening the army in Flanders on the colour of augmenting that in Spain, where, for reasons known only to themselves, the very Allies for whom we fought seemed not very anxious about our success. He gained likewise a compleat victory at Court, where his antagonist was forced to quit the field, but it was in such a manner, and with so visible a reluctance in the Queen, that the Duke, who was a man of the utmost penetration, easily foresaw the inconveniences that were like to follow; to prevent which his only hopes lay in the success of the next campaign, for now, and indeed throughout the war, his personal interest was bound up in the Common Cause, for he had no enemies but those who were likewise no friends to that, and who might have been easily reconciled, if his Grace would have detached himself from that system, which he took to be the only one that could effectually provide for the independency of Europe, the Queen his Mistress's security, and the safety and glory of Great Britain.

(57) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 457.

(58) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[S] And

Marshal Berwick was sent to oppose Prince Eugene upon the Rhine, but he having several days march of him, moved with such unusual celerity, that his forces preserved the advantages they had acquired till they had joined the Allies. The French, under the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendosme, had a very fine army of one hundred thousand men (*x*), whereas, after draining all his garrisons, the Duke of Marlborough could not take the field with full fourscore. The enemy might have preserved this superiority through the campaign, if they had taken care to facilitate their junction with Marshal Berwick, but the Duke of Burgundy, mis-led by the advice of a few favourites, crossed the Duke of Vendosme in every thing, and having succeeded in his design of surprizing Ghent and Bruges, fancied he was able to act by his own lights, and thereupon caused the little town of Oudenard (*y*) to be invested, which brought on a battle, contrary to that Prince's design, who, to avoid it, would have retired towards Ghent, and by this means the French army were attacked on the thirtieth of June 1708, when they were in great disorder, and without any difficulty defeated, with the loss of four thousand killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners, and about one hundred standards and colours, and would have suffered still more in their retreat if the Duke of Vendosme had not commanded the rear guard (*z*). But, as it was, the consequences of the defeat were very fatal, and made way for the siege of Lisle, which was invested by the Prince of Nassau, father to the present hereditary Stadtholder of the United Provinces, on the second of August (*a*). This was by far the boldest undertaking of the kind during the war, and many have not scrupled to stile it a very rash attempt. It is very probable, that the Duke of Marlborough depended on the vigour and spirit with which Prince Eugene would carry on the siege on one side, and the misunderstandings that reigned amongst the French Generals on the other, and the event shewed that he was not mistaken in his conjecture, for notwithstanding the French had, according to their own accounts, an army superior to the Duke's by above a fourth, commanded by the Dukes of Burgundy, Vendosme, and Berwick, yet they did nothing, so that October 12, the town of Lisle surrendered, and Marshal Boufflers retired into the citadel (*b*). To relieve this important place, the Elector of Bavaria, on the fifteenth of December, made a very brisk attempt upon Brussels, in which he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Duke of Marlborough, and his passing the Schelde with the army under his command, which was looked upon as a thing impracticable (*c*), and the Duke of Marlborough himself considered it as so high a providence, that he caused a General Thanksgiving to be religiously observed throughout the whole army, on the second of December N. S. (*d*) and on the ninth the citadel of Lisle surrendered, which was one of the greatest blows the French received during the war (*e*). His Grace, to compleat the success of this campaign, caused Ghent to be invested, which was very soon surrendered, in consequence of which the French abandoned Bruges, and the rest of the places they had surprized in the beginning of the campaign (*f*), so that the Duke returned to the Hague, and from thence to England, as usual, crowned with laurels, and the universal acclamations of his countrymen and their Allies [S]. The French King thought fit, in the beginning of the year 1709, to set on foot a negotiation for peace, in which it is thought he had three principal points in view, and failed in them all (*g*). The first was, to quiet the minds of his own subjects, labouring *under the deepest distress, and afflicted with calamities the most* grievous that a nation can sustain, war, sickness, and famine; the second, sowing jealousies and suspicions amongst the Confederates, in hopes of bringing some of them either to desert the Common Cause, or to prosecute it with less vigour; the third, to amuse the Allies with false hopes of peace, and thereby retard their military preparations. These negotiations induced the Queen to send his Grace back to Holland, in the latter end of the month of March, with the character of her Plenipotentiary, which was a point of very great consequence, and contributed not a little to the enemy's disappointment. After

(*x*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 487.

(*y*) Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 26.

(*z*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 496. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 106. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 26. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 595.

(*a*) Memoires de la Torse, Tom. V. p. 145. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 510. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 118.

(*b*) Histoire Chronologique du Dernier Siecle, p. 284. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 596.

(*c*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 228.

(*d*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 106.

(*e*) Histoire Chronologique, p. 286. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 596.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 111.

(*g*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 263.

[S] *And the universal acclamations of his countrymen and their Allies.*] The House of Commons this year gave a very uncommon testimony of their respect for the Duke of Marlborough; for, besides addressing the Queen, they, on the twenty-second of January, voted thanks to his Grace unanimously, and ordered them to be transmitted to him abroad by the Speaker (59). His Grace returned to England on the twenty-fifth of February, and on his first appearance in the House of Lords, the thanks of that august assembly were given him by the Lord Chancellor Cowper, to which, as upon all other occasions, the Duke gave an answer full of modesty, gratitude, and deep respect (60). His stay was so very short, that we have no need to dwell long upon what passed here in the winter, it is sufficient to say, that those who were apprehensive of the dangerous effects that might attend the artificial proposals that France made for the conclusion of a general peace, were also of opinion, that nobody was so capable of setting their danger in a true light in Holland as his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, which was the reason of his going thither (61). We have had occasion to shew in some instances before, that whatever might be said from party resentment, the Duke was far enough from desiring to protract the war, and that the steps which his enemies had mentioned as instances of his inclination that way, were in reality taken from no other motive than that of necessity; he would have acted with more vigour, and have brought things sooner to a conclusion, if he could; but not being able to do this, he did all in his power abroad, and bore with great temper the groundless reflections that were made upon his conduct at home. In respect to peace his sentiments were the same, he was far from being averse to it, but then he was desirous that this peace should be safe and solid, which he thought it could not be if the power of France was not greatly reduced, and as he had the satisfaction of seeing that the war was in a fair way of doing this effectually, he was loth to lose a certainty, though attended with many inconveniences, for an uncertainty that he foresaw must be attended with more. He had the good luck to bring the States-General entirely into his sentiments, and thereby defeated the French in their negotiations, as clearly as he had ever done their forces; so that he might be truly said to triumph over them in the cabinet as well as in the field, and to have done equal honour to his country as a Statesman and a Soldier.

(59) See the Journal of the House of Commons.

(60) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 126.

(61) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[T] *Returned*

After his Grace's return to England, the French King made another attempt, by sending the Marquis de Torcy, his Minister for foreign affairs, into Holland. This measure proved also without effect; for the Duke of Marlborough had contrived to have the preliminaries for a peace, that were not only proposed, but signed and ratified by the Queen his mistress, so drawn, that the concerns of all the Allies were equally and effectually provided for, by which means the French arts, instead of disturbing the Confederates, or detaching any of them from the Grand Alliance, only united them more firmly, by procuring them this decisive proof, that perseverance would procure them all that they could desire (*h*). The Marshal Villars commanded the French army, which was very numerous, and in good condition. Lewis XIV expressed his hopes, by saying a little before the opening of the campaign, *Villars was never beat* (*i*). Indeed that General seemed very desirous of preserving that reputation, for upon his taking the field he entrenched his army at Lens in such a manner, that though the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were very willing to have come to a battle, they found it not in their power. As their army was considerable enough to form a siege and to cover it against the enemy, that was resolved upon. M. Villars foresaw this, and believed that Ypres would be the place, for which reason he had taken such a camp as covered it (*k*). The Duke of Marlborough having sent his heavy baggage to Lisle, and made all the necessary dispositions for attacking the enemy, marched in the night towards their camp without sound of trumpet or beat of drum, and suddenly turning off to the left, to the surprize of his own troops as much as those of the enemy's, invested Tournay on the sixteenth of June (*l*). This place was but indifferently provided in respect to a garrison, but Lieutenant-General de Surville, who commanded in the town, was a very able and gallant officer, and M. de Megrigni, Governor of the citadel, was the best Engineer in France; besides, the place was looked upon as one of the strongest fortresses in the Low-Countries, and the citadel esteemed the master-piece of the officer appointed to defend it (*m*). The trenches were opened in the night of the twenty-seventh, and though Marshal Villars made several attempts, either to succour the place, or to raise the siege, they proved all ineffectual, so that on the twentieth of July it was surrendered, and the garrison retired into the citadel (*n*). Upon this a negotiation was set on foot for the surrender of that place also, with a view only to gain time, in resentment of which the Duke of Marlborough would grant no other terms, than the garrison surrendering prisoners of war, as they did on the twentieth of August (*o*). After this conquest the army of the Allies advanced to the enemy's lines, which they abandoned in order to take such a post as might prevent the siege of Mons, and a very strong camp they took, however, even in that it was resolved to attack them, and this brought on the famous battle of Blaregnies, Malplaquet, Tanieres, or the Wood, which was fought August 31, 1709, in which the French were clearly defeated, after a most bloody and obstinate engagement, notwithstanding all the advantages they had from the situation of ground, and entrenchments raised with incredible labour, disposed with great skill, and defended by a numerous artillery, with the loss of fifteen thousand men to the enemy, and about eighteen thousand killed and wounded of the Allies (*p*). This victory made way for the siege of Mons, before which the trenches were opened on the fifteenth of September; the garrison was but weak, which was the true reason the French ran the hazard of a battle to protect it, and the Governor, desirous of saving his garrison, signed an honourable capitulation on the tenth of October following (*q*), after which the army went into winter quarters, and his Grace of Marlborough, after regulating some matters of importance at the Hague, returned to England [*T*]. The entertainment the Duke met with here at home during the winter did not render it very agreeable to him, and he would very probably have gone abroad earlier if things could have been properly settled for that purpose, which at last they were, and towards the latter end of February his Grace went to the Hague, where he met with Prince Eugene, and soon after set out with him for the army which assembled in

(*h*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 136. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V, p. 288. Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 251.

(*i*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 531.

(*k*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 150. Limiers, Tom. III. p. 293.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*m*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 158. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 152.

(*n*) Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 266.

(*o*) Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 289. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 612.

(*p*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 193. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 306. Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 271. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 166.

(*q*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 207. Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 290. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 613.

[*T*] *Returned to England.*] Upon the first news of the glorious victory gained at Malplaquet, the city of London addressed the Queen in terms the most expressive, the most loyal, and the most respectful, which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, carried to Windsor, and presented on the tenth of September (62). The Queen in Council, on the third of October following, ordered a Proclamation for a General Thanksgiving (63). The Duke of Marlborough came to St James's on the tenth of November, on the fifteenth the Parliament of Great Britain assembled, and, on the very first day of their sitting, appointed a Committee, consisting of thirteen of their most distinguished members, to carry their thanks to the Duke (64). The Lord Chancellor Cowper gave him the thanks of the House of Peers on his first coming thither (65). The Addresses to the Crown were conceived even in stronger terms than formerly, and the Queen, as if she was desirous of taking any occasion that presented itself of shewing her kindness for his Grace, appointed him Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Oxford (66). In the beginning of the year 1710, the French set on foot a new negotiation for a peace, which was commonly distinguished by the title of the treaty of Gertrudenburgh. The States-General upon this having shewn an inclination to enter into conferences with the French Plenipotentiaries, the House of Commons being made acquainted with it by Sir Gilbert Heathcoate, immediately framed an Address to the Queen, that she would be pleased to send the Duke of Marlborough over to the Hague without delay, with which Address the House of Lords having concurred, it was presented on the eighteenth of February, and immediately complied with (67). But amidst these seeming honours, preferments, and favours, the Duke was really chagrined to the last degree. He perceived that the French intrigues began to prevail both in England and Holland, the affair of Dr Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment, and the Queen was not only estranged from the Duchess of Marlborough, but had taken such a dislike to her that she very seldom appeared at Court (68). The friends of the Duke therefore were glad of an opportunity to divert his uneasiness, by sending him abroad again in so honourable a manner.

(62) History of Europe for 1709, p. 310.

(63) Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 625.

(64) See the Journal of the House of Commons.

(65) See the Journal of the House of Peers.

(66) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 217.

(67) History of Europe for the Year 1710, p. 143.

(68) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 547.

(r) Larrey, Tom. III. p. 794. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 240.

(s) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 378. Limieres, Tom. III. p. 336. Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 291.

(t) Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 312. Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 293. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 653.

(u) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 378. Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 293. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 653.

(w) Rapin Thoyras Continué, Tom. XII. p. 314. Limiers, Tom. III. p. 343. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 653.

(x) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(y) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 576. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 307.

(z) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

in the neighbourhood of Tournay (r). The first thing done of importance was the entering of the French lines, and this was performed without any loss. The siege of Douay was next resolved upon, and the place invested on the twelfth of April; it was naturally strong, had been fortified with great skill, well provided with every thing in the winter, had a garrison of eight thousand good troops commanded by the Marquis de Albergotti, an Italian Nobleman of great merit and of long service, there was no place better defended during the war, and yet, notwithstanding the siege was often interrupted by a superior army under the command of Marshal Villars, the place was forced to surrender (s) on the [illegible] of June 1710, though upon very honourable terms, but an attempt that was concerted for surprizing Ypres, during this siege, miscarried. After the surrender of Douay, the French army under the command of Marshal Villars retired within their new lines, and the forces of the Allies under Prince Eugene, invested Bethune on the fourth of July; the place was strong, the garrison numerous, and the Governor a man of experience and valour, who defended it to the seventeenth of August, and then surrendered upon honourable terms (t). The enemy still continuing to decline an engagement, the army of the Allies invested Aire and St Venant in one day. The trenches were opened before the latter on the fifth of September, and though the place was remarkably strong by nature, as lying in the midst of a morass, and for it's size defended by a numerous garrison, yet it surrendered on the eighteenth (u). The siege of Aire was a work of greater difficulty, the garrison was commanded by Lieutenant-General Goesbriant, who had under him a Major-General, seven Brigadiers, and a garrison of at least eight thousand men; the place was defended with much obstinacy, and did not surrender till the thirtieth of October, and then upon honourable conditions (w). The Confederate army soon after going into winter quarters, the Duke and Prince Eugene went together to the Hague, and the former about the middle of December returned to England [U]. An exterior civility, which in the Court language was stiled a good understanding, being established betweeen the Duke and the new Ministry, and the Queen having written to the States-General in very gracious terms in relation to her confidence in him, he went over soon after to the Hague, and there met with Prince Eugene with whom he went to the army, resolved to convince all Europe, that no personal resentment should restrain him from supporting the Common Cause, and prosecuting the war with success while he continued at the head of the Allies (x). Villars, who had undergone a kind of disgrace at the latter end of the last campaign, for speaking his mind a little too freely of the Duchess of Burgundy, was again at the head of the French army, which, by the care he had taken of it, was one of the finest that had been sent into the field during the war, and not at all inferior to that of the Allies. His Grace, from the time that he opened the campaign, proposed to himself getting within the French lines, which Villars had over and over declared to be impenetrable; he proposed also to offer the enemy battle, and if it was found impossible to force him to fight, he then resolved to reduce by siege that fortress, which would contribute most to open a passage into France (y). It was with this intention that he attacked and made himself master of the little post of Arleux, marching the Confederate army through the plains of Lens, that if they had any intention of fighting, the enemy might have a fair opportunity of shewing it. But finding both schemes disappointed, for Villars would not hazard a battle, nor did the possession of Arleux answer what was expected from it; one must naturally suppose that this strongly affected the Duke's mind, who knew that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, and that a disappointment would tarnish all the glory he had acquired; he made therefore a great effort, and since Villars would not run the risk of being beaten in the field, he contrived to beat him in his own way, by stratagem; in other campaigns he had excelled all other Generals, but foreseeing it would be his last, in this he excelled himself (z). He made such a disposition of his troops that Arleux was attacked, but he took care to support that post in such a manner that the French were repulsed. He made another motion by which it was again exposed,

[U] *And the former about the middle of December returned to England.*] The negotiations mentioned in the last note, were carried on during a great part of the summer, but ended at last in nothing (69). In the midst of the summer the Queen began the great change in her Ministry, by removing the Earl of Sunderland from being Secretary of State; and on the 8th of August following, the Lord Treasurer was likewise removed (70). Upon the meeting of the Parliament, no notice was taken in the addresses of the Duke of Marlborough's success. An attempt was made to procure him the thanks of the House of Peers, but it was very eagerly thwarted by the Duke of Argyle (71). After his Grace came over, he was kindly received by the Queen, who seemed to be desirous that he should live well with her new Ministry, which the world in general looked upon as a thing impracticable; and it was every day expected, that his Grace would have laid down his commission. There is not however the least appearance that he had any such intention, for the service of his country he had long commanded armies, and the same principle now required that he should command his passions. Faithful to that in both, he carried the Gold Key, the ensign of the Duchess of Marlborough's dignity, on the 19th of January to the Queen, and resigned all her employments with that duty and submission, which became him (72). With the same firmness of mind, he consulted the necessary measures for the next campaign, with those whom he knew to be no friends of his; but the candour of his behaviour, and the generous concern he expressed for the common cause, moved even these men, while he was present, to treat him with decency and respect; and as it was phrased in those days, to take such measures as made him easy in his command (73). There is no doubt that the Duke felt some inward disquiet, though he shewed no outward concern, at least for himself; but when the Earl of Galway was very indecently treated in the House of Lords, the Duke of Marlborough could not help saying (74), 'It was somewhat 'strange, that Generals who had acted according to 'the best of their understandings, and had lost their 'limbs in the service, should be examined like offen-'ders about insignificant things.'

(69) Memoires de Lamberty.

(70) Hist. of Europe for the year 1710, p. 556.

(71) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 279.

(72) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(73) Hist. of the Four last Years of Queen Anne.

(74) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 287.

[W] He

posed, and six hundred men only left to defend it; it was then attacked by Marshal Montesquiou at the head of a whole army, and before the great detachment the Duke sent to save it could come up, was taken. His Grace seemed then to abandon his design, and moved still farther, and at last, as if he was grown impatient, he ordered fascines to be cut, went himself with all the General Officers to view the enemy's dispositions, and made his own in such a manner, that there was not a man in his army who did not expect a battle the next morning, but at the close of the evening on the twenty-fourth of July, he marched off without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, having ordered Lieutenant-General Cadogan, and Count Hompesch, to pass the Sensett at Arleux with twenty-three battalions and seventeen squadrons, which were so placed as that they were able to assemble them in a little time; for his Grace foresaw they would find that place slighted, and no troops near enough to oppose them, which indeed happened, for Marshal Villars re-called all his detachments, from an apprehension of being attacked in his camp as at Malplaquet (*a*). But as soon as he was informed of the march of the Confederates, he perceived the deceit, and taking a shorter rout to Arleux with his horse and dragoons, arrived within sight of the Sensett, as the Duke of Marlborough in person, and the cavalry of his left wing, joined the troops under General Cadogan, and advanced in order to attack him (*b*). Ashamed of being out-done in that point of conduct which he best understood, the Marshal gave out that he would fight the next day, but he was wiser, and the Duke of Marlborough, who in the beginning of the war had been so often hindered from fighting by the Dutch Deputies, now, declined fighting when they pressed him to it, because the troops were excessively fatigued with marching all night, and because, if any accident happened, their being within the enemy's lines might have been fatal (*c*), he resolved therefore to besiege Bouchain, contrary to the sentiments of all that were about him, who thought it impossible that he should take a fortress, strong by situation, well garrisoned as well as excellently fortified, and with which it was hardly possible to cut off the enemy's communication. The Duke however was determined, and the place was invested on the first of August (*d*). This siege was apparently a tryal of skill between the two Generals, and it must be allowed that Marshal Villars gave the clearest proofs of his capacity in the course of it, but the bravery of the troops of the Allies, animated by the presence of the Duke who was every where in person, carried all before them, and, contrary to the expectation both of friends and enemies, the place was surrendered on the seventeenth of September, and that too upon the worst terms possible, for the Duke would grant no other (*e*). After which the army separated, though the Duke would willingly have besieged Quesnoy, to which the Dutch refused their consent (*f*). On his return to the Hague he was received with the highest marks of respect possible, and having adjusted all things with the States, he embarked for England, and came to London on the eighteenth of November [*W*]. As his Grace had always declared, that no ill usage that he met with from his enemies should drive him to revenge himself on his country, or on the Common Cause, by resigning his commission; so those who were resolved that he should keep it no longer, found themselves under a necessity to engage the Queen to take it from him; this necessity chiefly arose from Prince Eugene's being expected to come over with a commission from the Emperor, and to give some kind of colour for it, an enquiry was promoted in the House of Commons to fix a very high imputation upon the Duke, as if he had put very large sums of publick money into his own pocket. When a question to this purpose had been carried, the Queen, by a letter conceived in very obscure terms, acquainted him with her having no farther occasion for his service, and dismissed him from all his employments, to which he returned a dutiful and submissive answer (*g*). He was from this time exposed to the most painful persecution that a great and good man could endure. On the one hand he stood exposed to the clamour of the populace, and to the outrages of those licentious pens, which are ever ready to espouse the quarrels of a Ministry, and to insult without mercy whatever characters they know they may insult with impunity; on the other hand, a prosecution was commenced against him by the Attorney-General, for applying publick money to his private use, and the workmen employed in building Blenheim-house, though set at work by the Crown, were encouraged to sue his Grace for the money that was due to them; all his actions also were scandalously misrepresented (*h*). These uneasinesses,

(*a*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 517.

(*b*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 544.

(*c*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 576.

(*d*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 549.

(*e*) Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 299. Polster's Chronological Historian, p. 682.

(*f*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 551.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 367.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*W*] *He embarked for England, and came to London on the 18th of November.*] Upon his Grace's return to England, he acted with all the caution imaginable; for happening to land the very night of Queen Elizabeth's inauguration, when great rejoicings were intended by the populace, he continued very prudently at Greenwich, and the next day waited upon the Queen at Hampton-Court, who received him graciously (75). He was visited by the Ministers, and visited them; but he did not go to Council, because a negotiation for peace was then on the carpet, upon a basis which he did by no means approve; he acquainted her Majesty in the audience he had at his arrival, that as he could not concur in the measures of those who directed her councils, he would not distract them by a fruitless opposition (76.) Yet finding himself attacked in the House of Lords, and loaded with the imputation of having protracted the war, he vindicated his conduct and his character, with great dignity and spirit; and in a most pathetic speech, appealed to the Queen his Mistress, who was there incognito, for the falshood of that imputation; declaring, that he was as much for a peace as any man, provided it was such a peace, as might be expected from a war undertaken on so just motives, and carried on with continual success (77). This had a very great effect on that most august assembly, and perhaps made some impression on the Queen, but at the same time it gave such an edge to the resentment of his enemies, who were then possessed of power, that they resolved to remove him, and to be rid of him, which was soon after put in execution (78).

(75) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(76) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 353.

(77) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(78) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 358, 359.

[*X*] *Leaving*

nesses, added to his grief for the death of the Earl of Godolphin, induced his Grace to gratify his enemies by going into a voluntary exile, and accordingly he embarked at Dover, Nov. 14, 1712, and landing at Ostend, went from thence to Antwerp, and so to Aix la Chapelle, being every where received with the honours due to his high rank, and with the applause justly paid to his merit (*i*). At home, as if their end had been answered, those prosecutions were suspended, which were as scandalous in their nature, as they were false and groundless in point of fact (*k*). The Duchess of Marlborough also, as she shared the Glory, took likewise her part in her Lord's disgrace, and attended him in all his journies, and particularly in his visit to the principality of Mindelheim, that was given him by the Emperor, and exchanged for another at the peace which was made while the Duke was abroad, though all the advantages that were derived from it, as well as many more that might have been derived from it, were the fruits of his victories. The conclusion of that peace was so far from restoring harmony amongst the several parties in Great Britain, that it widened their differences exceedingly, insomuch that the Chiefs, despairing of safety in the way they were in, began to think of a retreat, and are said to have secretly invited the Duke of Marlborough back to England. However that matter may be, it is very certain that he took a resolution of returning a little before the Queen's death, and, landing at Dover, came to London August 4, 1714 (*l*). His Grace was received with the utmost joy and respect possible, by those who, upon the demise of the Queen, were entrusted with the government, and upon the arrival of his late Majesty King George I, the Duke was particularly distinguished by the most remarkable acts of royal favour, for he was again declared Captain-General, and Commander in Chief, of all his Majejesty's land forces, Colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, and Master of the Ordnance (*m*). His advice was of great use in concerting those measures by which the rebellion was defeated, and it has been particularly remarked, that the Duke had the sagacity to foresee that rash attempt would be crushed at Preston. The advice he gave upon this occasion was his last effort in respect to publick affairs (*n*), for his infirmities increasing with his years, he retired from business, and spent the greatest part of his time, during the remainder of his life, at one or other of his houses in the country. His death happened June 16, 1722, in his seventy-third year (*o*), at Windsor-lodge, leaving behind him a very numerous posterity, allied to the noblest and greatest families in these kingdoms [*X*]. Upon his demise all parties united in doing honour or rather justice to his merit, and his corpse was interred the ninth of August following, with all the solemnity due to a person who had deserved so highly of his country, in Westminster-abbey (*p*). The noble pile near Woodstock, which bears the name of Blenheim-house, may be justly stiled his monument, but without pretending to the gift of prophecy one may venture to foretel, that his glory will long survive that structure, and that so long as our Histories remain, or indeed the Histories of Europe, his memory will live and be the boast of Britain, who by his labours was raised to be the first of nations, as during the age in which he lived he was deservedly esteemed the first of men [*Y*].

(*i*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 402.

(*k*) Hist. of the Four last Years of the Queen.

(*l*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 443.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 458.

(*n*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 202.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 471.

[*X*] *Leaving behind him a very numerous posterity, allied to the noblest and greatest families in these kingdoms.*] His Grace had four daughters, upon whom in succession his honours were entailed, first in the male, and failing that in the female line. *First*, Henrietta, born July 19, 1682, married in 1698, to the present Earl of Godolphin; she had the title of the junior Duchess of Marlborough, and died in 1733. Her Grace had issue William, Marquis of Blandford, who was born in February 1699, and died without issue in 1731; Henrietta, born April 12, 1701, married to his Grace the present Duke of Newcastle, by whom she has no children; and Mary, who married June 26, 1740, his Grace the present Duke of Leeds. His Grace's *second* daughter Anne, married Charles Earl of Sunderland, by whom she had Robert Earl of Sunderland, who died in 1729; Charles, born November 22, 1706, who on the demise of his brother, became Earl of Sunderland; and on the death of the Marquis of Blandford, succeeded him in title and estate, as he did to all the honours of this entail upon the demise of Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough. His Grace married Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Lord Trevor, by whom he has issue; John, who married a third daughter of John Lord Carteret, who is now his widow, and by whom he has issue; Anne, married to the late Lord Viscount Bateman of the kingdom of Ireland; and Diana, late Duchess of Bedford, who died without issue. The *third* daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1687, married Scroop, late Duke of Bridgwater, by whom she had two sons that died young, and a daughter Anne, married first to the late Duke of Bedford, and now the wife of William Earl of Jersey. Her Grace the Duchess of Bridgwater died March 22, 1713-14. His Grace's *youngest* daughter, Mary, who is still alive, was born in 1689, and married the present Duke of Montague, by whom she had two sons, who died young, and two daughters still living; Isabella, who married the late Duke of Manchester, by whom she had no issue, and now the wife of Mr Hussey, by whom she has issue; Mary, married to George Earl of Cardigan, by whom she has several children (79).

[*Y*] *First of men.*] He was in his private life remarkable for an easiness of behaviour, which gave an inimitable propriety to every thing he said and did; a calmness of temper no accident could move, a temperance in all things, which neither a court life, or court favours, could corrupt; a great tenderness for his family, a most sincere attachment to his friends, and a strong sense of religion, without any tincture of bigottry. He was the most accomplished Courtier of his time, distinguished by the favour of five Princes at home, and by particular marks of respect from the greatest Princes abroad; more especially those two great rivals for fame, Charles XII and Peter the Great, who sent a Captain of his guards express, to carry the Duke the news of his victory at Pultowa. He was an able Statesman, as appears from his success in many negotiations; a strong and clear speaker, and one who from the pathetic manner of his delivery, never failed to move the passions of others, as it did his own. He was a consummate General, for he gained every battle he fought, took every town he besieged, and had the better of all the great Generals that were employed against him. But above all, he was a true Patriot, and followed what he took to be the interest of this nation at home and abroad, without respect of persons or of consequences. In fine, he was equally amiable and great; and if he had foibles, as these are inseparable from human nature, they were so hid by the glare of his virtues, that they were scarce perceived in his own time; and one has reason to hope, that envy will hardly find a secretary, capable of transmitting them to posterity. E

(79) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 203. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 12.

CLAGETT (NICOLAS) an eminent Divine in the XVIIth Century, was born in the city of Canterbury (a), about the year 1607 [A]. In the beginning of the year 1628, he was entered a Student of Merton-College in Oxford (b); and on the 20th of October 1631, took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, as a member of that House (c). Afterwards he removed to Magdalen-Hall in the same University (d), and took his degree of Master of Arts the 11th of June 1634 (e), being then generally esteemed a very able moderator in Philosophy (f). About the year 1636, he became Vicar of Melbourne in Dorsetshire; and, some years after, was elected Preacher at St Mary's Church in St Edmundsbury Suffolk, where he was held in great veneration for his improving way of preaching, and for his singular piety. He died on the 12th of September 1663, aged fifty-six years or thereabouts, and was buried in the chancel of St Mary's Church beforementioned (g). He published, 'The Abuses of God's Grace, discovered 'in the Kinds, Causes, *&c.* proposed as a seasonable Check to the wanton Libertinism of 'the present Age.' Oxon. 1659, 4to (h). Though he was a man eminent in himself, he was more so for being the father of two worthy sons, of whom we shall give an account in the two next articles.

(a) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 326, edit. 1721.

(b) Ibid. and col. 327.

(c) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 252.

(d) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(e) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 260.

(f) Idem, Ath. ubi supra.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Wood, ibid. See also Historia & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 375.

[A] *Was born——about the year* 1607.] This appears from his age at the time of his death, mentioned above, namely, that he was fifty-six, in the year 1663. But there seems to be a mistake in what Mr Wood says of his age. For if he was fifty-six years of age in 1663, and consequently born in 1607, he must have been twenty one years old when he was admitted into the University; which is a little improbable, the usual years of admission there being about seventeen or eighteen. It is therefore more probable that he was born about the year 1610, and that he was not quite so old at the time of his death as Mr Wood imagin'd.

C

CLAGETT (WILLIAM) a most valuable and learned Divine in the XVIIth Century, and eldest son of Mr Nicolas Clagett mentioned in the last article, was born at St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, September 14, 1646 (a). His education was in the Free-School there, under the care of Dr Thomas Stephens, author of the notes on Statius's Sylvæ, who took very early notice of the promising parts of his Scholar. And, what great and uncommon improvements he made, is manifest from his early admission into the University, even before he was full thirteen years of age: for he was admitted in Emmanuel-College in Cambridge, September 5, 1659; under the tuition of Mr Thomas Jackson (b). He regularly took his degrees in Arts, and commenced Doctor in Divinity in 1683 (c). His first publick appearance in the world, was at his own native town of St Edmund's-Bury, where he was chosen one of the Preachers: which office he discharged for seven years with an universal reputation (d). From thence, at the instance of some considerable men of the long robe, whose business at the assizes there, gave them opportunities of being acquainted with his great worth and abilities, he was prevailed with to remove to Gray's-Inn. And it was no small testimony given to his merit, that he was thought worthy by that Honourable Society to succeed the eminent Dr Cradock, as their Preacher (e). He continued in this place all the remaining part of his life, and therein behaved himself worthily; which the gentlemen of that House took all occasions of declaring, by the constant kindness they expressed to him while he lived, and the respects they paid him at his death (f). Besides this honourable employment, he was presented by the Lord Keeper North (who was his wife's kinsman) to the Rectory of Farnham-Royal in Buckinghamshire, into which he was instituted, May 14, 1683 (g). He had another preferment, which he himself most valued next to his Preacher's place at Gray's-Inn, and that was the Lecture of St Michael Basishaw, to which he was elected by that parish about two years before his death [A]. He was also Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty (h). This excellent person, who was worthy of a longer life, was untimely snatched away by the small-pox, in the forty-second year of his age. He was seized with that fatal distemper on a Sunday evening, March the 16th, after having preached at St Martin in the Fields, in his Lent course there (i): and dying of it, March 28, 1688, he was buried in a vault under part of the Church of St Michael Basishaw (k). His wife, Mrs Thomasin North, a most virtuous and accomplished woman, died eighteen days after him of the same disease, and was buried in the same grave with him (l). We are assured by the testimony of Dr Sharp (m), and of persons still living, that no man of a private condition, in the last age, died more lamented. For, as he had all the amiable charming qualities to procure the esteem and love of every one that knew him: so he was endowed with so many great and useful talents, for the doing service to religion, to the Church, to all about him; and he so faithfully and industriously employed those talents to those purposes, that he was really a publick blessing, and he had that right done him as to be esteemed so. It was the Society of Gray's-Inn, that brought him to London: but after he came thither, his own merit in a little time rendered him sufficiently conspicuous. For, so innocent and unblameable was his life, such an unaffected honesty and simplicity appeared in all his conversation, so obliging he was in his temper, so sincere in all his friendships, so ready to do all sorts of good offices that came in his way;

(a) From Memoirs communicated by Nicolas, late Lord Bishop of Exeter. See also Preface to the first Vol. of Dr Clagett's Sermons, by J. S. *i. e.* his intimate friend Dr John Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York.

(b) From the Memoirs abovementioned.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid. and Preface abovementioned.

(e) Preface, as above.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid. and the Memoirs mentioned above.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Preface, *&c.* as above.

(k) Ibid. and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 327.

(l) Preface, *&c.* as above.

(m) Ibid.

[A] *To which he was elected——about two years before his decease.*] He was chosen upon the Death of Dr Benjamin Calamy. And, as Dr Sharp observes (1), never were there two greater men successively lecturers of one parish; nor ever was any parish kinder to two lecturers.

(1) Preface, as above.

[B] Part

way; and withal so prudent a man, so good a preacher, so dexterous in untying knots, and making hard things plain, so happy in treating of common subjects in an uncommon, and yet useful way. So able a champion for the true religion against all opposers whatsoever; and lastly, so ready upon all occasions to advise, to direct, to encourage any work that was undertaken for the promoting or defending the cause of God.—All these qualities were so eminent in Dr Clagett, that it was impossible they should be hid. The town soon took notice of him, and none that intimately knew him could forbear to love and admire him; and scarce any that had heard of him, to esteem and honour him (n). Bishop Burnet ranks him, among those worthy and eminent men, whose lives and labours did in a great measure rescue the Church from those reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it. And adds,—that they deserved a high character; and were indeed an honour, both to the Church, and to the age in which they lived (o). It must not be forgotten, that he was one of those excellent Divines, who made that noble stand against Popery in the reign of King James II, which will redound to their immortal honour.——The several things published by Dr Clagett, are as follows. I. 'A Discourse concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit: with a confutation of some part of Dr Owen's book upon that subject.' Part I. Lond. 1677, *8vo* (p).—Part II. Lond. 1680, *8vo.* In this second part, there is 'An Answer to Mr John Humphreys's Animadversions on the first Part [B].' II. 'A Reply to a Pamphlet, called *The Mischief of Impositions* by Mr Alsop, which pretends to answer the Dean of St Paul's (Dr Stillingfleet's) Sermon concerning the Mischief of Separation.' Lond. 1681, *4to.* III. 'An Answer to the Dissenters Objections against the Common Prayers, and some other parts of the Divine Service prescribed in the Liturgy of the Church of England.' Lond. 1683, *4to.* IV. 'The Difference of the Case between the Separation of Protestants from the Church of Rome, and the Separation of Dissenters from the Church of England.' Lond. 1683, *4to.* V. 'The State of the Church of Rome, when the Reformation began, as it appears by the advices given to Pope Paul III, and Julius III, by creatures of their own (q).' VI. 'A Discourse concerning the Invocation of the blessed Virgin and the Saints.' Lond. 1686, *4to.* VII. 'A Paraphrase with Notes upon the Sixth Chapter of St John, shewing, that there is neither good reason, nor sufficient authority to suppose that the Eucharist is discoursed of in that Chapter, much less to infer the Doctrine of Transubstantiation from it.' Lond. 1686, *4to.* Reprinted in 1689, *8vo*, at the end of his second volume of sermons. VIII. 'Of the Humanity and Charity of Christians. A Sermon preached at the Suffolk Feast in St Michael Cornhill London, November 30, 1686.' IX. 'A Discourse concerning the pretended Sacrament of Extreme Unction, &c.' in three parts. 'With a Letter to the Vindicator of the Bishop of Condom.' Lond. 1687, *4to.* X. 'A second Letter to the Vindicator of the Bishop of Condom.' Lond. 1687, *4to.* XI. 'Authority of Councils, and the Rule of Faith, with an Answer to the Eight Theses laid down for the tryal of the English Reformation.' The first part about Councils by —— Hutchinson, Esq; the rest by Dr Clagett, *4to.* XII. 'Notion of Idolatry considered and confuted.' Lond. 1688. XIII. 'Cardinal Bellarmine's seventh Note, Of the Union of the Members among themselves, and with the Head.' XIV. '*His twelfth Note, Of the Light of* Prophecy, examined and confuted (r).' XV. 'A View of the whole Controversie between the Representer and the Answerer; in which are laid open some of the Methods by which Protestants are misrepresented by Papists.' Lond. 1687, *4to.* XVI. 'An Answer to the Representer's Reflections upon the State and View of the Controversie. With a Reply to the Vindicator's full Answer; shewing that the Vindicator has utterly ruined the new design of expounding and representing Popery.' Lond. 1688, *4to.* XVII. 'Several captious Queries concerning the English Reformation, first in Latin, and afterwards by T. W. in English; briefly and fully answered.' Lond. 1688, *4to.* XVIII. 'A Preface concerning the Testimony of Miracles,' prefixed to 'The School of the Eucharist established upon the miraculous Respects and Acknowledgments, which Beasts, Birds, and Insects upon several occasions have rendred to the Sacrament of the Altar.' Translated, by another hand, from the original French of F. Toussain Bridoul, a Jesuit. Lond. 1687, *4to* [C].——After this learned author's decease, his brother Mr Nicolas

(n) Preface, &c. as above.

(o) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 462.

(p) See A. Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 745.

(q) Printed in 'A Preservative against Popery,' Lond. 1739, 2 Vols, fol.

(r) Both reprinted in the *Preservative*, abovementioned.

[B] *Part* II. *Lond.* 1680. 8vo. &c.] The learned author composed also a third part. Dr Owen having made a great shew, in the margin of his book, of quotations from the Fathers, as if Antiquity had been on his side; it was intended in this third part to prove (as may be seen in the conclusion of the second part) that Dr Owen had not the Fathers with him, as he pretended. Dr Clagett had finished his Collections from the Ancients to this purpose, and made the book ready for the press, but it happened unfortunately that the manuscript copy was lodged with a friend of his, whose house was burnt, and the book perished in the flames. After this accident he attempted to make his collections over again, but never had an opportunity to finish them (2). An Abridgment of the two parts published, was printed at London in 1719. 8vo. under the following title; 'A treatise concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit, being the substance of the late Reverend and Learned Dr William Clagett's Discourse upon that subject, with large additions. By Henry Stebbing, M. A. Rector of Rickinghall in Suffolk, and late Fellow of St Katharine's-Hall in Cambridge.' [Now Chancellor of the Diocese of Sarum, Preacher at Gray's-Inn, and Rector of Garboldisham in Norfolk.]

[C] *From the original French of Father Toussain Bridoul, a Jesuit.*] By these several learned pieces, which Dr Clagett published himself, the reader may in some measure (as Dr Sharp observes) be able to make a judgment of his genius and abilities (3). If a friend, adds he, can speak without partiality, there doth in those writings appear so strong a judgment, such an admirable

(2) From the Memoirs abovementioned.

(3) Preface, as above.

Nicolas Clagett published four volumes of his sermons [*D*]. The first, printed in 1689, contained seventeen sermons; with the Sum of a Conference on February 21, 1686, between Dr Clagett and Father Gooden, about the point of Transubstantiation. One of those sermons was greatly admired by Queen Mary [*E*]. The second volume, printed in 1693, contained, eleven sermons: A Paraphrase and Notes upon the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh, and eighth Chapters of the Gospel of St John [*F*]: the Paraphrase, and Notes on the sixth Chapter, which had been published before: A Discourse of Church-Unity, with directions how in this divided State of Christendom to keep within the Unity of the Church: A Discourse of Humanity and Charity: And a Letter concerning Protestants Charity to Papists; published by Dr Clagett. The third and fourth volumes did not come out till the year 1720; which was at so great a distance of time from the two former volumes, that the Booksellers concerned could not be prevailed with to call them the third and fourth volumes, as they really were; but they were called the first and second volume, as well as the former: only notice was given, that they were never before published (*s*).

(*s*) From the Memoirs above-mentioned.

admirable faculty of reasoning, so much honesty and candour of temper, so great plainness and perspicuity, and withal so much spirit and quickness; and, in a word, all the qualities that can recommend an author, or render his books excellent in their kind; that I should not scruple to give Dr Clagett a place among the most eminent and celebrated writers of this Church. And if he may be allowed that, it is as great an honour as can be done him. For perhaps from the inspired age to this, the world did never see more accurate, and more judicious composures in matters of Religion, than the Church of England has produced in our days.

[*D*] *His brother Mr Nicolas Clagett published four volumes of his Sermons.*] These posthumous Sermons, as Dr Sharp well observes (4), do sufficiently speak their author. For they every where express the spirit, the judgment, and the reasoning of that excellent man; though some of them, perhaps, want that finishing which his masterly hand would have given them, had he been to have published them himself. The learned publisher informs us (5), that his sudden thoughts upon a subject were so marvellous good, that they seemed to flow from a fountain of reason, and discovered a great readiness of judgment in him; but they were very clear and full discourses, which he took any time, and a particular care to compose.

(4) In the same Preface.

(5) Preface to Vol. II.

[*E*] *One of these sermons was greatly admired by Queen Mary.*] Namely, the sixteenth in the first volume, on Job ii. 10. *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* This the pious Queen desired to hear read more than once, during her illness, a little before her decease (6). It was composed by the learned author upon occasion of the death of a child of his, that happened a little before; and it was the last he made. The last he preached, was the seventeenth in the first volume (7).

[*F*] *A Paraphrase and Notes upon the first, second, &c. chapters of the Gospel of the St John.*] The occasion of his writing this Paraphrase was this; a Commentary upon the whole Bible was undertaken by a select number of Divines of our Church. Every one of them chusing his part, Dr Clagett made choice of the Gospel of St John (8).

(6) Bishop Tenison's Sermon at the Funeral of Queen Mary. Memoirs of Dr Tho. Tenison, 8*vo*.

(7) Preface to Vol. I. as above.

(8) Preface to Sermons, Vol. II.

C

CLAGETT (Nicolas) a learned Divine in the XVIIth, and part of the XVIIIth Century, was a younger son of Mr Nicolas Clagett, Minister of St Edmund's-Bury, and brother to Dr William Clagett mentioned in the last article. He is entered in the register-book of St Mary's parish in Bury, as baptized, May 20, 1654 (*a*). His education was in the Free-School of the place of his nativity, which was at that time under the care of Mr Edward Leeds [*A*]. From hence he was sent to Christ's-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted, January 12, 1671, under the tuition of Dr Widdrington. He regularly took his degrees in Arts, and in 1704 commenced Doctor in Divinity. Upon his brother's removal to Gray's-Inn, he was elected in his room, March 21, 1680, Preacher at St Mary's in St Edmund's-Bury. In this station he continued near forty-six years: and, during that long period of time was a constant preacher, and diligent in every other part of his ministry. On the first of February 1683, he was instituted to the Rectory of Thurlo parva. Dr John Moore, then Bishop of Norwich, who was well acquainted with his merit and abilities, collated him, on the 14th of June 1693, to the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. He had also the Rectory of Hitcham in Suffolk, to which he was instituted, March 8, 1707 (*b*). This eminent Divine lived extremely valued and respected, on account of his exemplariness, charity, and other virtues; and died much lamented, on the 27th of January 1726-7, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was buried in the chancel of the parish Church of St Mary's in St Edmund's-Bury. Among other children, he had Nicolas, Lord Bishop of Exeter, lately deceased. The following things were published by him; I. 'A Persuasive to 'Peaceableness and Obedience, being an Assize Sermon preached at St Edmund's-Bury.' Lond. 1683, 4*to*. II. A pamphlet, intituled, 'A Persuasive to an ingenuous Trial of 'Opinions in Religion.' Lond. 1685, 4*to*. III. 'A Sermon preached at St Edmund's-'Bury at the Visitation of William (Lloyd) Lord Bishop of Norwich.' Lond. 1686, 4*to*. IV. 'Christian Simplicity. A Sermon preached, December 31, 1704, before the 'Queen.' Lond. 1705, 4*to*. V. 'Truth Defended, and Boldness in Error Rebuked: 'or, a Vindication of those Christian Commentators, who have expounded some Prophecies 'of the Messias not to be meant only of him. Being a Confutation of Part of Mr 'Whiston's book, intituled, *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*; wherein he 'pretends to disprove all Duplicity of Sense in Prophecy. To which is subjoined, an 'Examination of his Hypothesis, That our Saviour ascended up into Heaven several 'times after his Resurrection. And in both, there are some Remarks upon other 'Essays of the said Author, as likewise in an Appendix and a Postscript. With a large 'Preface.' Lond. 1710, 8*vo*.

(*a*) From Memoirs communicated to us by Nicolas Lord Bishop of Exeter.

(*b*) These dates of his preferments I had from the same Memoirs as above.

[*A*] *Under the care of Mr Edward Leeds.*] The same who published some select dialogues of Lucian, a Greek Grammar, &c.

C

CLARKE

CLARKE (Dr SAMUEL) a very learned and eminent Divine of the last and present Centuries, was born in the city of Norwich [*A*], the 11th of October 1675, and educated in the Free-School of that place, under the care of the Reverend Mr Burton. In 1691, he was removed to Caius-College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Ellis, afterwards Sir John Ellis (*a*). Here his great genius and abilities soon discovered themselves; and, before he was much above twenty-one years of age, he greatly contributed, both by his own example, and his excellent translation of, and notes upon, *Rohault's Physicks* [*B*], to the establishment of the *Newtonian Philosophy* [*C*]. Afterwards he turned his thoughts to Divinity [*D*], and, having taken holy Orders, became Chaplain to Dr John Moo[re], Bishop of Norwich [*E*]. In 1699, he published *Three Practical Essays upon Baptism, Confirmation,*

(*a*) Account of the Life, Writings, and Character, of Dr Clarke. By Benj. Hoadly, Lord Bishop of Winchester. Prefixed to Dr Clarke's Works, in folio, 1738, p. 1.

[*A*] *He was born at Norwich.*] His father was Edward Clarke, Esq; Alderman of that city, and one of it's Representatives in Parliament for several years: a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and untainted reputation for probity and virtue. His mother was Hannah, the daughter of Mr Samuel Parmenter, Merchant, of the same city (1). Mr Whiston informs us (2), that Mr Clarke was so acceptable to the citizens of Norwich, that they chose him, without any solicitation, nay, against his own inclination, to represent them in Parliament.

(1) Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr Clarke. By Dr Benj. Hoadly, Lord Bishop of Winchester. Prefixed to Dr Clarke's Works in folio, 1731, p. 1.

(2) Historical Memoirs of the Life of Dr S. Clarke, &c. 8vo, 1738, p. 5, 6.

[*B*] *His translation of, and notes upon,* Rohault's Physicks.] There have been four editions of it: the first in 1697, in 8vo; the last in 1718, in 8vo, under this title: *Jacobi Rohaulti Physica; Latine vertit, recensuit, & uberioribus jam Annotationibus, ex illustrissimi Isaaci Newtoni Philosophia maximam partem haustis, amplificavit & ornavit* S. Clarke, S.T.P. *Accedunt etiam in hac quarta editione novæ aliquot Tabulæ æri incisæ, & Annotationes multum sunt auctæ.* Dr John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, and our author's brother, translated this work into English, and published it, in two volumes, 8vo, under the title of: *Rohault's System of Natural Philosophy; illustrated with Dr Samuel Clarke's Notes, taken mostly out of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy; with Additions. Done into English by John Clarke, D. D.* The motives that induced Dr Samuel Clarke to translate, and comment upon, Mr Rohault, may be seen in the following remark.

[*C*] *He greatly contributed——to the establishment of the* Newtonian Philosophy.] When our author came first to the University, the system of Des Cartes was the established Philosophy there; though (as Bishop Hoadly justly observes) it was no more than the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy, having no foundation in the reality of things, nor any correspondency to the certainty of facts. Mr Ellis himself (Mr Clarke's tutor) though a *very learned man, was a* zealot for this Philosophy, and no doubt gave his pupils the most favourable impressions of what he had so closely embraced himself. The great Sir Isaac Newton had indeed then published his *Principia*. But this book was but for the few; both the matter and manner of it placing it out of the reach of the generality even of learned readers, and strong prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working against it. But neither the difficulty of the task, nor the respect he paid to the director of his studies, nor the warmth and prejudice of all around him, had any influence upon his mind. Dissatisfied therefore with arbitrary *Hypotheses*, he applied himself to the study of what was real and substantial. And in this study he made such uncommon advances, that he was presently master of the chief parts of the Newtonian Philosophy; and, in order to his first degree, performed a public exercise in the Schools, upon a question taken from thence; which surprized the whole audience, both for the accuracy of knowledge, and clearness of expression, that appeared through the whole. The System of Natural Philosophy, then generally taught in the University, was that written by Mr Rohault, entirely founded upon the Cartesian principles, and very ill translated into Latin. Mr Clarke justly thought, that Philosophical notions might be expressed in pure Latin; and therefore resolved to give a new translation of that author, and to add to it such notes, as might lead students insensibly, and by degrees, to other and truer notions than could be found there. And this certainly (the Bishop observes) was a more prudent method of introducing truth unknown before, than to attempt to throw aside this treatise entirely, and write a new one instead of it. The success answered exceedingly well to his hopes. For, by this means, the true Philosophy has, without any noise, prevailed: and to this day his translation of Rohault is, generally speaking, the standing text for lectures; and his notes, [illegible] direction to those, who are willing to rece[ive] [illegible] ty and truth of things, in the place of invention and romance (3). Mr Whiston relates (4), that, in the year 1697, while he was Chaplain to Dr Moore, then Bishop of Norwich, he met young Mr Clarke (at that time wholly unknown to him) at one of the Coffee-houses in the Market-place of Norwich; where they entered into a conversation about the Cartesian Philosophy, particularly *Rohault's Physicks*, which Mr Clarke's tutor (Mr Whiston says) had put him to translate. Mr Whiston, being asked *his opinion* concerning the fitness of such a translation, answered; 'that 'since the youth of the University must have, at present, some system of Natural Philosophy for their 'studies and exercises; and since the true system of Sir 'Isaac Newton was not yet made easy enough for 'that purpose; it was not improper, for their sakes, 'to translate and use the System of Rohault, who was 'esteemed the best expositor of Des Cartes; but that 'as soon as Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy came to be 'better known, that only ought to be taught, and the 'other dropped.' Which last part of his advice (Mr Whiston tells us) has not been followed; *Dr Clarke's Rohault* being still the principal book for young students in the University. 'Though such an observation '*(he adds)* is no way to the honour of the tutors, 'who, in reading *Rohault*, do only read a *Philosophical Romance* to their pupils, almost perpetually con'tradicted by the better notes thereto belonging.' However, upon this occasion, Mr Whiston and Mr Clarke fell into a discourse about the wonderful discoveries made in Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy. And the result was, that Mr Whiston was greatly surprized, that so young a man, as Mr Clarke then was, should know so much of those sublime discoveries, *which were then almost a secret to all, but to a few particular* Mathematicians.

(3) Account of the Life, &c. of Dr Clarke, ubi supra, p. 1, 2.

(4) Historical Memoirs, &c. p. 4, 5.

[*D*] *He turned his thoughts to Divinity.*] His first studies, in order to fit himself for the sacred function, were, the Old Testament in the original Hebrew, the New in the original Greek, and the Primitive Christian writers. The first of these he then read with that exactness of judgment, which very few have shewn after a much longer application; and which furnished him with many observations, written at that time with his own hand in the margin, relating to the mistakes of the common translation of it (5).

(5) Account, &c. ubi supra.

[*E*] *He became Chaplain to Dr John Moore, Bishop of Norwich.*] This Prelate, the greatest patron of Learning, and learned men, received Mr Clarke into his familiarity and friendship, to such a remarkable degree, that he lived for near twelve years in that station, with all the decent freedoms of a brother and an equal, rather than an inferior. The Bishop's value for him increased every day, and there was no mark of esteem he did not shew him while he lived: and, at his death, he gave him the highest proof of confidence in leaving all the concerns of his family solely in his hands; a trust, which Mr Clarke executed with the most faithful exactness, and to the entire satisfaction of every person concerned (6). Mr Whiston (7) lays claim to the merit of introducing Mr Clarke to the acquaintance and friendship of the Bishop of Norwich. After the conversation mentioned above (8), which Mr Whiston gave the Bishop an account of, upon his return to the Palace, Alderman Clarke and his son were, by order of the Bishop, invited, and handsomely entertained by Mr Whiston at the Palace. The next year (1698) Mr Whiston, being collated by the Bishop to the Living of Lowestoft in Suffolk, resigned his Chaplainship, in which he was succeeded by Mr Clarke.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Hist. Mem. p. 6.

(8) See the remark [*C*].

[*F*] *His*

tion, and Repentance [*F*], and an anonymous piece, intituled, *Reflexions on part of a book, called* Amyntor [*G*]. In 1701, he published his *Paraphrase on the Gospel of St Matthew*, which was soon followed by those on St *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John* [*H*]. Bishop Moore

[*F*] *His* three Practical Essays upon Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance.] The whole title is; *Three practical Essays on Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance: Containing full Instructions for a Holy Life; with earnest Exhortations, especially to young Persons, drawn from the consideration of the severity of the Discipline of the Primitive Church.* The author, in his Preface, having observed the mistakes men have run into with respect to the great business of repentance and conversion, tells us, his design in these *Essays*, is, 'to endeavour briefly to set this great and important 'matter in it's true light, from the analogy of Scrip'ture, and from the sense of the purest ages of the 'Primitive Church: to shew, that at *Baptism God always* bestows that grace, which is necessary to en'able men to perform their duty; and that to those, 'who are baptised in their infancy, this grace is sealed 'and assured at *Confirmation*: that from henceforward 'men are bound, with that assistance, to live in the 'constant practice of their known duty, and are not 'to expect (except in extraordinary cases) any extra'ordinary, much less irresistible grace, to preserve 'them in their duty, or to convert them from sin: 'that if after this they fall into any *great* wickedness, 'they are bound to a proportionably *great* and *parti'cular* repentance: and that, as the Gospel hath 'given sufficient assurance of such repentance being 'accepted, to comfort and encourage all true peni'tents; so it has sufficiently shewn the *difficulty* of it *at 'all times*, and the *extreme danger* of it when *late*, 'to deter men from delaying it when they are con'vinced of it's necessity, and from adding to their sins 'when they hope to have them forgiven.' Bishop *Hoadly* (9) mentions these *Essays*, and the *Reflections* on *Amyntor* (10), not to put them upon a level with the author's other performances, but only as having upon them the plain marks of a Christian frame of mind, and as proofs of his knowledge in the writings of those early ages, even at his first setting out into the world. Mr Whiston (11) esteems these *Essays* the most serious treatise Dr Clarke ever wrote, and which, with a little correction, will still be very useful in all Christian families. Upon this occasion Mr Whiston tells us, he remembers, he once told Dr Clarke, after he had been long at St James's, and about the Court, that 'he doubted he was not now so serious, and good a 'Christian, as he had been *in the days of Hermas*.' *This, he says, Dr Clarke readily* understood to mean the time of his writing these three practical Essays, in which he had very often quoted that excellent, but despised, book of Primitive Christianity: *The Shepherd of Hermas*. There have been five editions of these *Essays*.

(9) Account, &c. p. 5.

(10) See the next remark.

(11) Hist. Mem. &c. p. 7.

[*G*] *His* Reflexions on——*Amyntor*.] The whole title is: *Some Reflections on that part of a book, called* Amyntor, or, A Defence of Milton's life, *which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament: In a Letter to a Friend.* The author of *Amyntor*, it is well known, was the famous Mr Toland, and the propositions, maintained therein, which Dr Clarke thought most to deserve consideration, are these three: First, That *The books ascribed to the Disciples and Companions of the Apostles, which are still extant, and at this time thought genuine, and of great authority; such as, the epistle of* Clemens *to the* Corinthians, *the epistles of* Ignatius, *the epistle of* Polycarp *to the* Philippians, *the Pastor of* Hermas, *and the epistle of* Barnabas, &c. *are all very easily proved to be spurious, and fraudulently imposed upon the credulous.* Secondly, That *it is the easiest task in the world, to shew the ignorance and superstition of the writers of these books: that* Barnabas *has many ridiculous passages; and by saying, that the Apostles before their conversion were the greatest sinners in nature, we are robbed of an argument we draw from their integrity and simplicity against infidels: that the pastor of* Hermas *is the silliest book in the world: and that* Ignatius *says, the virginity of* Mary *was a secret to the devil*; which, Dr Clarke supposes, Mr Toland cites as a ridiculous saying. Thirdly, that *They, who think these books genuine, ought to receive them into the Canon of Scripture, since the reputed authors of them were the companions and fellow-labourers of the Apostles, as well as* St Mark *and* St Luke, *which is the only reason* (Mr T. ever heard of) *why these two Evangelists are thought inspired.* These are the principal assertions of the author of *Amyntor*; in opposition to which Dr Clarke advances, and maintains, the three following propositions: *First, that*, 'Though we are not in'fallibly certain, that the Epistles of *Clemens*, *Igna'tius*, *Polycarp* and *Barnabas*, with the *Pastor of 'Hermas*, are genuine; yet that they are generally 'believed to be so, upon very great authority, and 'with very good reason.' *Secondly, that therefore* 'Though they are not received as of the same autho'rity with the Canonical Books of the New Testa'ment, yet they ought to have a proportionable ve'neration paid to them, both with respect to the au'thors, and to the writings themselves.' *Thirdly, that* 'Neither the belief of the genuineness of these 'books, nor the respect paid to them as such, does in 'the least diminish from the authority of the New 'Testament, or tend to make the number of the Ca'nonical Books uncertain or precarious.' This Tract was first published, without a name, in 1699, and since added to Dr Clarke's *Letter to Mr Dodwell*, &c.

[*H*] *His* Paraphrases on *the Four Gospels*.] Among the many excellent Commentaries and Expositions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, there had been none, wherein the text of the *New Testament* is fully paraphrased with brevity and plainness. *Erasmus*'s performance of this kind is very elegant and judicious: but his explications are large, having frequent digressions; in many places he indulges allegorical interpretations; and, besides, the beauty of his work is very much lost in our translation. The eminent and learned Bishop *Hall* wrote a pious Exposition upon particular difficult texts; but, because it was only upon particular texts, the design itself allowed him not to regard transitions, and to make his paraphrase one continued uninterrupted discourse. Dr *Hammond* has with great pains collected all the assistances of antient and modern learning, and with great success applied them to the explication of the *New Testament*. But those, who justly admire his great learning and skill in interpreting, yet complain of the obscurity and perplexedness of his stile, which makes his Paraphrase somewhat difficult, and of less general use: and besides, it was never printed by itself without his large notes. Dr *Patrick*, Bishop of Ely, has, with admirable learning and judgment, brought this way of writing to perfection, in his Paraphrase upon some books of the *Old Testament*; and all, who desire to understand the Scriptures fully, will ever wish he had gone through all the writings both of the *Old* and *New Testament* in the same way. Others, who have written good expositions upon the Holy Scriptures, have either made large commentaries, of less general and constant use; or have insisted chiefly on such critical observations, as are proper only for the learned. Dr Clarke tells us (12), he has 'endeavoured in these papers to 'express the full sense of the Evangelists in the plainest 'words, and to continue the sense without interrup'tion by the clearest transitions *he* could. *He has* all 'along consulted the best Expositors, and selected out 'of every one what seemed to discover the most na'tural meaning of the text: and where any thing 'remarkable offered itself to *his* thoughts, different 'from what *he* met with in Commentators, *he* set it 'down in short notes in the margin. But other critical 'observations *he has* generally omitted (excepting what 'use is made of them in the Paraphrase) that *he* might 'not swell the marginal notes into a commentary, and 'trouble the reader with repeating what others had 'said already.' Of how great benefit these *Paraphrases* have been, and always will be, to those English readers, who have sense and goodness enough to be pleased with a just representation of the true meaning of what is recorded in the Gospel, we need not say. And we cannot but express our wishes, that he had pursued his original design, which was to have compleated the work upon the whole New Testament. We are told (13), he had actually begun his *Paraphrase* upon the *Acts of the Apostles*: but something acciden-tal

(12) Pref. to his Paraphrase, &c. See Dr Clarke's Works, in folio, Lond. 1738, Vol. III, *init.*

(13) Account, &c. ibid.

Moore gave our author the Rectory of Drayton near Norwich, and procured for him a parish in that city; both together of very inconsiderable value: and these he served himself in the season when the Bishop resided at Norwich. His preaching was, at first, without notes, and so continued till he became Rector of St James's (*b*). In the year 1704, he was appointed to preach Mr Boyle's Lecture; and the subject he chose was, *The Being and Attributes of God* [*I*]: in which he succeeded so well, that he was appointed to

(*b*) Ibid. p. 4.

tal interrupted the execution. And it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterwards resume and complete so excellent a work; which his friends often pressed upon him, and to which he would sometimes answer, That it was made less necessary by the labours of several worthy and learned persons, since the publication of his work upon the *Four Gospels*. There have been four editions of Dr Clarke's *Paraphrase*.

[*I*] *His Sermons on* the Being and Attributes of God.] These, together with his Sermons on the *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, are thrown into continued Discourses, and printed together, under the general title of *A Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation, in answer to Mr* Hobbs, Spinoza, *the author of the* Oracles of Reason, *and other deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion: being sixteen Sermons, preached in the cathedral church of St Paul, in the years* 1704 *and* 1705, *at the Lecture founded by the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Esq*; The particular title of the first eight sermons is, *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*. There having been already published, many and good books, to prove the Being and Attributes of God, our author chose to contract what was requisite for him to say upon this subject, into as narrow a compass, and to express what he had to offer, in as few words, as he could with perspicuity. For which reason, he confined himself to one only method, or continued thread of arguing; which he endeavoured should be as near to mathematical, as the nature of such a discourse would allow: omitting some other arguments, which he could not discern to be so evidently conclusive: 'Because (to use his own words) 'it seems not to be at any time for the real advantage of truth, to use arguments in it's behalf founded 'only on such *hypotheses*, as the adversaries apprehend 'they cannot be compelled to grant (14).' Yet he has not made it his business to oppose any of those arguments, because he thought it not the best way 'for 'any one to recommend his own performance, by endeavouring to discover the imperfection of others, 'who are engaged in the same design with himself, of 'promoting the interest of true religion and virtue (15).' Dr Clarke's *Sermons at Mr Boyle's Lecture* were printed in two distinct volumes; the former in 1705, and the latter in 1706. They have been since printed in one volume, and have passed through several editions. In the fourth and fifth editions were added several letters to Dr Clarke from *A Gentleman in Gloucestershire* *, relating to the *Demonstration*, &c. with the Doctor's Answers. In the sixth and seventh editions were added, *A Discourse concerning the Connexion of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and the Application of them to Christ*; and *An Answer to a seventh Letter concerning the Argument* à Priori. Dr Clarke having endeavoured to shew, that the Being of a God may be demonstrated by arguments *à Priori* (in which attempt, whether successful or not, surely he may be excused) is unluckily involved in the censure a very great wit has passed upon this method of reasoning, in the following lines, which he puts into the mouth of one of his Dunces, addressing himself to the Goddess:

(14) Pref. to the Demonstration, &c. See his Works, Vol. II. p. 517.

(15) Ibid.

(*) Dr Joseph Butler, now Lord Bishop of Bristol, 1748.

Let others creep by timid steps and slow,
On plain experience lay foundations low,
By common sense to common knowledge bred,
And, last, to nature's cause thro' nature led.
All-seeing in thy mists, we want no guide,
Mother of arrogance, and source of pride!
We nobly take the high *Priori* road,
And reason downward, 'till we doubt of God (16).

(16) Dunciad, B. iv. l. 455.

Upon which we have the following note: 'Those, 'who, from the effects in this visible world, deduce the 'eternal power and Godhead of the First Cause, tho' 'they cannot attain to an adequate idea of the Deity, 'yet discover so much of him, as enables them to see 'the end of their creation, and the means of their 'happiness; whereas they, who take this *high Priori road* (as Hobbs, Spinoza, Des Cartes, and some *better reasoners*) for one that goes right, ten lose themselves in mists, or ramble after visions; which deprive them of all sight of their end, and mislead them 'in the choice of wrong means.' Mr Pope would, perhaps, have spared his *better Reasoners*, and not have joined them with such company, had he recollected our author's apology for using the argument *à Priori*. *The argument* à posteriori (he tells us) *is indeed by far the most generally useful argument, most easy to be understood, and in some degree suited to all capacities; and therefore it ought always to be distinctly insisted upon. But forasmuch as* atheistical *writers have sometimes opposed the Being and Attributes of God by such* metaphysical *reasonings, as can* no otherwise *be obviated, than by arguing* à Priori; *therefore this manner of arguing also is useful and necessary in it's proper place* (17). Bishop Hoadly, speaking of Dr Clarke's *Demonstration*, &c. tells us (18), he has 'laid the 'foundations of true religion too deep and strong, to 'be shaken either by the superstition of some, or the 'infidelity of others:' That 'He chose particularly 'to consider the arguings of Spinoza and Hobbs, the 'most plausible patrons of the system of *Fate* and *Necessity*; a system, which, by destroying all true freedom of action in any intelligent being, at the same 'time destroys all that can be stiled virtue, or praiseworthy:' That, 'this being a subject, into which 'all the subtilties and querks of Metaphysicks had 'entered, and thrown their usual obscurity and intricacy; the difficulty lay in clearing away this rubbish of confusion; in introducing a language that 'could be understood; in clothing the clearest ideas 'in this plain and manly language; and in concluding 'nothing but from such evidence as amounts to *Demonstration*:' That 'He began with self-evident 'propositions; from them advanced to such as received their proof from the former; and in these 'took no step till he had secured the way before him:' That 'Throughout the whole no word is used, but 'what is intelligible to all who are at all versed in 'such subjects, and what expresses the clear idea in the 'mind of him who makes use of it:' And that 'All 'is one regular building, erected upon an immoveable 'foundation, and rising up, from one stage to another, 'with equal strength and dignity.' Let us hear Mr Whiston's opinion in relation to this performance of Dr Clarke's. He tells us (19), when the author brought him his book, he was in his garden overagainst St Peter's College in Cambridge, where he then lived. 'Now I perceived, *says he*, that in these 'Sermons he had dealt a great deal in abstract and metaphysick reasonings. I therefore asked him how he 'ventured into such subtilties, which I never durst 'meddle with? And shewing him a nettle, or the like 'contemptible weed, in my garden, I told him, that 'weed contained better arguments for the Being and 'Attributes of God than all his Metaphysicks. He 'confessed it to be so; but alledged for himself, that, 'since such Philosophers as Hobbs and Spinoza had 'made use of those kind of subtilties *against*, he 'thought proper to shew, that the like way of reasoning might be better made use *on the side of* religion. Which reason, or excuse, I allowed not to 'be inconsiderable. As to myself, I confess I have 'long esteemed such kind of arguments as the most 'subtle, but the *least satisfactory* of all others whatsoever. And my own opinion is, that, perhaps, 'Angels, or some of the orders of rational beings superior to them, may be able to reason a great way '*à Priori*, as it is called, and from Metaphysicks, to 'their own and others satisfaction; but I do not perceive that we men, in our present imperfect state, 'can do so.' Whatever this honest gentleman can, or cannot do, it is certain, that Dr Clarke, and other ingenious men, of clear heads and sound judgments, have

(17) Works, Vol. II. p. 756.

(18) Account, &c. p. 4.

(19) Hist. Mem. p. 8.

to preach the same Lecture the next year, when he chose for his subject, *The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion* [*K*]. About this time, or not much later, Mr Whiston tells us (*c*), he discovered, that Mr Clarke had been looking into the primitive writers, and began to suspect, that the *Athanasian* doctrine of the *Trinity* was not the doctrine of the early ages [*L*]. In 1706, his Patron Bishop Moore, by his interest, procured for him the Rectory of St Bennet Paul's Wharf in London (*d*). The same year, he published his *Letter to Mr* Dodwell, in answer to that author's *Epistolary Discourse* concerning the *Immortality of the Soul* [*M*]. The same year likewise, he translated Sir Isaac Newton's Treatise of *Opticks* into elegant Latin [*N*]. He was now brought by his Patron to Court, and

(*c*) Historical Memoirs of the Life of Dr S. Clarke, &c. 8vo, 1730, p. 8.

(*d*) Account of the Life, &c. p. 5.

have reasoned a great way *à Priori*; and that metaphysical reasoning in such hands is not only *the most satisfactory*, but is the highest and noblest effort of the human understanding. We shall conclude this remark, with just mentioning some pieces written for, and against, Dr Clarke's *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*. It was animadverted upon by Mr Edmund Law, in his *Notes* upon Archbishop King's *Essay on the Origin of Evil*, translated from the Latin. This occasioned a piece intitled, *A Defence of Dr Clarke's Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God: Wherein is particularly considered the nature of Space, Duration, and necessary Existence: Being an Answer to a late book intitled,* A Translation of Dr King's Origin of Evil, *and some other Objections: Together with a Compendium of A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, London, 1732, in 8*vo*. Mr Law vindicated his *Remarks* in a *Postscript* to the second edition of Dr King's *Essay*: which occasioned, *A second Defence of Dr Clarke's Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God: In Answer to a* Postscript, &c. *By the author of the first Defence*, London, 1732, in 8*vo*. The same year was published a pamphlet, intitled, *Dr Clarke's notion of Space examined: In vindication of the translation of Archbishop King's* Origin of Evil: *Being an Answer to two late pamphlets intitled,* A Defence, &c. Mr John Jackson published a piece, intitled, *The Existence and Unity of God, proved from his Nature and Attributes: Being a Vindication of Dr Clarke's Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, London, 1734, in 8*vo*. The same year appeared two pamphlets, printed at Cambridge; one intitled, *An Enquiry into the ideas of Space, Time, Immensity, and Eternity, as also the Self-Existence, Necessary Existence, and Unity of the Divine Nature, by* Edmund Law, M. A. the other intitled, *An Examination of Dr Clarke's Notion of Space, by* Joseph Clarke, M. A. Mr John Clarke, author of the two *Defences* of Dr Clarke's *Demonstration*, having published a *third*, Mr Joseph Clarke published *A further Examination of Dr Clarke's Notions of Space, with some Considerations on the possibility of Eternal Creation: In Reply to Mr John Clarke's* third Defence, &c. *To which are added, some Remarks on Mr Jackson's Exceptions to Dr Clarke's* Notions of Space *examined in his* Existence and Unity, &c.

[*K*] *On the* Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.] In these Discourses he laid the foundations of Morality deep, in the mutual relations of things and persons one to another; in the unalterable fitness of some actions, and the unfitness of others; and in the will of the great Creator of all things, evident from his making man capable of seeing these relations and this fitness, of judging concerning them, and of acting agreeably to that judgment. He then proceeded to demonstrate the Christian Religion to be worthy of God, from it's *internal* evidence, taken from the perfect agreeableness of it's main design to the light of nature, and to all the moral obligations of eternal reason; without which agreeableness, all the arguments in the world could never conclude in it's favour: and, after this, to prove it to have been actually revealed to the world by God, from the *external* evidence of prophecy going before it, and of miraculous works performed in express confirmation of it. These Sermons, together with those on the *Being* and *Attributes* of *God*, every Christian in this country, as Bishop Hoadly well observes (20), 'ought to esteem as his treasure; 'as they contain the true strength, not only of *natural*, but of *revealed* religion: which, if ever it be 'removed from such a foundation, or separated from 'such an alliance with reason and uncorrupted nature, 'will not long subsist in the belief of understanding 'persons, after such a separation. And therefore, '*What God hath joined together, let not man put 'asunder.*'

(20) Account, &c. p. 5.

[*L*] *He began to suspect, that the* Athanasian *doctrine of the* Trinity *was not the doctrine of the early ages.*] Whether Mr (Sir Isaac) Newton had given Mr Clarke any intimations of that nature, or whether it arose from enquiries of his own, Mr Whiston, who gives us this account (21), cannot directly inform us; though he inclines to the latter. This only he remembers to have heard Mr Clarke say, that he never read the *Athanasian* Creed, in his Parish, at or near Norwich, but once, and that was only by mistake, at a time when it was not appointed by the Rubrick.

(21) Hist. Mem. p. 8, 9.

[*M*] *His* Letter to Mr Dodwell, *in answer to that author's* Epistolary Discourse *concerning the* Immortality of the Soul.] The whole title is, *A Letter to* Mr Dodwell; *wherein all the arguments in his Epistolary Discourse against the immortality of the soul are particularly answered, and the judgment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly represented.* Mr Dodwell's book, against which this is levelled, is intitled: *An Epistolary Discourse, proving from the Scriptures, and the first Fathers, that the soul is a principle naturally mortal, but immortalized actually by the pleasure of God, to punishment or to reward, by it's union with the divine baptismal Spirit: Wherein is proved, that none have the power of giving this divine immortalizing Spirit, since the Apostles, but only the Bishops.* The mischievous tendency of this doctrine, as it was backed by the great name of the author in the learned world, made it more necessary that an answer should be given to what, from another hand, might perhaps have been received as a designed banter upon both natural and revealed religion. Mr Clarke was thought the most proper person for this work. 'And he did it (*says the Bishop of Winchester*) 'in so excellent a manner, 'both with regard to the philosophical part, and to 'the opinions of some of the primitive writers, upon 'whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave universal 'satisfaction (22).' *But this* controversy did not stop here. For Mr Anthony Collins, coming in as a second to Mr Dodwell, went much farther into the philosophy of the dispute, and indeed seemed to produce all that could plausibly be said, against the *immateriality* of the soul, as well as the *liberty* of human actions (23). This opened a larger field of controversy, into which Mr Clarke entered, and wrote with such a spirit of clearness and demonstration, as shewed him greatly superior to his adversaries both in metaphysical and natural knowledge. 'And I am persuaded, *says 'Bishop* Hoadly (24), that, as what he has writ in this 'controversy comprehends the little that the Antients 'had said well, and adds still more evidence than ever 'clearly appeared before, and all in words that have a 'meaning to them; it will remain the standard of good 'sense on that side of the question, on which he 'spent so many of his thoughts, as upon one of his 'favourite points.' Mr Clarke's piece was soon followed by *four Defences* of it in *four* several *Letters* to the author of *A Letter to the learned Mr Henry Dodwell; containing some Remarks on a (pretended) Demonstration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the soul, in Mr Clarke's Answer to his late Epistolary Discourse*, &c.

(22) Account, &c. p. 5.

(23) See Mr Collins's Philosophical Enquiry into Human Liberty, Lond. 1717, 8*vo*.

(24) Ibid.

[*N*] *He translated Sir Isaac Newton's* Opticks *into elegant Latin.*] In the midst of his other labours, he found time also to shew his regard to the mathematical and physical studies, and his exact knowledge and skill in them. And his natural affection and capacity for these studies were not a little improved by the particular friendship of the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton; at whose request, Bishop Hoadly tells us (25), he translated that excellent performance, and sent it all over Europe in a plainer and less ambiguous stile, than

(25) Ibid. p. 9.

and recommended to the favour of Queen Anne, who appointed him one of her Chaplains in Ordinary; and soon after, in consideration of his great merit, and at the request of the Bishop, presented him to the Rectory of St James's Westminster [*O*]: from which time he left off his former way of preaching without notes, and made it his business to
(*e*) Ibid. p. 5, 6. compose, and write down, as accurate sermons as he could (*e*). Upon his advancement to this station in 1709, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge, and distinguished himself upon that occasion by the performance of a remarkable publick ex-
(*f*) Ib. p. 6, 7. ercise (*f*) [*P*]. The same year, he revised and corrected Mr Whiston's translation of the *Apostolical Constitutions* into English [*Q*]. In 1712, he published a beautiful edition of *Cæsar's Commentaries* [*R*]. Soon after this, Dr Clarke became engaged in a warm controversy,

than the English language will permit. And here it may be proper to add, that, after the death of that great man, Dr Clarke vindicated his doctrince concerning the proportion of velocity and force of bodies in motion, against the objections of some late Mathe-
(26) See Philos. Transact. No. 401, an. 1728. maticians, in a short, plain, and masterly letter (26). Nor must it be forgot, that Sir Isaac Newton was so particularly pleased with our author's version of his *Opticks*, that he presented him with the sum of five hundred pounds, or 100*l*. for each child, the doctor
(27) Hist. Mem. p. 9. having then five children (27).

[*O*] *The Queen presented him to the Rectory of St James's, Westminster.*] From the time of his taking possession of this living, he resided constantly in the Rectory-House; seldom leaving the place, unless for a few weeks in the long vacation, when the town was empty: and, during the time of his being Rector, besides the regular performance of all the other duties of his profession, he followed the custom of his predecessors, in reading Lectures upon the Church-Catechism, every Thursday-Morning, for some months in
(28) Account, &c. p. 8. the year (28).

[*P*] *He performed a remarkable publick exercise.*] The questions, on which he disputed, were these: I. *Nullum Fidei Christianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, est rectæ rationi dissentaneum*, i. e. 'No article of Christian Faith, delivered in the Holy Scriptures, is disagreeable to right reason.' II. *Sine actionum humanarum libertate nulla potest esse religio*, i. e. 'Without the freedom of human actions, there can be no religion.' The Doctor's *Thesis* was an elaborate discourse upon the first of these two questions. Dr James, then Royal Professor of Divinity, a very learned and acute disputant, exerted himself more than usual upon this occasion; and, after having sifted every part of Dr Clarke's *Thesis* with the strictest nicety, pressed him with all the force of syllogism in it's various forms. To the former our respondent made an *extempore* reply, in a continued discourse for near half an hour; in which, without any hesitation either for thoughts or language, he took off the force of all that the Professor had said, in such a manner, that many of the auditors declared themselves astonished, and owned that, if they had not been within sight of him, they should have supposed he had read every word of his reply out of a paper. After this, in the course of the syllogistical disputation, he guarded so well against the arts, which the Professor was master of in perfection; replied so readily to the greatest difficulties such an objector could propose; and pressed him so close and hard with clear and intelligible answers; that, perhaps, never was such a conflict heard in the schools; nor any disputation kept up with such spirit, and ended with equal honour to the respondent. The Professor, who was a man of humour as well as learning, said to him aloud, towards the end of the disputation, *Probe me exacuisti*, or (as others think) *exercuisti*: which was looked upon as a very high compliment, in his humorous way of speaking. And the learned members of the University, who had with pleasure attended to every part of the disputation, went away discoursing to one another of the unusual entertainment they had had in the schools; and particularly admiring, that, after an absence of so many years, and a long course of business of quite another nature, they heard him now handling the subjects he undertook in such a masterly manner, as if this sort of academical exercise had been his constant employment; and with such a
(29) Ib. p. 6, 7. fluency and purity of expression, as if he had been accustomed to no other language in conversation but *La-*
(30) Hist. Mem. p. 12. *tin* (29). Mr Whiston tells us (30), in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr Clarke, who was present at this famous *act*, that 'Every creature was wrapt up into silence and astonishment, and thought the performance truly admirable.' *In the course of this act, where I was present*, adds Mr Whiston (31), (31) Ibid *Professor* James, *who knew of the intimacy of Dr* Clarke and me; *knew also that I was a professed* Eusebian *, *and suspected Dr* Clarke *to be a latent one*; (*) Anti-Trinitarian, or rather Anti-Athanasian. *digressed from one of the doctor's questions, and pressed him hard to condemn one of the opinions I had just then published in my* Sermons *and* Essays; *which book he held in his hand, when he was in the chair. I suppose it might be this, that* our Saviour had no human soul, but that the divine Λόγος, or *Word*, supplied it's place. *This was done in such a rude, indecent, and almost profane manner, as occasioned the following Tetrastick, which was produced by Dr* Bentley, *when Dr* Clarke *and I supped with him that very evening:*

Tune Mathematicum, male false Jacobe, lacessis,
Histrio dum ringis serium habere virum?
Ludis tu Christum, *Dominumque Deumque* professus:
Ille colit *Dominum*, quem negat esse *Deum*.

Which I have seen thus translated:

And do'st thou, James, with awkard keeness mark
Whiston, *and scoffing fret at serious* Clarke?
Thou jest'st on Christ, thy Lord *and* God *supreme*:
Whiston *adores him* Lord, *but fears him* God *to name.*

However Dr Clarke, *who, I believe, had not then particularly examined that point, did prudently avoid either the approbation or condemnation of it.*

[*Q*] *He revised and corrected Mr Whiston's Translation of the* Apostolical Constitutions *into English.*] Mr Whiston tells us (32), that, his own studies having (32) Ib. p. 15. been chiefly upon *things*, and having rendered him incapable of being also a critick in *words* or *languages*, he desired his great friend and great critick Dr Clarke, to revise that translation. 'We read (*says he*) a great part of it over together; as he corrected the rest by himself, and sent me the corrections: some or all of which I have now by me, under his own hand. I perceived their contents made then a very great impression upon him; though he seemed, I know not how, to have suffered some part of that impression gradually to wear off afterward. When he had revised and corrected the whole, and found about ten or twelve places, which he hesitated about, he recommended it to me to go to our great and common friend Dr Smalridge (with whom my acquaintance commenced about the same time it did with Dr Clarke, if not a *little* sooner) for the last correction of those more difficult places: who as he was a very great admirer of the book itself, so was he pleased to examine and correct my version of it, as to every one of those places. These were the two persons intimated, but not named by me, on this account, in the *advertisement* to the first of my four volumes of *Primitive Christianity revived*: where I justly call Dr Clarke, *one excellently skilled in such matters* and *an accurate hand*; and Dr Smalridge, *a very learned and judicious person*.'

[*R*] *He published a beautiful edition of* Cæsar's Commentaries.] It is intitled, *C. Julii Cæsaris quæ extant, accuratissime cum libris editis et MSS. optimis collata, recognita, et correcta: Accesserunt Annotationes Samuelis Clarke, S. T. P. Item indices locorum, rerumque et verborum, utilissimæ*. It was printed in 1712, in *folio*; and afterwards, in 1720, in 8*vo*. It was dedicated to the great Duke of Marlborough, at a time

controversy, occasioned by the publication of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* [*S*]; of which

a time when *his unequalled victories and successes had raised his glory to the highest pitch abroad, and lessened his interest and favour at home* (33). In the publication of this book, Dr Clarke took particular care of the *punctuation*, or a proper distribution of each *sentence* into it's *constituent members*: an exactness too much neglected by learned men, though absolutely necessary for preserving the perspicuity, and even beauty, of an author's language. In the *annotations*, he selected what appeared the best and most judicious in other editors, with some corrections and emendations of his own interspersed. He acknowledges himself particularly obliged to the learned Dr Richard Bentley, for the use of a manuscript in the King's Library; to the Rev. Dr Robert Cannon, for some various readings, transcribed from the *Museum* of Isaac Vossius; but different from those, which are inserted in the *Amsterdam* edition of *Cæsar*, with the notes of Dionysius Vossius; and lastly, to Dr John Moore, Bishop of Ely, for a manuscript, used by Dr Davis in his edition of *Cæsar*, and by him called *the Norwich manuscript* *. Mr Addison takes notice of Dr Clarke's *folio* edition of *Cæsar's Commentaries* in the following words: 'The new edition, which is given us of '*Cæsar's Commentaries*, has already been taken notice 'of in foreign Gazettes, and is a work that does honour to the *English* press. It is no wonder, that an 'edition should be very correct, which has passed 'through the hands of one of the *most accurate*, '*learned*, *and judicious writers* this age has produced. 'The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of 'the several cuts, with which this noble work is illustrated, makes it the finest book that I have ever 'seen; and is a true instance of the *English* genius, 'which, though it does not come the first into any 'art, generally carries it to greater heights than any 'other country in the world (34).'

(33) Account, &c. p. 8.

(*) MS. Norvicens. Bishop Moore being then Bishop of Norwich. Dr Clarke calls it MS. Eliens.

(34) Spectator, No. 367.

[*S*] *His* Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.] It was first published in 8*vo*, in 1712. Afterwards there was a second edition, with some alterations, in 1719. The whole title is: *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity; wherein every text in the New Testament relating to that doctrine is distinctly considered, and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained.* The subject of this book, the author tells us (35), 'is a doctrine no way affecting 'the particular constitution, order, or external government of the Church, but in general of great importance in religion; a matter not to be treated of '*slightly* and *carelesly*, as it were by accident only, 'or after the manner of superficial controversies about 'words, or of particular occasional questions concerning the meaning of single ambiguous texts; but 'which ought, when discoursed upon at all, to be examined thoroughly on all sides, by a serious study 'of the whole Scripture, and by taking care that the 'explication be consistent with itself in every part.' It is divided into three parts. The *first* is, *A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Testament, relating to the doctrine of the Trinity.* In the *second* part, *The foregoing doctrine is set forth at large, and explained in particular and distinct propositions.* And in the *third*, *The principal passages in the Liturgy of the Church of England, relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, are considered.* The Bishop of Winchester applauds our author's method of proceeding, in forming his own sentiments upon so important a point. 'He knew, and all men agreed, 'that it was a matter of meer revelation: he did not 'therefore retire into his closet, and set himself to invent and forge a plausible hypothesis, which might 'fit easily upon his own mind. He had not recourse 'to abstract and metaphysical reasonings, to cover or 'patronize any system he might have embraced before. 'But, as a Christian, he laid open the New Testament before him. He searched out every text, in 'which mention was made of the three Persons, or 'of any one of them. He accurately examined the 'meaning of the words used about every one of 'them; and by the best rules of Grammar and *Critique*, and by his skill in language, he endeavoured 'to fix plainly what was declared about every person, 'and what was not (36).' 'I am far from taking 'upon me, *adds the Bishop*, to determine, in so difficult a question, between *Dr Clarke*, and those who 'made replies to him. The debate soon grew very 'warm; and in a little time seemed to rest principally upon him, and one particular adversary (*), 'very skilful in the management of a debate, and 'very learned and well versed in the writings of the 'antient Fathers.——This I hope I may be allowed 'to say, that every Christian Divine, and Layman, 'ought to pay his thanks to Dr Clarke, for the method into which he brought this dispute, and for that 'collection of texts of the New Testament, by 'which at last it must be decided, on which side soever the truth may be supposed to lie. And let me 'add this one word more, that, since men of such 'thought, and such learning, have shewn the world, 'in their own example, how widely the most honest 'enquirers after truth may differ upon such subjects; 'this, methinks, should a little abate our mutual censures, and a little take off from our positiveness 'about the necessity of explaining, in this or that one 'determinate sense, the antient passages relating to 'points of so sublime a nature (37).' His Lordship concludes what he had to say upon this subject, with assuring us, 'that from the time of *Dr Clarke's* publishing this book, to the day of his death, he found 'no reason, as far as he was able to judge, to alter 'the notions which he had there professed, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, towards any 'of those schemes, which seemed to him to derogate 'from the honour of the Father on one side, or from 'that of the Son and Spirit on the other. This (*adds* '*the Bishop*) I thought proper just to mention, as what 'all his friends know to be the truth (38).' Some time before the publication of Dr Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, a message was sent him from the Lord Godolphin, and others of Queen Anne's Ministers, importing, 'that the affairs of the publick 'were with difficulty then kept in the hands of those, 'who were at all for liberty; that it was therefore an 'unseasonable time for the publication of a book, 'which would make a great noise and disturbance; 'and that therefore they desired him to forbear, till a 'fitter opportunity should offer itself.' Which message Dr Clarke had no regard to, but went on, according to the dictates of his conscience, with the publication of his book (39). Since Dr Clarke's death, a third edition of this book has been printed, with very great additions, left under the author's own hand, ready prepared for the press. As it gave occasion to a great number of books and pamphlets on the subject, written by himself and others, we shall subjoin a list of those published by our author, referring, for the rest, to a Pamphlet intitled, *An Account of all the considerable books and pamphlets, that have been wrote on either side, in the Controversy concerning the Trinity, since the year* 1712; *In which is also contained an account of the pamphlets writ this last year on each side by the Dissenters, to the end of the year* 1719, London, 1720, in 8*vo*. Dr Clarke's Tracts are as follow. I. *A Letter to the Rev. Dr* Wells, *in answer to his* Remarks, London 1714, in 8*vo*. II. *A Reply to the Objections of* Robert Nelson, *Esq*; *and of an Anonymous Author* (‖) *against Dr* Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity: *Being a Commentary on forty select Texts of Scripture.* III. *An Answer to the Remarks of the Author* (*) *of* Some Considerations concerning the Trinity, and the ways of managing that Controversy. These two last published together; London, 1714, in 8*vo*. IV. *A Letter to the late Rev. Mr R. M.* (†) *containing Observations upon his book, intitled*, A plain Scripture Argument against Dr Clarke's Doctrine concerning the ever-blessed Trinity. V. *A Letter to the author of a book, intitled*, The true Scripture Doctrine of the most holy and undivided Trinity, continued, and vindicated: *Recommended first by Mr* Nelson, *and since by Dr* Waterland. The two last pieces published together, London 1719, in 8*vo*, at the end of a Tract by another author, intitled, *The modest Plea for the Baptismal and Scripture Notion of the Trinity*, &c. VI. *The modest Plea continued*; or, *A brief and distinct Answer to Dr* Waterland's Queries *relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity*, London, 1720, in 8*vo*. VII. *Observations on Dr* Waterland's *second Defence of his Queries*, London, 1724, in 8*vo*. VIII.

(35) Pref.

(36) Account, &c. p. 7.

(*) Dr Waterland, Head of Magd. Coll. Cambr.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid. p. 8.

(39) Hist. Mem. p. 25.

(‖) Supposed to be Dr James Knight, Vicar of St Sepulchre's in London.

(*) Dr Gastrel, Bishop of Chester.

(†) Richard Mayo.

which notice was taken, and complaint made, by the Lower House of Convocation in 1714 [T]: but the affair soon ended, upon the Members of the Upper House declaring themselves

VIII. *Dr* Clarke's Replies *to the author of* three Letters to Dr Clarke, from a Clergyman of the Church of England, concerning his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*. The *Letters* and *Replies* published together, by the author of the *Letters*; London 1714, in 8*vo*.

[T] —— *Of which complaint was made by the Lower House of Convocation, in* 1714.] Their complaint was sent to the Upper House, *June* the 2d, setting forth: 'That a book had been lately published, and dispersed throughout the province, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, &c. and several Defences thereof, by the same author: which book, and defences, did, in their opinion, contain assertions contrary to the Catholick Faith, as received and declared by the Reformed Church of England, concerning *three Persons, of one Substance, Power and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead*: and tending moreover to perplex the minds of men in the solemn acts of worship, as directed by our established Liturgy, &c.' The Bishops returned for answer, *June* the 4th, that *they approved the zeal of the Lower House, thought they had just cause of complaint, and would take it into their consideration. June* the 12th, their Lordships sent a message to the Lower House, directing an *extract* to be made of *particulars* out of the books complained of. *June* the 23d, the said *extract* was accordingly laid before the Bishops, disposed under the following heads: I. *Assertions contrary to the Catholick Faith, as received and declared by this Reformed Church of England, concerning three Persons, of one Substance, Power, and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead.* II. *Passages tending to perplex the minds of men in the solemn acts of worship, as directed by our established Liturgy.* III. *Passages in the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles, wrested by Dr Clarke in such manner, as is complained of in the Representation.* Dr Clarke drew up a *Reply* to this *extract*, dated *June* the 26th: which, it seems, was presented to some of the Bishops; but (for what reason we are not told) was not laid before the House. After this, there appearing, in almost the whole Upper House, a great disposition to prevent dissensions and divisions, by coming to a *temper* in this matter; Dr Clarke was *prevailed upon* to lay before the House a *paper*, dated *July* the 2d, setting forth: 1. *That* 'his opinion was, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehensible *power* and *will* of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was likewise eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehensible *power* and *will* of the Father.' 2. That, 'Before his book, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, &c. was published, he did indeed preach two or three sermons upon this subject; but, since the book was published, he had never preached upon this subject: and (because he thought it not fair to propose particular opinions, where there is not liberty of answering) he was willing to *promise* (as indeed he intended) not to preach any more upon this subject.' 3. That 'He did not *intend* to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity: but, if he should fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this subject, contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, he did hereby willingly *submit* himself to any such censure, as his superiors should think fit to pass upon him.' 4. That, 'Whereas it had been confidently reported, that the *Athanasian Creed*, and the 3d and 4th petitions in the *Litany*, had been omitted in his Church by his direction, he did hereby declare, that the 3d and 4th petitions in the *Litany* had never been omitted at all, as far as he knew; and that the *Athanasian Creed* was never omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers only, for brevity sake, at the discretion of the curate, and not by his appointment.' 5. That, 'As to his private conversation, he was not conscious to himself, that he had given any occasion for those reports, which have been spread concerning him, with relation to this controversy.' The paper concludes with these words: *I am sorry that what I sincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and so to explain this great mystery, as to avoid the heresies in both extreams, should have given any offence to this Synod, and particularly to my Lords the Bishops. I hope my behaviour for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be such, as to prevent any future complaints against me.* After this paper had been laid before the Upper House, Dr Clarke, being apprehensive, that if it should be published *separately* (as afterwards happened) without any true account of the preceding and following circumstances, it might be liable to be misunderstood in some particulars; caused an *explanation*, dated July 5, to be presented to the Bishop of London, the next time the Upper House met; setting forth: 'That, whereas the paper, laid before their Lordships the Friday before, was, thro' haste and want of time, not drawn up with sufficient exactness, &c. he thought himself indispensibly obliged in conscience to acquaint their Lordships; that he did not mean thereby to *retract* any thing he had written, but to declare, that the opinion set forth at large in his *Scripture Doctrine*, &c. is that *The Son was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehensible* Power and Will, &c. and that, by declaring he did not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, he did not preclude himself from a liberty of making any inoffensive corrections in his former books, if they should come to another edition; or from vindicating himself from any misrepresentations or aspersions, which might possibly hereafter be cast upon him on occasion of this controversy.' After the delivery of the foregoing *explanation* to the Bishop of London, the Upper House *resolved, July* the 5, *to proceed no farther upon the extract laid before them by the Lower House*; and *ordered* Dr Clarke's papers to be entered in the Acts of that House. But the Lower House, not so satisfied, *resolved, July* the 7, *that the paper subscribed by Dr Clarke, and communicated to them by the Bishops, does not contain in it any recantation of the heretical assertions, and offensive passages, complained of in their* Representation, *and afterwards produced in their* Extract; *nor gives such satisfaction for the great scandal occasioned thereby, as ought to put a stop to any further examination and censure thereof.* Thus ended this affair; the most authentick account of which we have in a piece, intitled, *An Apology for Dr Clarke, containing an Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his writings concerning the Trinity.* London 1714, in 8*vo*. It was written, Mr Whiston tells us (40), by a worthy Clergyman in the country (*), a common friend of his and Dr Clarke's, and contains *true copies of the original papers relating to the proceedings* of the Covocation and Dr Clarke, communicated by the Doctor himself, and occasioned by his friend's letter to him, in relation to his conduct; which letter, with Dr Clarke's answer, is printed in the *Apology* (41). The *paper*, laid by Dr Clarke before the Upper House of Convocation, was presently published, by an unknown hand, without the *explanation* that followed it, the *resolution* of the Bishops consequent thereupon, or the *vote* of the Lower House, which followed that resolution. This gave occasion to a report, both in written and printed news-papers, that Dr Clarke had RETRACTED what he had written concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Particularly, in the *Political State of Great Britain* for *June* 1714, were published these words: 'A few days after (*after the extract was sent up*) Dr Clarke thought fit to make a *submission* to the Upper House, and to deliver to their Lordships a paper, wherein he PROMISED neither to write nor preach any more upon those abstruse points: whereby an end was put to that portentous affair. And, oh! that all Divines would be as wise, and sacrifice their private opinions to the peace and unity of the Church!' And, in October following, in a book, intitled, *The History of the First and Second Session of the last Parliament*, were published the following words: 'The Upper House of Convocation being made sensible, that he (*Dr Clarke*) had made a *sacrifice* of his private opinions to the peace and unity of the Church; and that by this prudent and Christian behaviour, &c.' About the same time came out several other accounts of the proceedings of the Convocation relating to this matter; most of which seemed to represent Dr Clarke as having made such *compliances*, as could not but be a great discourage-ment

(40) Hist. Mem. p. 43.

(*) Supposed to be the Rev. Mr John Lawrence, M. A.

(41) No. 7.

themselves satisfied with the explanations, delivered in to them by the author upon the subject of the complaint (g). About the year 1712, Dr Clarke had a conference with Dr Smalridge, concerning the Trinity, at Thomas Cartwright's Esq; at Aynho in Northamptonshire [U]. In 1715 and 1716, he had a dispute with the celebrated Mr Leibnitz, relating to the principles of Natural Philosophy and Religion; and a *collection* of the *papers*, which passed between them, was published in 1717 [W]. In 1718, a controversy arose concerning the primitive *Doxologies*, occasioned by an alteration made by Dr Clarke in those of the singing Psalms [X]. About this time, he was presented by Mr Lechmere;

(g) Ibid.

ment to all who placed their religion in a free and impartial study of the Scriptures. How far Dr Clarke's conduct upon this occasion, as represented above, will serve to justify these reports, is left to the reader's judgment. In the mean time, impartiality obliges us to set down Mr Whiston's reflections upon this affair (42). He calls Dr Clarke's *opinion* delivered in to the Bishops (at the head of the *paper*, recited above) a NEW DECLARATION of his Belief of a *sort* of *Eternity* of the *Son* and *Spirit*; the delivery of which *Declaration* he had heard him long afterward style a *foolish thing*: the occasions of which, he thinks, besides the sinister motives of human *caution*, and human *fear*, were these two: First, his own Metaphysick opinion, which he constantly and vigorously maintained, That any *Creature* whatsoever might *possibly* have been *coeternal* with it's *Creator*; and, secondly, that Bishop Smalridge, whose opinion was chiefly regarded, had dropped some words beforehand, intimating, that, 'As to other of Dr Clarke's Metaphysical notions about 'the Trinity, he did not think it necessary to proceed 'to their condemnation, provided he would but declare he believed the *eternity* of the Son of God.' This *New Declaration*, Mr Whiston adds, was made, contrary to the wiser advice of Dr Bradford, who would have had Dr Clarke rather transcribe some such parts of own books, as came nearest to the common doctrine, and send them to the Convocation, as so far a declaration of his faith: 'Which (says Mr 'Whiston) would have been a method of proceeding, 'both more honest and more unexceptionable.' And Mr Whiston is of opinion, there is a great deal of truth in what is said, that Dr Clarke was *prevailed upon* to deliver in his new, suspicious, declaration; the true point (he thinks) being SAVE THY SELF AND US; both of which were by this means obtained.

(42) See Hist. Mem. p. 44, &c.

[U] *He had a conference with Dr Smalridge concerning the Trinity*, &c.] It was proposed, Mr Whiston tells us (43), by the former, in order to the conviction of the latter. And if any person in England was able to *convince upon that head, he thinks, it must have* been Dr Smalridge, who was a thorough master of those original books of Christianity, from whence the arguments were to be taken, and who wanted not sagacity nor good-will to enforce them. However, if Mr Whiston is to be credited, Dr Smalridge failed of success, and the company were generally satisfied that the evidence on Dr Clarke's side was greatly superior to the other.

(43) Hist. Mem. p. 41.

[W] *A collection of papers, which passed between Dr Clarke and Mr Leibnitz.*] To this collection are added, *Letters to Dr Clarke concerning Liberty and Necessity, from a Gentleman* (*) *of the University of Cambridge; with the Doctor's Answers to them*: also *remarks upon a book, intitled*, A Philosophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty (†). This book is inscribed to her late Majesty, Queen Caroline (then Princess of Wales) who was pleased, the Bishop of Winchester tells us (44), to have the controversy pass thro' her hands, and was the witness and judge of every step of it. And Dr Clarke, Mr Whiston informs us (45), used often to speak with admiration of the Queen's marvellous sagacity and judgment in the several parts of the dispute. It related chiefly to the important and difficult points of *liberty* and *necessity*; points, in which Dr Clarke always excelled, and shewed a superiority to all, whenever they came into private discourse, or publick debate. But, as the Bishop of Winchester justly observes (46), he never more excelled, than when he was pressed with the strength his learned adversary was master of; which made him exert all his talents, to set the subject once more in a clear light, to guard it against the evil of Metaphysical obscurities, and to give the finishing stroke to what must ever be the foundation of morality in man, and is the sole ground of the accountableness of intelligent creatures for all their actions. 'And as this, *adds the Bishop*, was the last of 'Dr Clarke's works relating to a subject, which had 'been, by the writings of cloudy or artful men, rendered so intricate; I shall take the liberty to say, with 'regard to all of the same tendency, from his first discourse about the *being* of *God*, to these letters; that 'what he has written to clear and illustrate this cause, 'does now stand, and will for ever remain, before the 'world, a lasting monument of a genius, which could 'throw in light where darkness used to reign; and 'force good sense and plain words into what was almost the *privileged place* of obscurity and unintelligible sounds. For such, indeed, had the subject 'before us been, under the hands of most who had 'written upon it; either thro' a desire of darkening it 'by words without meaning, or thro' an inability of 'discoursing clearly and consistently about it.' Mr Whiston observes (47), that Mr Leibnitz was pressed so hard by Dr Clarke, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton (who, he tells us, heartily assisted the Doctor), that he was forced to have recourse to Metaphysical subtilties, and to a *pre-established harmony of things*, in his own imagination, which he styles a *superior reason*; till it was soon seen, that Monsieur Leibnitz's *superior reason* served to little else, but to confirm the great *superiority* of experience and Mathematicks above all such Metaphysical subtilties whatsoever. 'And I confess, *adds* '*Mr Whiston*, I look upon these letters of Dr Clarke, 'as among the most useful of his performances in 'Natural Philosophy.'

(*) Rich. Bulkley, Esq;

(†) By Anthony Collins, Esq;

(44) Account, &c. p. 9.

(45) Hist. Mem. p. 80.

(46) Account, &c. ibid.

(47) Hist. Mem. p. 80.

[X] *He altered the forms of doxology in the singing psalms.*] This he did in certain *select hymns and psalms*, reprinted that year for the use of St James's parish. The alterations were these:

To God, *through* Christ, his only Son,
Immortal glory be, &c.

And,

To God, *through* Christ, his Son, our Lord,
All glory be therefore, &c.

A considerable number of these *select psalms and hymns* having been dispersed by the *Society for promoting of Christian knowledge*, before the alteration of the *doxologies* was taken notice of, Dr Clarke was charged with a design of imposing upon the Society; whereas, in truth, the edition of them had been prepared by him for the use of his own parish only, before the Society had any thoughts of purchasing any of the copies. However, the Bishop of London thought proper to publish *A Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Diocese, concerning their not using any new Forms of Doxology*, dated *Dec.* 26, 1718. This letter was animadverted upon by Mr Whiston, in his *Letter of thanks to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, for his late Letter to his Clergy against the use of new Forms of Doxology*, &c. dated *Jan.* 17, 1718-19; and in a pamphlet, intitled, *An humble Apology for St Paul, and the other Apostles; or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the Charge of Heresy.* By Cornelius Paets. London 1719. Soon after came out an ironical piece, intitled, *A Defence of the Bishop of London, in Answer to* Mr Whiston's Letter of Thanks, *addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr Sacheverell's late Endeavour to turn Mr Whiston out of his Church.* Mr Whiston's *Letter of Thanks* occasioned likewise the two following pieces: viz. *The Lord Bishop of London's Letter to his Clergy vindicated*, &c. *By a Believer*; London 1719: and *A seasonable Review of Mr Whiston's Account of Primitive Doxologies*, &c. *By a Presbyter of the Diocese of London* (*). London

(*) Supposed to be Dr William Berriman.

Lechmere, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, to the Mastership of Wigstan Hospital in Leicester (*h*). In 1724, he published in 8*vo* *seventeen sermons* on several occasions, eleven of which were never before printed. In 1727, upon the death of Sir Isaac Newton, he was offered the place of *Master of the Mint*, which he thought proper to refuse [*Y*]. In 1728, was published, *A Letter* from Dr Clarke to Mr Benjamin Hoadly, concerning *the Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in Motion* (*i*). The beginning of the year 1729, he published at London in 4*to* the twelve first books of Homer's *Iliad* [*Z*]. This was the last year of this great and learned man's life: for he was taken suddenly ill the 11th of May, and died the 17th [*AA*]. He married Katherine the only daughter of the Rev. Mr Lockwood, Rector of Little Massingham in Norfolk; by whom he had seven children, two of which died before him, and one a few weeks after him (*k*). Since his death, have been published, from his original manuscripts, by his brother Dr John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, *An Exposition on the Church Catechism* [*BB*], and *ten volumes* of *sermons*. The particulars of Dr Clarke's character shall be laid together in the last remark [*CC*].

(*h*) Hist. Mem. p. 61.

(*i*) Printed in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 401.

(*k*) Account, &c. p. 10.

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London 1719. To the latter Mr Whiston replied in *A Second Letter to the Bishop of London*, &c. dated March 11, 1718-19: and the author of the *seasonable Review*, &c. answered him in a *Second Review*, &c. As to Dr Clarke's conduct in this affair, Mr Whiston (48) esteems it 'one of the most Christian attempts 'towards somewhat of reformation, upon the primitive 'foot, that he ever ventured upon.' But he adds, that the Bishop of London, in the way of *modern authority*, was quite too hard for Dr Clarke, in the way of *primitive Christianity*.

(48) Ibid. p. 60.

[*Y*] *He thought proper to refuse the place of Master of the Mint.*] Upon the offer of this place, he advised with his friends, and particularly with Mr Emlyn and Mr Whiston; who were both heartily against his accepting it, as what he did not want, as what was entirely remote from his profession; and would hinder the success of his ministry. To which Mr Whiston added, as his principal reason against it, that such refusal would shew that he was in *earnest* in religion. Dr Clarke was himself of the same opinion, and could never reconcile himself to this *secular preferment*. And it is taken notice of, to the honour of *Mrs Clarke*, that she never set her heart upon the advantages this place would produce to her family, but left the Doctor at full liberty to act as his conscience and inclination should direct him. Mr Whiston, who particularly mentions this affair, informs us (49), that Mr Conduit, who succeeded, gave 1000*l.* to vacate a place among the *King's writers*; which was given to one of Dr Clarke's sons.

(49) Ibid. p. 85.

[*Z*] *The twelve first books of Homer's Iliad.*] This edition was printed in *quarto*, and dedicated to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. The Latin version is almost entirely new, and *annotations* are added at the bottom of the pages. Homer, the Bishop of Winchester tells us (50), was Dr Clarke's admired author, even to a degree of something like Enthusiasm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace's judgment, and was so unwilling to allow the favourite Poet ever to *nod*, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out, and give a reason for every passage, word, and tittle, that could create any suspicion. 'The translation, *adds his Lordship*, with his corrections, may now 'be styled accurate; and his notes, as far as they go, 'are indeed a treasury of grammatical and critical 'knowledge. He was called to this task by Royal command; and he has performed it in such a manner, as 'to be worthy of the young Prince, for whom it was 'laboured. The praises given to this excellent work 'by the writers abroad in their *Memoirs*, as well as 'by the learned Masters of the three principal Schools 'of England, those of Westminster, Eaton, and St 'Paul's; and the short character, that the performance 'was *supra omnem invidiam*, bestowed by one, whom 'Dr Clarke had long before styled, *Criticos Unus omnes* '*longe longeque antecellens*, and whom every one will 'know by that title without my naming him; make 'it unnecessary to add a word upon this subject.' The *twelve last books* of the *Iliad* were published, in 1732, in 4*to* by our author's son, Mr Samuel Clarke, who informs us, in the Preface, that his father had finished the *annotations* to the three first of those books, and as far as the 359th verse of the fourth; and had revised the text and version as far as verse 510 of the same book. *A second edition* of the whole was published, in 1735, in two volumes 8*vo*.

(50) Account, &c. p. 8.

[*AA*] *His death.*] The day on which he was taken ill (*Sunday, May* 11) he went out in the morning, to preach before the Judges at Serjeant's-Inn; and there was seized with a pain in his side, which made it impossible for him to perform the office he was cal'ed to, and became quickly so violent, that he was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed, and thought himself so much better in the afternoon, that he would not suffer himself to be blooded; against which remedy he had entertained strong prejudices. But the pain returning very violently about two the next morning, made the advice and assistance of a very able Physician absolutely necessary; *who, after twice bleeding him, and other applications, thought him*, as he *also thought himself*, to be out of all danger; and so continued to think, till the Saturday morning following; when, to the inexpressible surprize of all about him, the pain removed from his side to his head; and, after a very short complaint, took away his senses, so as they never returned any more. He continued breathing till between seven and eight in the evening of that day (*May* 17) and then died (51).

(51) Ibid. p. 10.

[*BB*] *His* Exposition of the Church Catechism.] It is made up of those Lectures he read, every Thursday morning, for some months in the year, at St James's Church. In the latter part of his time, he revised them with great care, and left them completely prepared for the press. The first edition of them was in 1729. This performance of Dr Clarke's was *immediately animadverted upon by a very learned Divine* (*), under the title of, *Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism*. This produced *An Answer to the Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism* (‖). The author of the *Remarks* replied in a piece, intitled, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy, of the Christian Sacraments, considered; in Reply to a Pamphlet, intitled,* An Answer, &c. *As also the comparative Value of Moral and Positive Duties distinctly stated and cleared.* The *Answerer* rejoined in *A Defence of the Answer*, &c. *Wherein the Difference between Moral and Positive Duties is fully stated. Being a Reply to*, &c. This occasioned *A Supplement to the Treatise, intitled,* The Nature, &c. *Wherein the Nature and Value of Positive Institutions is more particularly examined, and Objections answered. By the same author.* Then followed the *Answerer's* Reply, intitled, *The true Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion asserted: Being a Reply to the* Supplement, &c. Which being animadverted upon by the *Remarker* in the *Postscript* to his *Second Part of Scripture vindicated*, produced An Answer to the *Postscript*, &c. *Wherein is shewn, that if Reason be not a sufficient Guide in Matters of Religion, the bulk of Mankind, for four thousand years, had no sufficient Guide at all in Matters of Religion.*

(*) Dr Waterland, Head of Magdalen Coll. Cambr.

(‖) By Dr Sykes, Dean of Burien.

[*CC*] *Dr* Clarke's *character.*] It is excellently and concisely drawn by the masterly hand of the author (†) of *Difficulties and Discouragements, which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the way of private Judgment*; as follows (52): 'Dr Clarke is a man, who 'has *all the good qualities*, that can meet together, to 'recommend him. He is possessed of *all* the parts of '*learning*, that are valuable in a Clergyman, in a degree that few possess any *single one*. He has joined, 'to

(†) Dr Hare, Bishop of Chichester.

(52) Page 20.

'to a good skill in the *three learned languages*, a 'great compass of the best *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks*, 'as appears by his *Latin* works; and his *English* ones 'are such a proof of his own *piety*, and of his '*knowledge in Divinity*, and have done so much *service* '*to religion*, as would make any other man, that was 'not under the suspicion of *heresy*, secure of the 'friendship and esteem of all good Churchmen, especial-'ly of the Clergy. And to all this *piety* and *learning*, 'and the good use that has been made of it, is added 'a *temper* happy beyond expression: a sweet, easy, 'modest, inoffensive, obliging behaviour, adorn all 'his actions; and no passion, vanity, insolence, or 'ostentation, appear either in what he writes or says: 'and yet these faults are often incident to the best men, 'in the freedom of conversation, and in writing against 'impertinent and unreasonable adversaries, especially 'such as strike at the foundations of virtue and religion. 'This is the *learning*, this the *temper* of the man, 'whose *study of the Scriptures* has betrayed him into a '*suspicion* of some *heretical opinions*.' After this short, but comprehensive character, and what has been already said of Dr Clarke as an *author*, we shall add only a few particulars from the accounts given us by Bishop Hoadly and Mr Whiston. The former, in his character of Dr Clarke (53), tells us; the first strokes of *knowledge*, in some of it's branches, seemed to be little less than *natural* to him; for they appeared to lie right in his mind, as soon as any thing could appear. He had one happiness, very rarely known among the greatest men, that his *memory* was almost equal to his *judgment*. He had so ready a *genius*, that he immediately comprehended what cost others a great deal of pains, and was esteemed one of the best judges to apply to, for a quick determination about the force or failure of any arguments. His critical skill in the learned *languages* he made subservient to the cause of religion, as well as polite learning. The design and tendency of his *preaching* was not to move the passions, nor had he any talent that way: but then his sentiments and expressions were so masterly, and his way of explaining the phraseology of Scripture so extraordinary and convincing, as more than made amends for the want of the other. His *conversation*, which was highly useful and instructive, was attended with a readiness of thought, and clearness of expression, which hardly ever failed him, when his opinion was asked upon the most important and trying questions. His *piety* was manly and unaffected; his *charity* and benevolence, extensive as the whole rational creation; and the *ruling principle* of his heart and practice, a love of the religious and civil liberties of mankind. In a word, *his life, when he came into the view of the great world*, was an ornament and strength to that religion, which his *pen* so well defended. Mr Whiston gives us (54) a remarkable example of what Bishop Hoadly observes, that the *first strokes of knowledge seemed to be little less than natural to him*. He had it from Dr Clarke's own mouth, and it is this. One of his parents asked him, when he was very young, whether God could do every thing? He answered, yes. He was asked again, whether God could do one particular thing, could tell a lye? He answered, no: and he understood the question to suppose, that this was the only thing that God could not do. Nor durst he say, so young was he then, he thought there was any thing else, which God could not do: while yet he well remembered, he had even then a clear conviction in his own mind, that there was one other thing, which God could not do, *viz.* that he could not *annihilate* that *space*, which was in the room wherein they were. Which impossibility now appears even in Sir Isaac Newton's own Philosophy. Mr Whiston fully agrees to the character given above of Dr Clarke by the author of *Difficulties and Discouragements*, &c. with such abatements as the *Memoirs* he himself has given us of this great man will make necessary. These abatements, respecting some parts of the Doctor's conduct, impartiality requires us to mention. And, in the first place, he blames Dr Clarke for *subscribing* the *Articles*, at a time when he could not, with perfect truth and sincerity, assent to the *Athanasian* parts of them. This was at his taking the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Mr Whiston, then Professor of Mathematicks at Cambridge, endeavoured to dissuade him from it; and, when he could not prevail on that head, he earnestly pressed him to declare openly, and in writing, in what *sense* he subscribed the suspected Articles: but he could not prevail on this head neither. Upon this occasion, Professor *James*, who suspected Dr Clarke of an inclination to *heretical pravity*, said to him, upon his subscribing the Articles, 'He hoped he would not 'go from his subscription.' The Doctor replied, 'He could promise nothing as to futurity, and could 'only answer as to his present sentiments (55).' However, Mr Whiston acknowledges, that Dr Clarke, for many years before he died, perpetually refused all, even the greatest preferments, which required *subscription*, and never encouraged those, who consulted him, to *subscribe* (56). In the next place, he objects to Dr Clarke his not acting *sincerely*, *boldly*, and *openly*, in the Declaration of his *true* opinions, and his *over-cautious*, and *over-timorous* way of speaking, writing, and acting, in points of the highest consequence. When Mr Whiston gave him frequent and vehement admonitions upon this head, his general answer, he tells us, was, who are those that act better than I do? 'Very few of which '(*says he*) I could ever name to him; tho' I did 'not think that a sufficient excuse.' Lastly, Mr Whiston is greatly displeased with Dr Clarke's conduct in relation to the affair of the *Convocation*. We have already seen (57) some of his reflexions upon that event, the account of which he concludes with these words: 'Thus ended this unhappy affair; unhappy 'to Dr Clarke's own conscience; unhappy to his best 'friends; and above all unhappy as to it's consequences 'in relation to the opinion unbelievers were hereupon 'willing to entertain of him, as if he had prevaricated 'all along in his former writings for Christianity.' This conclusion however, Mr Whiston owns, was too hasty, and that Dr Clarke did by degrees recover part of his former character (58). We shall finish this remark, and this whole account of Dr Clarke, with observing, that his great abilities and acquirements made him perpetually sought after by all the greatest lovers of virtue and knowledge; and that to such a degree, that, thro' his last years, he could command but very little time for his own studies, even in the morning: that, as he was the darling of the great and powerful, so, in particular, her late Majesty *Queen Caroline*, from her first acquaintance with his character to the day of his death, expressed the high esteem she had of his comprehensive capacity, and useful learning, by very frequent conversations with him upon the most important point of true Philosophy, and real knowledge (59). T

(53) Account, &c. p. 10—13.
(54) Hist. Mem. p. 14, 15.
(55) Ibid. p. 12.
(56) Ib. p. 66, 67.
(57) In the remark [T].
(58) Ibid. p. 52.
(59) Account, &c. p. 23.

CLIFFORD (George) the third Earl of Cumberland, of that noble and ancient family [*A*], was a person very eminent for his skill in Navigation. He was born in the year 1558 (*a*), and educated at Peter-House in Cambridge, where he had for his tutor the celebrated John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In this place, he applied himself chiefly to the study of the Mathematicks, which his genius led him to; whereby he became qualified for the several great expeditions he undertook afterwards (*b*). The first time he had any publick employment, was in the year 1586, when he was one of

(*a*) This appears from hence, because he was above eleven years of age in 1569-70, January 8, when his father died. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *The third Earl of Cumberland, of that noble and ancient family.*] They derive their descent from——*Pontz*, who is supposed to have come into England with William the Conqueror. His younger son, *Richard* de Pontz, was father of *Walter*, who seating himself at *Clifford* in Herefordshire, took his surname from that place. Lineally descended from him, was, *Henry* Lord Clifford, who, on the 18th of June 1525, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Cumberland. His eldest son and heir was *Henry*, father of *George*, of whom we are treating in this article (1).

(1) See Dugdale, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 335—345.

of the Peers who sat in judgment upon Mary Queen of Scots (*c*). But having a greater inclination to act by sea than by land; and (according to the fashion in the brave and warlike reign of Queen Elizabeth) being bent on making foreign discoveries, and defeating the ambitious designs of the Spaniard, who was preparing his invincible Armada for conquering England: he fitted out, at his own charge, a little fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace [*B*], with a view to send them into the South-Sea, on purpose to annoy the Spanish settlements there [*C*]. They sailed from Gravesend the 26th of June 1586, and from Plymouth the 17th of August; but were forced back by contrary winds into Dartmouth. From whence putting out again on the 29th, they fell with the coast of Barbary the 17th of September, and the next day halled in with the road of Santa Cruz. On the 25th, they came to the Rio del Oro, just under the northern Tropick; where they anchored (*d*). Searching up that river, the next day, they found it to be as broad fourteen or fifteen leagues upward, as at the mouth, which was two leagues over: but met with no town, nor house. The last of September they departed for Sierra Leona, where they arrived the 21st of October. Going on shore, they burnt a town of the Negroes, and brought away to their ships about fourteen or fifteen tuns of rice: and having furnished themselves with wood and water, they sailed the 21st of November from Sierra Leona, making for the Straights of Magellan. The second of January 1586-7, they discovered land; and, on the 4th day of that month, fell in with the American shore in 30 deg. 40 min. South Latitude. Continuing their course southward, they took, January 10, not far from Rio de la Plata, a small Portuguese ship; and the next day, another: out of which they furnished themselves with what necessaries they wanted (*e*). The 12th of January they came to Seal-island, and two days after to the Green-island, near which they took in water. Returning to Seal-island, a consultation was held on the 7th of February, Whether they should continue their course for the South-Sea, and winter in the Streights of Magellan; or spend three or four months upon the coast of Brasil, and proceed on their voyage in the spring? The majority being for the former, they went as far as 44 degrees of Southern Latitude. But, meeting with storms and contrary winds, they took a final resolution, on the 21st of February, to return to the coast of Brasil: accordingly, they fell in with it the 5th of April; and after taking in water and provisions in the bay of Camana, came into the port of Baya, the 11th. Eight Portuguese ships being there, they found means to carry off four of them (the least of which were of a hundred and thirty tuns) notwithstanding all the enemies resistance: and also fetched a supply of fresh provision from the shore. The 16th and 17th of May they got a quantity of sugar out of the Portuguese ingenio's (*f*). The 26th of the same month, they made themselves masters of a new ship, of a hundred and twenty tuns burden, loaden with meal and sugar. On the 3d of June, some were for pursuing their voyage to the South-Sea [*D*]. But finding themselves upon examination, in want of a due number of men, and sufficient provisions, they resolved, on the 10th, to sail back to England: where they arrived, September 29, after an unprosperous voyage (*g*). This same year, he went, with many other English Noblemen and gentlemen, to the relief of Sluys then besieged by the Duke of Parma; but at his arrival, he found the place surrendred (*h*). In 1588, he was one of those brave persons, who put themselves on board the English fleet, to oppose the Spanish Armada that was advancing to invade England. He commanded, on that occasion, the Elizabeth Bonaventure, and signalized himself in a remarkable manner; especially in the last engagement with the Spaniards, near Calais (*i*). Queen Elizabeth was so pleased with his good services, that she granted him a commission, dated, October 4, 1588, to pursue his intended voyage to the South-Sea: and, for his greater honour and encouragement, lent him one of her own royal ships, named the Golden-Lyon, to be the Admiral. This he victualled and furnished at his own charge; and failed about the end of October, attended with many brave English gentlemen. In the channel, he took a ship of Dunkirk, named the Hare, laden with merchandize for Spain, which he sent home. But contrary winds at first, and afterwards a violent storm which forced him to cut his main-mast by the board, deprived him of further hopes and ability, to prosecute his designs on the Spanish coasts; so that he returned to England (*k*). However, not discouraged by this unhappy disappointment, he undertook a *third* voyage to the West-Indies in 1589. For that purpose, he obtained the Queen's leave, and one ship of the Royal navy, called the Victory; to which adding three other small ships, furnished, at his own

(*c*) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad ann. 1586.

(*d*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. published by R. Hakluyt, edit. 1600, Vol. III. p. 769. Purchas his Pilgrimes, edit. 1625. Part iv. p. 1141.

(*e*) Hakluyt, as above, p. 770, 771; and Purchas, ubi sup.

(*f*) That is, houses where they purge and refine the sugar.

(*g*) Hakluyt, p. 772—778. Purchas, p. 1142.

(*h*) Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1142.

(*i*) Account of the Spanish Invasion, by P. Morant: joined to the *Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords*, &c. engraven by J. Pine. Lond. 1739, fol. p. 9, 18.

(*k*) Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1142.

[*B*] *Consisting of three ships, and a pinnace.*] They were; The Red Dragon, Admiral, of 260 tuns, and 130 men, commanded by Captain Robert Withrington. The Bark Clifford Vice-Admiral, of 130 tuns, and 70 men, Captain Christopher Lister Commmander. The Roe, Rere-Admiral, commanded by Captain Hawes. The Dorothy pinnace, which was Sir Walter Raleigh's (2).

[*C*] *To annoy the Spanish settlements there.*] It was resolved by the judicious in that age, as Dr Fuller rightly observes (3), that the way to humble the Spanish greatness, was not by pinching and pricking him in the Low-Countries, which only emptied his veins of such blood as was quickly refilled: but the way to make it a cripple for ever, was by cutting off the Spanish sinews of war, his money from the West-Indies.

[*D*] *Some were for pursuing their voyage to the South-Sea.*] Captain Lister, in particular, had so great a desire to perform that voyage, according to the Earl of Cumberland's direction, that he went to the Admiral, and requested him to give him six buts of wine, one barrel of oyl, three or four barrels of flesh, and to have one Thomas Hood a Pilot, and seven or eight seamen in exchange for some landmen; and, by God's help, he, with the Bark Clifford, would alone proceed for the South-Sea: but the Admiral mightily withstood his motion, and would grant none of his requests (4).

(2) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 769; and Purchas, ubi supra.

(3) Worthies of England, in Yorkshire, p. 203.

(4) Hakluyt, ubi supra, p. 777.

[*E*] To

own expence, with about four hundred men, and all neceſſaries [*E*], he ſet ſail from Plymouth the 18th of June (*l*). Three days after, they took three French ſhips belonging to the Leaguers (*m*) in that nation. Meeting, on the 13th of July, with eleven ſhips bound for Hamborough, and other neighbouring ports, they took out of them a quantity of pepper and cinnamon belonging to a Jew of Liſbon, valued at about four thouſand five hundred pounds. The firſt of Auguſt, they came within ſight of St Michael, one of the Azores, and put out Spaniſh colours, the more eaſily to excute the project they had formed, of carrying off in the night ſome ſhips that were in the harbour. Accordingly they cut the cables of three of them, and towed them away: they were loaded with wine and oyl from Seville. The 7th, they took another little veſſel, whoſe lading was Madera-wine, woollen-cloth, ſilks, *&c.* Having got information, that the Spaniſh Carracks (a very valuable booty) were at Tercera, they made haſte thither: and by the way looked into Fyal road, Auguſt the 27th, whence they brought away a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tuns, and fourteen guns, that was moored to the caſtle, and loaded with ſugar, ginger, and hides. They fetched out likewiſe five other ſmall ſhips, newly come from Guinea, notwithſtanding the briſk fire of the enemy, and ſent four of them to England on the 30th of Auguſt. At their coming near Tercera, being told that the Carracks had been gone thence eight days, they returned back to Fyal on the 10th of September; and having made themſelves maſters of the town with much eaſe, obliged the inhabitants to ranſom it for two thouſand ducats (*n*). They took there alſo fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance. The 27th of that month they went to St Michael: and the 1ſt of October to Gratioſa, where they got a new ſupply of proviſions. On the 14th they took a French ſhip loaden with fiſh from Newfoundland. The ſame day, and the five following, the Earl of Cumberland endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of fifteen ſail of the Spaniſh Weſt-India fleet, that had put into the port of Angra in Tercera: but finding it too dangerous an attempt, he deſiſted. Next, he ſailed to St Michael's; where being hindred from taking in freſh water, he went for it to St Mary's iſland. And finding two Braſil ſhips there, which the people were trying to bring a-ground, Captain Liſter boldly carried one of them off, notwithſtanding the enemy's violent fire. But the Earl attempting to take the other, had two parts of his own men killed or wounded; and received himſelf three ſhot upon his ſhield, and a fourth on his ſide, tho' not deep: his head was likewiſe broke with ſtones and all covered with blood, and both his head and legs were much burnt with granadoes (*o*). Not being able to have water there, he took ſome in at St George's iſland, October 29; and then reſolved to ſail for England, taking the coaſt of Spain in his way. On the 4th of November they had the good fortune to make themſelves maſters of a Portugueſe ſhip of one hundred and ten tuns, fraighted with ſugar and Braſil-wood: and two days after, of another, between three and four hundred tuns, loaden with hides, cochineal, ſugar, china-diſhes, and ſilver. Both were valued at fourteen thouſand pounds, and forthwith were ſent to England: but the latter was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Cornwall, and all the men periſhed except five or ſix; however, ſome of the goods were ſaved (*p*). The Earl himſelf being kept out at ſea, by ſtorms and contrary winds, longer than he expected, was, for want of proviſions, reduced to the greateſt extremities [*F*]. But at length, on the 2d of December, reaching Bantry-

(*l*) Navigations, Voyages, *&c.* publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, Vol. II. edit. 1599. P. ii. p. 155. Purchas, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) That is, to the faction formed in France againſt King Henry III. They were looked upon as enemies by the Engliſh.

(*n*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 157, 158.

(*o*) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1143.

(*p*) Hakluyt, as above, p. 162, 163, 166.

[*E*] *To which adding three other ſmall ſhips, &c.*] Namely, The Meg, commanded by Captain William Monſon, Vice-Admiral: the Margaret, by Captain Edward Careles, alias Wright, Rear-Admiral: and a Caravel, by Captain Pigeon. The Earl himſelf was Commander of the Victory, having under him Captain Chriſtopher Liſter (5).

[*F*] *Was, for want of proviſions, reduced to the greateſt extremities.*] The tragical account left us by one of the ſufferers (6), of the great extremities they were reduced to for want of drink, is equal to the ſcene of hunger in Beaumont and Fletcher's ſea-voyage. 'Soon after, *ſays he,* the wind came about to the 'eaſtwards, ſo that we could not fetch any part of 'England. And hereupon alſo our allowance of 'drinke, which was ſcant ynough before, was yet more 'more ſcanted, becauſe of the ſcarcitie thereof in the 'ſhippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a 'pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, 'and ſcarce ſweete. Notwithſtanding this was an 'happie eſtate in compariſon of that which followed: 'for from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that 'laſted not long neither; ſo that by reaſon of this 'great ſcarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we 'thought to put into Ireland, there to relieve our 'wants. But when wee came neer thither, we were 'driven ſo farre to Lee-ward, that we could fetch no 'part of Ireland. In the mean time we were allowed 'every man three or foure ſpoones full of vineger to 'drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, 'ſaving onely at two or three meales, when we had 'inſtead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out 'of wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare '(for by reaſon of our great want of drinke, wee durſt 'eate but very little) wee continued for a ſpace of a 'fortnight or thereabouts: ſaving that now and then 'wee feaſted for it in the meane time; and that was 'when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-ſtones 'wee gathered up and did eate them more pleaſantly 'than if they had bene the ſweeteſt comfits in the 'world. The raine-drops were ſo carefully ſaved, 'that ſo neere as wee coulde, not one was loſt in all 'our ſhippe. Some hanged up ſheetes tied with cordes 'by the foure corners, and a weight in the midſt that 'the water might runne downe thither, and ſo be re-'ceived into ſome veſſel ſet or hanged underneath: 'ſome that wanted ſheetes, hanged up napkins, and 'cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, 'then wringing and ſucking out the water. And that 'water which fell downe and waſhed away the filth 'and ſoyling of the ſhippe, trod under foote, as bad 'as running down the kennell many times when it 'raineth, was not loſt, but watched and attended 'carefully, yea ſometimes with ſtrife and contention, 'at every ſcupper-hole, and other place where it ran 'down, with diſhes, pots, cannes, and jarres, where-'of ſome drunk hearty draughts even as it was, mud, 'and all, without tarrying to clenſe or ſettle it: others 'clenſed it firſt, but not often, for it was ſo thicke 'and went ſo ſlowly thorow, that they might ill en-'dure to tary ſo long, and were loth to loſe too much 'of ſuch precious ſtuff: ſome licked with their 'tongues, like dogges, the boards under feete, the 'ſides, railes, and maſts of the ſhippe: others that 'were more ingenious, faſtened girdles or ropes about 'the maſtes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the 'maſte,

(5) Hakluyt, as above, p. 155; and Purchas, p. 1142.

(6) Edward Wright, a famous Mathematician. See Hakluyt, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 163, 164.

Bantry-bay in the West of Ireland, and having there refreshed himself and his men, he arrived safe at Falmouth the 29th of December; after a tedious passage of nine days from Ireland (q). In 1591, his Lordship undertook a *fourth* voyage, to the coast of Spain, with five ships [G], fitted out at his own charge (r). He sailed from England in May; and, in his way to the Spanish coasts, found several Dutch ships coming from Lisbon loaden with spices, which he took out of them. These spices, he determined to send to England, in a ship, guarded by the Golden-Noble his Rear-Admiral, but they were taken in a calm, by some Portuguese gallies from Penicha; one of the Captains, with several of the men slain; and the rest carried prisoners to Penicha, and from thence to Lisbon. His Lordship took, besides the spices just now mentioned, a vessel fraighted with wine, which he unloaded into his own: and two ships laden with sugar; but one having a leak that could not be found, he left it: the other he sent for England; and by contrary winds, and want of victuals, it was forced into the Groyne, where it fell into the enemy's hands. These several misfortunes obliged the Earl to return to England; after having sent advice to the Lord Thomas Howard, Admiral of the English fleet, then waiting at the Azores to intercept the West-India plate fleet, That there was a large Spanish squadron ready to put out to sea (s). The next year, the Earl of Cumberland undertook a *fifth* expedition; in which he chose not to make use of any of her Majesty's ships [H]. He intended to have commanded in this voyage in person; but he was so crossed with winds, that three months provisions were spent in harbours, before they could get to the Westward of Plymouth. Whereupon, being disappointed in his principal design, namely, the taking of the outward-bound Spanish Carracks; he transferred the chief command to Captain Norton, with instructions to go to the Azores, and returned himself to London. His little fleet pursued their voyage, and one of the ships (t) took, near Cascais, and within shot of the castle, a Portuguese ship, which was conducted to England by the Golden Noble. The rest went to the Azores, and, with the assistance of other English ships [I], attached the Santa Cruz, a large Carrack, in the road of Lagowna; which the Spaniards set on fire, after having put the best of its cargo on shore, but the English landed, and made themselves masters, both of it, and the town. The 3d of August, they took another rich Carrack, named Madre de Dios, or the Mother of God, valued at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, which was brought to Dartmouth (u). The Earl of Cumberland's share, in proportion to his number of ships and men employed in that service, must have amounted to a very considerable sum: but, because his commission had not provided for the case of his return, and the substituting another in his room, it was adjudged, that he should depend on the Queen's mercy and bounty. And, by reason of several embezzlements, not above the fifth part of the ship's value being brought to account, his Lordship was forced to sit down contended with thirty-six thousand pounds; and that too as a mere matter of bounty and favour, not as his just right (w). The Earl, not hereby discouraged, undertook a *sixth* voyage, in the year 1593. Queen Elizabeth lent him for this expedition two ships of her Royal navy, namely, the Golden-Lyon, Admiral, which his Lordship commanded in person; and the Bonadventure, Vice-Admiral: to which he added four other ships (x). He had not been long at sea, before he took two French ships of great value, guarded by fourteen great hulks, one of which he carried with him, and sent the other to England. When he came near the Azores, hearing that the Spaniards had a fleet there to intercept him, and perceiving, by an advice-boat of theirs he took, that they were much superiour to him in strength; he kept company with them one day, and then withdrew at ten or twelve leagues distance, and so continued for three weeks. In which time being seized with a violent fit of illness, he left the command of his little fleet to Captain Monson (who took one prize afterwards) and returned to England: this proving the most gainful voyage he ever made. Whilst he was near the coast of Spain, he sent three of his ships (y) to the West-Indies. They first touched at St Lucia and Martinico, where they refreshed themselves; and then proceeding

(q) Ibid. p. 164, 165, 166; and Purchas, p. 1143, 1144.

(r) Purchas, as above, p. 1144.

(s) Purchas, p. 1144; and Sir Will. Monson's Tracts.

(t) The Golden Noble.

(u) Hakluyt, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 196—198.

(w) Purchas, p. 1145.

(x) *Viz.* The bark Chaldon, the Pilgrim, the Antony, and the Discovery. Purchas, p. 1146.

(y) The Antony of 120 tuns, Capt. Jam. Langton, Commander: the Pilgrim of 100 tuns, commanded by Capt. Fr. Slingsby; and the Discovery. Purchas, ubi sup.

'maste, that the rain might not run down between, in 'such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower 'on the one side than on the other, a spout of leather 'was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the 'raine-drops that came running downe the maste, 'might meete together at that place, and there be re'ceived.——Some also put bullets of lead into their 'mouthes to slake their thirst. Now in every corner 'of the shippe were heard the lamentable cries of 'sicke and wounded men sounding wofully in our 'eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want 'of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for 'lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremitie 'we lost many more men, then wee had done all the 'voyage before.'

[G] *With five ships.*] Namely, a new ship of the Queen's of six hundred tuns, named the Garland, being the Admiral: The Samson, Vice-Admiral, a ship of his Lordship's, of two hundred and sixty tuns: together with the Golden Noble, Rear-Admiral: the Allagarta: and a small pinnace called the Discovery (7).

(7) Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1144.

[H] *He chose not to make use of any of her Majesty's ships.*] By reason of the inconvenience of her Majesty's command, 'Not to lay any Spanish ship a-board with 'her ships, lest both might together be destroyed by 'fire.' So he hired of the Merchants, the Tigre, a ship of 600 tuns, furnished by the owners for three hundred pounds a month wages, in which he went in person; adding thereto his own ship the Samson, and the Golden Noble, with two small ships more (8); commanded by Captain Nicolas Downton, and Captain Abraham Cocke (9).

[I] *And with the assistance of other English ships*] That had been sent into those seas by Sir Walter Raleigh, to watch the return of the Spanish East and West-India fleets. The particular ships that assisted in fighting against the Santa Cruz, were, The Roebuck, a ship of Sir Walter Raleigh's, commanded by Sir John Burrough: the Foresight, belonging to the Queen, Sir Robert Crosse, Commander: the Dainty, a ship of Sir John Hawkins, Captain Tomson: and the Golden Dragon, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport (10).

(8) Purchas, p. 1144.

(9) Hakluyt, p. 197.

(10) Hakluyt, p. 195—197; and Purchas, p. 1145.

[K] Fitted

ceeding to Margarita, an island famous for the pearl-fisheries, seized there a large quantity of pearl, to the value of two thousand pounds, besides other booty: and obliged also the inhabitants to pay them two thousand ducats in pearl, to save their town from being plundered. They sailed next to Cumana, to the islands of Aruba and Curassow, and to Rio de la Hache, which they intended to have taken, but found the people ready for them, and learned that they had carried their goods up to the mountains: they therefore set sail for Hispaniola, and having visited several ports round it, and also the islands of Mona and Savona, went up the river Socko in Hispaniola, where they exacted large contributions, threatning otherwise to pillage the Spaniards farm-houses. At Domingo, they took a fine frigat, which they brought to England. Thence they went to Jamaica, to Cuba, Cape Corientes and Cape St Antonio, where they waited for some time in vain for ships coming from the Havannah. After eight months spent in those parts, the Pilgrim sailed for England, and arrived at Plymouth, *May 14, 1594*. But the Antonio, and the frigat, went to the bay of Honduras, where, near Porto Cavallo, they found seven Spanish ships: from Six of them the Spaniards had taken off the rudders, that they might be disabled from sailing; and refusing to ransom them, the English set them on fire. But they first took out the best effects, and put them on board the Spanish Admiral, a ship of two hundred and fifty tuns, which they brought to England: and arrived at Plymouth the 15th of May, the next day after the Pilgrim (z). Before the return of these ships, the Earl of Cumberland had, at his own charge, with the help of some adventurers, fitted out a small fleet [K], designed for the Azores, and particularly for the island of Tercera. They sailed from Plymouth, April 6, 1594, and about the 25th, took a small bark of Viana in Portugal, loaden with Galicia wines, and other commodities, which they divided amongst themselves. On the 2d of June, they came within Sight of St Michael's island, one of the Azores; and, on the 13th of the same month, met (a) with a large Portuguese Carrack, of two thousand tuns, called *Las cinque Llagas*, or the five wounds, returning from the East-Indies. They attacked it very vigorously, and would probably have become masters of it: but it being accidentally set on fire during the engagement, was blown up, with a great quantity of powder it had on board. After this disaster they sailed for the island of Flores, where they refreshed themselves: and then putting out again to sea, came up, the 1st of July, with another large Carrack of fifteen hundred tuns, which, after a few shot, they summoned to surrender. But it standing upon its defence, and, in the engagemant with the former Carrack, the Vice-Admiral and several men having been killed, and the Admiral with many more wounded, the rest began to grow faint and discouraged. So leaving this Carrack, they went and waited about Corvo and Flores for some prize from the West-Indies. None coming, and their victuals beginning to grow short, they returned for England, and arrived at Portsmouth about the end of August, having done much harm to the enemy, and little good to themselves (b). Notwithstanding that, the Earl of Cumberland resolved upon an *eighth* expedition in the year 1595. Thinking himself ill-used by the Queen, in the small share he received of the treasure found in the Madre de Dios; and not liking to be tied to such strict orders as he was when he went out with any ships of the Royal navy; likewise, being highly displeased at the loss of the two last mentioned Carracks for want of a sufficient strength; he built, at *Deptford, a ship of his own*, of nine hundred tuns: which the Queen, at the launching of it, named The Scourge of *Malice*. *It was the best and largest ship*, that, till then, had ever been built by any English subject. In this his Lordship intended to have gone in person, and had prepared three other ships to accompany him [L]. But when he had gone as far as Plymouth, the Queen sent him an order, by Sir Walter Ralegh and Sir John Hawkins, to return: and he complied. The ships, however, pursued their voyage [M]: three of them (c) went to the Azores, where they took a Carvel from St Thomas, of a hundred tuns, laden with sugar. They attacked, afterwards, near Flores, a large ship which they supposed to be a Carrack, but found it to be the St Thomas, Vice-Admiral of the Spanish fleet, waiting there to convoy the East and West-India fleets to Europe. Being like to be over-powered by the English, it went and joined the other Spanish ships: all which together were too strong for the Earl of Cumberland's small squadron. Whereupon, these latter sailed for the coast of Spain. Near it, they took three Dutch ships, laden with wheat, copper, and other ammunitions and provisions; which being for the King of Spain, were on that account thought lawful prize. By this time their victuals being near spent, they returned to England (d). In 1596, his Lordship fitted out a second time the Scourge of Malice: in which he went in person, accompanied with the Dreadnought belonging to the Queen, and some other small ships. About thirty

(z) Purchas, as above, p. 1146, 1147.

(a) Off the Sound between Fyall and Fico, six leagues to the southward.

(b) Hakluyt, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 199 – 201. Purchas, p. 1147, 1148.

(c) The Scourge, the Antony, and the Frigat.

(d) Purchas, p. 1148.

[K] *Fitted out a small fleet.*] Which consisted of, The Royal Exchange, Admiral, commanded by Captain George Cave: the May-flower, Vice-Admiral, under the conduct of Captain William Anthony: and the Sampson, Captain Nicolas Downton. They had each the like quantity of victuals; and the same number of men, that is 420, of all sorts. Besides these three ships, there was a pinnace, called the Violet, or The Why not I (11).

[L] *And had prepared three other ships to accompany him.*] Namely, The Alcedo, Vice-Admiral, commanded by Captain Monson: the Antony commanded by Captain Daniel Jarret: and the Old Frigat (12).

[M] *The ships, however, pursued their voyage.*] Except the Alcedo: the Commander of which, Captain Monson, was so highly displeased at Captain Langton's being appointed Admiral, and Commander of the Scourge, that he quitted the others, and betook himself to his own adventure in the Alcedo. That bred a quarrel, afterwards, between the Earl of Cumberland and him, and it was a long time before they were reconciled (13).

(11) Hakluyt, as above, p. 199; and Purchas, p. 1147.

(12) Purchas, p. 1148.

(13) See Sir Will. Monson's Tracts; and Purchas, p. 1148.

thirty or forty leagues from England, he met with a storm, wherein the Scourge sprung her main-mast, and was made unserviceable for that voyage: so that he was forced to return for England in the Dreadnought (e). The Queen having at that time prepared a large fleet, to go on the coast of Spain, under the command of the Earl of Essex, and the Lord Admiral; the Earl of Cumberland thought it proper to send also thither the Ascension, a ship of three hundred tuns, four and thirty pieces of ordnance, with a hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Francis Slingsby; on purpose to wait for such ships as were expected from Lisbon. Near the Goodwin-sands it had like to be lost in a storm: but, however, having been able to proceed to Plymouth, and being refitted there, they proceeded on their voyage. Meeting with a Carvel, they made a fruitless attempt upon it, in which the Captain was grievously wounded. Afterwards they happened to be vigorously attacked by seven Spanish ships, one of them the Admiral, against which they as vigorously defended themselves. They continued on the coast of Spain till they had but fourteen days provisions left; and then returned to England, without so much as one prize to make good the damage and loss they and the ship had sustained (f). The last, and most considerable expedition undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, was in the year 1598. Having then fitted out, and victualled, his own ship the Scourge of Malice, with nineteen others [N], chiefly at his own charge, he undertook a voyage in person to the West-Indies. For that purpose, he set sail from Plymouth, March 6, 1597-8; and, on the coast of Spain, took a Hamburgh-ship laden with corn, copper, powder, and prohibited commodities; and a French ship laden with salt going into Lisbon: but had, in taking the first, three men killed, five or six wounded, and his ship shot in several places. Soon after he received intelligence, that there were at Lisbon, five very rich Carracks ready to sail for the East-Indies, and five and twenty ships for Brasil. But they hearing of the approach of the Earl's fleet, and he being tired of waiting for them, sailed on the 5th of April, for the South-Cape. The 8th day they went from thence towards the Canaries; and, on the 13th, made themselves masters of Lancerota, where they hoped to have met with a very great treasure, that island being then governed by a Marquis reputed worth an hundred thousand pounds, but they found little or nothing in the place (g). On the 21st of April sailing from Lancerota, they directed their course towards Dominica, where they arrived the 23d of May, and staid till the 1st of June. Next they went to the Virgin-islands, then uninhabited, where the Earl mustered his men, and acquainted them with his design upon the island of St Juan de Porto Rico (h). Accordingly they set sail for that place, where they arrived the sixth of June, and immediately landed the soldiers, which were about a thousand in number. After a very difficult passage over a causeway to the town [O], and two violent assaults, the enemies quitted the place, of which his Lordship took possession, June the 8th (i). Within a few days, the strong fort of Mora, in which were four hundred soldiers, surrendred also to the English; and was afterwards razed. This town being accounted the very key of the West-Indies, and a passage to all the gold and silver in the Continent of America, his Lordship determined to keep it, and make it a place of war. For that purpose he sent away the inhabitants, on the 7th of July, to Carthagena (k); tho' they made great offers, to be permitted to stay [P]. But a bloody-flux that carried off about

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ibid. p. 1149.

(g) Ib. p. 1149, —1156.

(h) Ibid. p. 1152, 1153, 1159.

(i) Ibid. p. 1160, 1161, 1162.

(k) Ibid. p. 1166.

[N] *With nineteen others.*] The whole fleet was as follows: The Scourge of Malice, commanded by the Earl himself; and, under him, by Captain John Watts outward, and Captain James Langton homewards. The Merchant Royal, Vice-Admiral, commanded by Sir John Berkley. The Ascension, Rear-Admiral, Captain Robert Flicke. The Sampson, Captain Henry Clifford, and after his death at Porto Rico, Captain Christopher Colthurst. The Alcedo, Captain John Ley, and homewards Captain Thomas Cotch. The Consent, Captain Francis Slingsby. The Prosperous, Captain James Langton, and homewards Captain John Watts. The Centurion, Captain Henry Palmer, and, after his death, his son William Palmer. The Gallion Constance, Captain Hercules Folyambe. The Affection, Captain Flemming. The Guiana, Captain Christopher Colthurst, and homewards Captain Gerard Middleton. The Scout, Captain Henry Jolliffe. The Anthony, Captain Robert Careles, and, after his death, Andrew Andrews. The Pegasus, Captain Edward Goodwin. The Royal Defence, Captain Henry Bromley. The Margaret and John, Captain John Dixon. The Berkley-bay, Captain John Lea. The Old Frigot, Captain William Harper. And two barges used for landing of men (14). For this expedition, the Earl was authorized by the Queen's letters Patents dated the 14th of January 1586-7, to raise forces serviceable by sea and land: accordingly he levied twelve companies of eighty men each; and appointed officers for them, when he was within one day's sail of Porto Rico (15). The chief officers were, Sir John Berkley, General; William Mesey, Lieutenant-Colonel; Hercules Folyambe, Serjeant-Major, &c. (16).

(14) Purchas, p. 1149.

(15) Ibid. p. 1155.

(16) Ibid. p. 1149.

[O] *After a very difficult passage over a causeway to the town.*] For, the town stood in a little island, to which there was no other passage but over a beach, or narrow causeway, guarded by two forts; not to be crossed but at low-water. At the further end of it, there was a bridge, which had been pulled up, and a strong barricado. Besides, the causeway had been purposely made so rugged, that the English could not keep on their feet, and therefore chose to wade in the water by the side of it. To add to their misfortunes, the Earl of Cumberland, by the stumbling of him that bore his target, had a violent fall, and was in danger of drowning. For, his armour so overburdened him, that the Serjeant-Major, who by chance was next to him, had much ado at the first and second attempt to raise him. When he was up, he found he had swallowed a great deal of salt-water: which made him so sick, that he was forced to lie down for a while upon the causeway; till, being a little recovered, he was able to be led to a place of more ease and safety (17).

(17) Purchas, p. 1160, 1161.

[P] *Tho' they made great offers to be permitted to stay.*] The Earl, in a letter of his after the taking of this place, affirmeth, That if he would have left the place, he might have had by good account as much sugar and ginger in the country as was worth 500,000 pounds. But he intended to keep it as the key 'of the Indies, which whoever possesseth (as his words 'were) may at his pleasure go into any chamber in the 'house, and see how they sleepe before he bee either 'stopped or descried: so as they must at every doore 'keepe so great a force to guard them, as will consume 'a great part of their yeerely revenue; and send it 'from place to place with so great a wastage, as will cause

about four or five hundred of his men (l), made him alter his resolution. In the mean time, a Carvel coming on the 19th of July, into the harbour, from Margarita, with about a thousand ducats worth of pearl, was seized upon by the English: by which they being informed, that the King of Spain's pearl-chest at Margarita was very rich, and but slenderly guarded, the Earl of Cumberland sailed with three ships, in order to have that great booty, but was hindered by contrary winds from executing his purpose. Before he quitted the island of St Juan de Puerto Rico, he endeavoured to prevail upon the chief inhabitants, for a sum of money to ransom their island and city. But finding that they trifled with him, and suspecting some treachery, he left the strength of his fleet with Sir John Berkley [Q]; to whom he gave full power and commission to transact all affairs in his absence. He took, for his own part, nine ships with him [R], on board of which he put what hides, ginger, sugar, and ammunition he could get; the bells of the Churches; and all the brass-cannons that were in the island, being fourscore in number. With these nine ships he set sail, on the 14th of August, for the Azores, where he hoped to intercept the Spanish Mexico fleet, or some of the Carracks (m). After many tedious calms, and one violent storm, he arrived at Flores, on the 15th of September: but, at his coming there, was told, That he came too late. It was in all likelihood much for his safety and advantage: for, but a few days before, there had been at that place nine and twenty large Spanish men of war, which undoubtedly would have proved too strong for him (n). Here he was joined by Sir John Berkley, with the rest of his fleet. After having taken in some provisions, they sailed all together, the 16th of September, for England; where they arrived about the beginning of October (o). In this expedition, his Lordship lost, a barge sunk by his order in the haven, to the prejudice of the enemy; another barge cast away in a storm at Bermudas; the Pegasus wrecked upon the Goodwin sands, and the old Frigat upon the Ushent; in which two last ships, forty persons were drowned. He lost otherwise about seven hundred men, whereof six hundred died of the bloody-flux and calenture at Porto Rico; and sixty were slain in fight (p). And, for the vast expences he was at in hiring and fitting up ships, &c. he got nothing in this voyage, only some quantities of hides, ginger, and sugar, eighty pieces of ordnance, with some ammunition, the bells of the Churches, and about the value of a thousand ducats of pearl. It was, however, of considerable service to the English nation, and did great damage to the Spaniards; in that it hindered the Carracks from making their voyage to the East-Indies for this year, and obstructed the return of the Spanish plate-fleet from America (q). By the eleven voyages abovementioned, and by building of ships, horse-racing, tilting, and the like expensive exercises, this noble Earl wasted more of his estate than any of his ancestors (r). I should have observed, that, in 1592, he was elected Knight of the Garter (s). In 1601, he was one of the Lords, that were sent with forces to reduce the Earl of Essex to obedience (t). He departed this life at the Savoy in London, October 30, 1605, and was buried at Skipton in Craven in Yorkshire the 30th of March following: where a fine tomb was afterwards erected to his memory (u). He married Margaret, the third daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, by whom he had two sons, who died young; and a daughter named Anne [S]. Dying thus without issue-male, he was succeeded in his honours by his brother *Francis*; who deceased in 1641, and had for successor his only son *Henry*. And he also dying the 11th of December 1643, left one only daughter, *Elizabeth, born in 1613, and married July 5, 1635*, to Richard Boyle Viscount Dungarvan, heir-apparent to Richard Earl of Cork, created in 1644 Lord Clifford of Lansborough, and on the 20th of March 1664, Earl of Burlington, ancestor of the present Earls of that name (w).

(l) Of the thousand that landed, the greater part was dead, or made unserviceable, ibid. p. 1167.

(m) Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1168, &c.

(n) Ibid. p. 1176.

(o) Ibid. p. 1174, 1175, 1176.

(p) Ibid. p. 1149.

(q) Ibid. p. 1176. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1598.

(r) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi supra.

(s) Ibid. And Sept. 27, the same year, was created Master of Arts at Oxford, Wood, Fasti. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 144.

(t) Camden, as above, ad ann. 1601.

(u) Dugdale, p. 345, 346.

(w) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Vol. II. p 333.

'cause them to curse their new Porter: for when 'they have done what they can, they shall beare his 'charge to their owne destructions, and still be losing 'places both of strength and wealth (18).'

[Q] *He left the strength of his fleet with Sir John Berkley.*] Namely, The Ascension, the Gallion, the Alcedo, the Consent, the Pegasus, the Centurion, two strong Fly-boats, and the Antony (19).

[R] *He took, for his own part, nine ships with him.*] *viz.* His own ship, The Scourge of Malice, and the Sampson: and of lesser vessels, The Royal Defence, the Frigat, the Scout, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, and two little ones that were found in the harbour of Porto Rico, the one a French ship, and the other a Spanish frigat, which were rigged during their abode there (20).

[S] *And a daughter named Anne.*] She was born at Skipton-castle, January 30, 1589; and married, *first*, to Richard Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset. By whom she had three sons, who died young; and two daughters; Margaret, the wife of John Lord Tufton Earl of Thanet; and Isabel, of James Lord Compton, Earl of Northampton. She married, *secondly*, Philip Herbert Earl of Penbroke and Montgomery, by whom she had no issue. On the 23d of April 1651, she laid the first stone of an hospital at Appleby in Westmoreland, for thirteen widows. And also purchased lands for the repair of the church, school-house, town-hall, and bridge, at Appleby. She likewise rebuilt a great part of the church there: and rebuilt, and repaired, the greatest part of the church at Skipton. Moreover, she totally rebuilt the churches of Bongate, and Ninekirke; and the chapels of Brougham, and Mallerstang: and purchased lands of eleven pounds yearly value, for the perpetual support of a person qualified to read prayers, with the Homilies of the Church of England in this last; and to teach the children of the Dale, to write and read English (21).

(18) Ibid. p. 1817.

(19) Id. p. 1169.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 346.

C

CLIFFORD (Thomas) Lord High Treasurer of England in the reign of King Charles II, was born August 1, 1630, at Ugbrook in the parish of Chudlegh in Devonshire, about nine miles from Exeter (a). His father, was Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, Esq; Colonel of a regiment of foot in King Charles Ist's expedition against the Scots, in

(a) A. Wood Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 93. Prince, Worthies of Devon, &c. Exeter, 1701, p. 217. The Peerage of Engl. &c. by Ar. Collins, Esq; 8vo, Lond. 1735, Vol. III. p. 313.

1639 [*A*]: and his mother, Mary, daughter of Sir George Chudlegh of Ashton in the county of Devon, Bart (*b*). His grandfather, Thomas Clifford, Esq; a very eminent person [*B*], derived his pedigree from the noble family of the Cliffords Earls of Cumberland [*C*], by Sir Lewis Clifford Knight of the Garter, who died in the sixth of King Henry IV (*c*).——Thomas, who is the subject of this article, having in his youth had an education suitable to his birth and quality, was on the 25th of May 1647, admitted Gentleman-Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford (*d*). In 1650, he supplicated for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; but whether he was admitted, appears not (*e*). However, after having made some considerable stay in the university, and well furnished himself with Academical learning, he became a Student in the Middle-Temple, London (*f*). Having there continued a while, he travelled into foreign parts, 'Being accounted by his contemporaries a young man of a very unsettled head, or of a roving shattered brain (*g*).' Notwithstanding that, we are assured by Mr Prince (*h*), that having an excellent *genius*, highly improved by education, he returned home a most accomplished gentleman. In the beginning of April 1660, he was elected one of the Burgesses for Totnes, to serve in that Parliament which began at Westminster the 25th of the same month, and restored King Charles II. And, after his Majesty's Restoration, he was chosen again Burgess for the same place, in the Parliament which began the 8th of May 1661 (*i*). In this Parliament he began to make a considerable figure [*D*]: for, being a man of great vivacity (*k*), of a good presence of mind and body, a sound judgment, and ready elocution, he became a frequent and celebrated Speaker in the House; at first against, but at length in behalf of, the Royal Prerogative. For which being taken notice of at Court, he was admitted into the King's favour; and soon after received the honour of Knighthood (*l*). He was one of those Members of the House of Commons, who formed, soon after the Restoration, the *wicked project*, of raising the King's authority, and encreasing his revenue; which was defeated by the honest Earl of Clarendon (*m*). Being a person of a bold spirit, and martial temper, he attended in 1665, James Duke of York at sea, and was in that sea-fight with the Dutch, which happened on the 3d of June. After which continuing in the fleet, when it was commanded by Edward Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral, he was in the expedition at Bergen in Norway; when, on the 2d of August, the English attacked the Dutch East-India fleet, which had taken refuge in that port (*n*). Soon after, he was sent Envoy to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, with full power to conclude new Treaties and Alliances with them (*o*). The next year 1666, he attended Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle at sea, in the expedition against the Dutch, and was in that great engagement which lasted the four first days of June; he was also with the same Generals, on the 25th of July following, in another fight with the Dutch (*p*). In consideration of which great services, he was, on the 8th of November following, made Comptroller of the King's Houshold, in the room of Sir Hugh Pollard, Knt. and Bart. who died the day before; and on the 5th of December ensuing was sworn one of his Majesty's Privy-Council (*q*). The 13th of June 1668, he was constituted Treasurer of the King's Houshold, upon the decease of Charles Viscount Fitz-harding; and, about the same time was made, by Patent, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury (*r*). In 1670, he became one, of the King's Cabinet-Council, known by the name of the *Cabal*; who contrived, to render the King absolute; to establish Popery, and destroy the Protestant Religion; to break the Triple-Alliance; and to make war upon Holland (*s*): in all which they acted as the tools of France [*E*]. The next year, his Majesty granted him a sixty years lease of the pastures of

(*b*) Wood, and Collins, ibid.

(*c*) See Dugdale's Baronage, edit. 1675, Vol. I. p. 334, 342.

(*d*) Wood, ubi supra. Prince, p. 218.

(*e*) Wood, ibid.

(*f*) Prince, ubi supra.

(*g*) Wood, ubi supra. 'Twas probably in his travels that he turned Roman Catholick, for he was so before the Restoration. See Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1725, Lond. Vol. I. p. 225.

(*h*) Worthies, ubi supra.

(*i*) Wood and Prince, ubi supra. See also *Notitia Parliamentaria*, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; 8vo, edit. 1716, Vol. II. p. 285.

(*k*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 225.

(*l*) Wood, ubi supra; and Prince, p. 219.

(*m*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 251.

(*n*) Wood, and Prince, ubi supra.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Prince, p. 219.

(*s*) Echard's Hist. of England, edit. 1707, Vol. III. p. 251, 278. Rapin's Hist. of England, edit. fol. 1733, Vol. II. p. 655, &c.

[*A*] *His father was Hugh Clifford of Ugbrook, Esq;* &c.] And therefore Bishop Burnet is mistaken, when he says, That 'he was the son of a Clergyman, born to a small fortune (1).'

[*B*] *His grandfather Thomas Clifford, Esq; a very eminent person.*] He served in his youth in the Netherlands; but afterwards became a Scholar in the University of Oxford, and attended Robert Earl of Essex in his naval expedition to Cadiz, in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by whom he was twice sent as Envoy to some of the German and Italian Princes. And having passed the age of fifty, applied himself to the study of Divinity; in which he became so great a proficient, that doing all his exercises, he took the degree of Doctor in the University of Oxford; and in that function continued, without accepting any preferment in the Church, but preached gratis all his time; to shew others the way of avoiding those rocks whereon he himself had in his youth sometimes run, as he often expressed. He died in the year 1634 (2). This gentleman's taking orders, is what probably occasioned the mistake animadverted upon in the foregoing note.

[*C*] *Derived his pedigree from the noble family of the Cliffords Earls of Cumberland.*] The founder of this ancient family was *William Fitz-punz* (3), who came into England with William the Conqueror. His grandson, Walter, took the surname of *Clifford* from the parish of Clifford in Herefordshire. Descended from him, was *Lewis* de Clifford, who lived in the reigns of King Richard II. and Henry IV. and was the immediate ancestor of the present Lord Cliffords. His great grandson was Thomas Clifford of Borscombe in the county of Wilts; whose great grandson Antony Clifford, of Borscombe aforementioned, and King's Teignton in Devonshire, married Anne, daughter, and one of the heirs, of Sir Peter Courtenay of Ugbrook, Knt. by which means that estate came into the family of the Cliffords. Antony's eldest son, was Henry Clifford, Esq; from whom descended the Cliffords of Borscombe and King's Teignton; and by a female heir that estate is now come into the family of Bampfield.——His second son was William——and the third son, Thomas, mentioned in the last note, had the seat of Ugbrook, now enjoyed by the present Lord Clifford (4).

[*D*] *In this Parliament he began to make a considerable figure.*] When he first appeared in the House, he got one to recommend him to the Lord Clarendon's favour, but this Lord, who had many spies among the Priests, being informed of Clifford's being turned Roman Catholick, excused himself the best he could. So Clifford struck in with his enemies; and tied himself particularly to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington (5).

[*E*] *In all which they acted as the tools of France.*] They had all of them great presents from France, besides what was openly given them: for the French Embassador

(1) History of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 225.

(2) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, ubi supra, p. 312.

(3) Dugdale says it was Richard the son of Ponce, Baronage, Vol. I. p. 335; but I follow Ar. Collins, Peerage, Vol. III. p. 307.

(4) See Dugdale's Baronage, edit. 1675, p. 334, &c. Peerage of Engl. &c. by Ar. Collins, Vol. III. p. 307, &c. and British Compend. in Clifford.

(5) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 225.

of Creslow in Buckinghamshire (*t*). And the same year, he finished a new chapel at Ugbrook, which was consecrated, and dedicated to St Cyprian, by Anthony Bishop of Exeter (*u*). Upon the death of Sir John Trevor, which was on the 28th of May 1672 (*w*), and in the absence of Henry Earl of Arlington, Sir Thomas executed the office of Principal Secretary of State, till the return of the Lord Arlington from his embassy in Holland, and of Mr Henry Coventry from his embassy into Sweden (*x*). For his great services to King Charles II, and his brother the Duke of York, he was on the 20th of April 1672, created by Patent Baron Clifford of Chudleigh in the county of Devon, to him, and his heirs male; and, in June following, his Majesty gave him the manors of *Cannington, and Rodway Fitz-payn in Somersetshire (y). Moreover, having advised King Charles to shut up the Exchequer [F], he was, for that important advice, rewarded, on the 28th of November, with the most profitable office of Lord High Treasurer of* England; which had been executed by Commissioners ever since the death of Thomas *Earl of Southampton (z).* But being heated with the design of bringing in Popery, even to enthusiasm (*a*), he was guilty of some indecencies, which occasioned his losing soon that place. For, in pursuance of his and the rest of the Cabal's designs [G], King Charles having, for the service of Popery, published March 15, 1671-2, a Declaration for Indulgence, or Liberty of Conscience (*b*), wherein the execution of penal Laws against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists or Recusants, were suspended; the House of Commons, which began to perceive the King's designs, voted that Declaration to be against Law (*c*). In opposition to this vote, and two addresses to the King subsequent thereupon, the Lord Clifford resolved to maintain, in the House of Lords, the validity of that Declaration, with all the force, and all the arguments he could bring for it. He began the debate with rough words; calling the vote of the Commons a horrible monster (*d*), and running on in a very high strain. He said, in short, all that could be said, with great heat, and many indecent expressions (*e*). Tho' this speech was agreeable to the King, it raised such a flame in the Parliament [*H*], that the Cabal durst not pursue their projects; and the Earl of Shaftsbury deserting them, the King was prevailed upon [*I*] to recall and cancel his Declaration (*f*). Thereupon

(*t*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Gazette.

(*x*) Wood, and Prince, ubi supra.

(*y*) Ibid. and Peerage of Engl. &c. by Ar. Collins, Esq; ubi supra, p. 314.

(*z*) Echard, ubi supra, p. 288. Upon his being sworn into that office, the Lord Chancellor Ashley made him a very flattering Speech; which see in Rapin, Vol. II. edit. 1733, fol. p. 665.

(*a*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 346.

(*b*) Complete Hist. of Engl. Vol. III. by Bishop Kennet, edit. 1719, p. 313.

(*c*) Votes of the Commons. See also Burnet, ubi supra, p. 346.

(*d*) *Monstrum horrendum ingens.*

(*e*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 348.

(*f*) Idem, p. 351. Echard, ubi sup. Rapin, edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 669.

Embassador gave once each of them a picture of the King of France set in diamonds, to the value of 3000 *l* (6). This conduct of theirs, in making our Court subservient to the designs of France, and for that purpose rendring even King Charles dependent upon Lewis XIV, was agreeable to the sentiments of the Lord Clifford in particular; who once said inadvertently, 'That if the King [Charles II] must be 'in a dependance, it was better to pay it to a great and 'generous King [namely Lewis], than to five hundred 'of his own insolent subjects (7).'

[*F*] *Having advised King Charles to shut up the Exchequer.*] The occasion of that advice, was this: The King, under pressing necessities, promised the White Staff to any one of his Ministers, who could put him in a way to raise fifteen hundred thousand pounds, without applying to his Parliament. The next day Lord Ashley told Sir Thomas Clifford, That there was a way to do this; but it was dangerous, and might in its consequences inflame both Parliament and people. Sir Thomas, impatient to know the secret, plied the Lord Ashley with visits, and having drunk him to a proper height, led him insensibly to the subject of the King's indigence; Lord Ashley, warm and unguarded, dropt the important secret of shutting up the Exchequer. Sir Thomas took the hint, left Ashley as soon as he could, went the same night to White-hall, and attending till the King rose, demanded the White Staff. The King renewed his promise, if the money could be found; and then Sir Thomas disclosed the secret, and was accordingly made Lord Treasurer (8). That affair was proposed in Council January 2, 1671-2 (9).

[*G*] *In pursuance of his, and the Cabal's designs.*] The Lord Clifford, a man of a daring and ambitious spirit, took the opportunity of the war with Holland the King was then engaged in, to propose the Declaration of Indulgence, that the Dissenters of all sorts, as well Protestants as Papists, might be at rest, and so vast a number of people not be made desperate at home, while the King was engaged with so potent an enemy abroad.——This Lord's notion was, That the King, if he would be firm to himself, might settle what religion he pleased, and carry the government to what height he would: for if men were assured in the liberty of their consciences, and undisturbed in their properties, able and upright Judges made in Westminster-hall to judge the causes of *Meum* and *Tuum*; and if, on the other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finished to bridle the city, the fort of Plymouth to secure the West, and arms for twenty thousand men in each of these, and in Hull for the northern parts; with some addition (which might be easily and undiscernedly made) to the force, now on foot, there were none who had either will, opportunity, or power to resist (10).

[*H*] *This speech raised a great flame in the Parliament.*] Upon a division, the Court had the majority. But against it about thirty of the most considerable of the House of Lords protested. So the Court saw, they had gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew after it such a protestation. Thereupon, it was debated in the Cabinet, what the King should do. Lord Clifford and Duke Lauderdale were for the King's standing his ground. The Lord Clifford in particular said to the King, his people did now see thro' all his designs: and therefore he must resolve to make himself master at once, or be for ever subject to much jealousy and contempt. However, his Majesty followed the advice of the Earls of Shaftsbury and Arlington, who pressed him to give the Parliament full content. Whereupon he recalled his Declaration, as is related above (11).

[*I*] *The King was prevailed upon, &c.*] At first, he was all in a fury to be forsaken by his Chancellor, the Earl of Shaftsbury: and told Lord Clifford, how well he was pleased with his speech, and how highly he was offended with the other. But, the same afternoon in which that affair had been argued in the House of Lords, the Earls of Shaftsbury and Arlington got all those members of the House of Commons on whom they had any influence (and who had money from the King, and were his spies, but had leave to vote with the party against the Court, for procuring them the more credit) to go privately to the King, and to tell him that upon Lord Clifford's speech, the House was in such fury, that probably they would have gone to some high votes and impeachments: but the Lord Shaftsbury speaking on the other side, restrained them. So they made the King apprehend, that the Lord Chancellor's speech, with which he had been offended, was really a great service done him. And they persuaded him farther, that he might now save himself, and obtain an indemnity for his Ministers, if he would part with the Declaration. This was so dextrously managed by Lord Arlington, who got thus a great number of the members to go one after another to the King, and by concert to speak all the same language, that before night the King was quite changed, and said to his brother, that Lord Clifford had undone himself, and had spoiled their business by his mad speech; and that tho' Lord Shaftsbury had spoke like a rogue, yet that had

(6) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 308.

(7) Ibid. p. 614.

(8) Sir Jos. Tyley's MS. cited by Mr Echard, ubi supra, Vol. III. p. 288.

(9) Life of Sir W. Temple, p. 189, 8vo.

(10) Letter from a Person of Quality, Lond. 1675, 4to. See Complete History of Engl. edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 312, note.

(11) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 348, 349.

Thereupon, the Lord Clifford was disgraced [K], and resigning the White-Staff on the 19th of June 1673 (g), retired to his country seat at Ugbrook: where, in September following, he died of the stone, being aged forty-three years, and about a month (h). He was buried in a vault under the chapel he had built, as is related above (i). This Lord's character is sufficiently evident from what is said of him in this article. But, besides that, Mr Prince informs us (k), That he was a gentleman, of a proper manly body, of a large and noble mind, of a sound head, and a stout heart. He not only had, but had the command of, most excellent parts, and knew how to employ them to his own best advantage. He had a voluble flowing tongue, a ready wit, a firm judgment, and an undaunted courage and resolution. He married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to William Martin of Lindridge in Devonshire, Esq; by whom he had fifteen children; and was succeeded in honour and estate, by his eldest surviving son, Hugh: who departed this life October 12, 1730. And had for successor Hugh; who dying March 26, 1732, was succeeded by Hugh, the present Lord Clifford (l).

(g) Peerage, by Ar. Collins, ubi supra, p. 314.

(h) Prince, ubi supra, p. 219.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Ubi supra, p. 220.

(l) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, ubi supra, p. 314—316.

had stopt a fury which the other's indiscretion had kindled, to such a degree that he could serve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. Accordingly, the Duke told Lord Clifford what the King had said. The Lord Clifford, who was naturally a vehement man, went upon that to the King, who scarce knew how to look him in the face; Lord Clifford said, he knew how many enemies he must needs make to himself by his speech: but he hoped, that in it he both served and pleased the King, and was therefore the less concerned in every thing else; but he was surprized to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in some confusion: he owned that all he had said was right in itself: but he said, that he, who sat long in the House of Commons, should have considered better what they could bear, and what the necessity of his affairs required (12).

(12) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 349, 350.

[K] *Thereupon, the Lord Clifford was disgraced.*] In his first heat he was inclined to have laid down his White Staff, and to have expostulated roundly with the King. But a cooler thought stopped him, *he reckoned* he must now retire: and therefore he had a mind to take some care of his family in *the way of doing it*: so he restrained himself, and said, *he was sorry that* his best meant services *were so ill* understood. Soon after, he went to *the Duke of Buckingham*, who had contributed much to the procuring the White Staff to him; and told him, *he* brought him the first notice that he was to lose that place to which he had helped him, and that he would assist him to procure it to some of his friends. After they had talked round all that were in any sort capable of it, and had found great objections to every one of them, they at last pitched on Sir Thomas Osborn, created afterwards Duke of Leeds (13).

(13) Burnet, ibid. p. 350.

C

CODRINGTON (CHRISTOPHER) a brave Soldier, and a man of great politeness and considerable learning, was born at Barbadoes in the year 1668. He had his first education in that island; but, as soon as he was of age to undergo the hardships of a *voyage*, he was sent to England; and, after some stay at a good private school at *Enfield* under the care of Dr Wedale, removed to Christ-Church in Oxford (a), where he was entered Gentleman Commoner, July 3, 1685 (b). Having taken *there* one degree in Arts, he was admitted *Probationer* Fellow of All Souls-College in 1689 (c): wherein he so industriously improved the fine opportunity he had of storing his understanding with all sorts of learning, that he became not only perfect in Logick, History, and the learned and modern languages, but also in Poetry, Physick, and Divinity. Nor was he less careful of those politer exercises and accomplishments, which might qualify him to appear in the world, and at the nicest Courts, with reputation and advantage: insomuch, that he soon acquired the deserved character *of an accomplished well-bred Gentleman, and universal Scholar*. Thus qualified, he betook himself to the army, but without quitting his Fellowship; and his merit and courage soon recommended him to his Prince's favour (d). For he was made Captain in the first regiment of foot-guards (e): and seems to have been instrumental in driving the French out of the island of St Christopher's, which they had seized at the breaking out of the war between France and England (f). But it is more certain that he was at the Siege of Namur in 1695 (g). Upon the conclusion of the peace of Reswick, he was made Captain-General, and Governor in Chief, of the Leeward Caribbee islands (h): in which station he had not the happiness of pleasing all, or escaping censure; a thing indeed very difficult, or rather next to impossible! For, in 1701, several articles were exhibited against him to the House of Commons in England [A]; to

(a) From the Sermon preached at his Funeral, April 8, 1710, in the church of St Michael in Barbadoes, by W. Gordon, M. A. Rector of St James's in Barbadoes; printed the same year in London, 4to.

(b) From the College books.

(c) Gordon, ibid.

(d) Gordon, ubi supra.

(e) List, penes me.

(f) Complete Hist. of the most remarkable Transactions, &c. by J. Burchett, Esq; Lond. 1720, fol. p. 452, 453. Q. Whether it was not his father.

(g) Oratio D. Cotes, p. 11.

(h) Gordon, ubi supra.

[A] *Several Articles were exhibited against him to the House of Commons in England.*] They were XV in number, and tended to charge him with violence, and arbitrary proceedings. As for instance, That having, by the King's Commission and Instructions, power and authority with the Council of the respective Islands under his government, to hear and determine appeals brought before him and them, from the Courts of the said islands; and by the nature of such power and authority ought not to sit and preside in the Courts where such suits are depending; yet he, contrary to the nature of his said Commission and Instructions and the duty of his place, had sate on the Bench with the Chief Justice and other the Judges in the said Courts, and interested himself in private causes, wherein matters of freehold and titles of land were in controversy, arguing both with the Bench and the Bar in favour of one of the parties. That after an Appeal had been prayed and granted by the said Courts, which is in its nature a Supersedeas to the execution until such appeal heard; yet, by his order, immediate execution had been granted: and he had treated petitions about appeals as libels; and declared he would not hear them. That letters Patents and other deeds, relating to some persons titles, having been enrolled in the Secretaries Office of the island where the lands lie, according to law and usual custom; he had in passion torn the said Patents, deeds, and writings, out of the said register; and had thereupon encouraged persons pretending a title to those lands, forcibly to take possession of them. Moreover, that he had forcibly and arbitrarily seized a plantation, without any legal trial, but only upon a pretended conviction by the view of the Justices. That he had issued out his warrants under *his hand*, commanding and requiring persons under his government, to appear at their peril before him to answer matters

to which was published a distinct and particular answer. And at the end are subjoyned two attestations from the Lieutenant-Governor, Members of the Council, and the Representatives, of Nevis [B], very much in his favour. In the year 1703, he was at the attack upon Guadalupe, belonging to the French (i); in which he showed great bravery, tho' that enterprize happened to be unsuccessful. Some time after, he resigned his government of the Leeward islands, and lived in a studious and retired condition (k). He died, at his seat in Barbadoes, on Good-Friday, April 7, 1710; and was buried the day following, in the parish church of St Michael in that island; but his body was afterwards brought over to England, and interred, on the 19th of June 1716, in the chapel of All Souls-College in Oxford, where two Latin Orations to his memory were spoken by two Fellows of that college; the one by Digby Cotes, *M. A.* the University-Orator at his interment; the other the next day by Edward Young, *LL. B.* at the laying of the foundation-stone of his library (l). Over his grave a black marble stone was, soon after, laid, whereon there is no other inscription but, CODRINGTON (m). By his last Will, he bequeathed his two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of the island of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts [C]: and also left a very handsom legacy

(i) Burchett, as above, p. 603.

(k) Gordon, ubi supra.

(l) These two Orations were printed together at Oxford, 1716, 8vo.

(m) See J. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1718, p. 281. He allowed only 20*l.* for a grave-stone for himself, but left 1500*l.* for erecting a monument for his father in Westminster-abbey. Boyer, as above.

matters of freehold and titles of land. That when he was petitioned for remedy against some irregular and unlawful acts and orders made by former Governors in chief of the said islands; he had refused to grant any redress therein, declaring he would justify all they had done. That when he suspected such order would not be made, or rule given, by the Judges, as he desired, he had risen from the Bench, and in a publick manner declared, that he was sorry he had given them their commissions. That when exceptions were taken at the commission granted by him to the Judges of the Court of Nisi Prius, he had openly declared, he would justify it; and had ordered, that no copy should be given of the same. That he did usually in his discourses abuse and vilify his Majesty's officers in the said islands in the most gross and abusive language imaginable, slighting their authority and magnifying his own, daily affronting and discouraging them in the execution of their several offices, &c. That after seizure of ships, as trading to the Charibbee islands contrary to the Act of Navigation, and the acquittal of them by the Court of Admiralty; he had caused an appeal from that sentence to be brought before himself alone, and had reversed the said sentence of acquittal; out of a covetous desire to get one third part of the full value of the seized ship, which by the said Act is given to the Chief Governor of the said islands. That whereas by his instructions he was required to transmit authentick copies, under the publick seal, of all laws and ordinances, made within the respective islands under his government, to his Majesty and the Commissioners of Trade and foreign Plantations, within three months or sooner after their being enacted; yet he had omitted or refused to transmit several Acts made by himself and the Assembly of the island of St Christopher's, and notwithstanding such omission, had put the said laws, &c. in full execution there, even to the raising of money.——These Articles were printed at London in 1702, 4to. with a distinct answer to each Article; (too long to be inserted here) which answer concludes in these words. 'The gentleman who is 'accused of so many and high misdemeanours had in 'Europe a very fair and honourable character; and 'if the general testimony of Councils and Assemblies, 'and also of particular persons who come or write from 'the Leeward islands, a few who are disobliged excepted, may be relied on, he has increased it there; 'and by a speedy and impartial distribution of Justice, 'has gained an universal esteem: and were therefore 'the accusations against him better supported than by 'the evidence of a person so highly prejudiced [Mr 'Mead] who is one of the petitioners, and concerned 'in point of interest in most of the matters complained of, it will be still just and reasonable that he 'should first be allowed an opportunity of making his 'own defence, before any kind of censure pass to the 'prejudice either of his interest or reputation; for it 'is very easy to dress up a specious complaint against 'any man at a distance, which his friends who are 'strangers to the matter may be intirely unable to give 'answer to; and it is certain that in the present case, 'had it not been for some very accidental notice and 'information in some of the matters complained of, 'this accusation would have appeared much more to 'the disadvantage of Col. Codrington than it is presumed it now will, even in the light it is at present 'set, without the least information or instruction from 'him.'

[B] *And at the end are subjoined two Attestations, &c.*] The first, which is from the Lieutenant-Governour, and Members of the King's Council, of Nevis, runs thus. 'Whereas his Majesty has been 'graciously pleased to appoint Christopher Codrington, 'Esq; Captain-General and Commander in Chief over 'all his Majesties Leeward islands, to the great satisfaction of us his Majesties subjects of this island, and 'that the said Captain-General hath justly merited the 'thanks of this island, and character of a good Governour, We the Lieutenant Governour, and Members of 'his Majesties Council of this island, do hereby testifie 'and declare, that his said Excellency our Captain-'General and Chief Governour hath ever since his 'happy arrival to this government, and particularly to 'this island, constantly employed himself for the pub-'lick good thereof, without regard to any private 'interest; that he hath caused good laws to be made, 'and the laws in general to be put in execution without favour or affection, hatred or malice to any, and 'that he has in reference to the perservation of these 'islands in case of a war, used all means for their 'being put in a due posture of defence, and for the 'more effectual performance of which in true zeal for 'his Majesties service, he hath been himself present at 'each island; wherefore his great Vertues, Honour, 'and Reputation being highly advantagious to this 'government which is divided into several islands, and 'therefore has need in war of a most sure conduct, 'we humbly hope and request that no frivolous nor 'scandalous complaints may be heard against him, he 'having deserved no such treatment since his being 'with us. Dated in the Council-Chamber, in Charles 'Town, the 9th day of July 1701.'

The other attestation, or certificate, is from the Representatives of Nevis; wherein they certified, That his Excellency Christopher Codrington, Esq; their Captain-General and Chief Governor, had all along since his arrival and being in his government, acted and behaved himself with great zeal and vigour for his Majesty's service, and for the real good of that island, by passing all such wholsome and convenient laws as the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Assembly had thought fit to prepare and offer, by administring true justice and right judgment, impartially without favour or affection, profit or gain, to all both rich and poor; so that he had most justly acquired a laudable and honourable reputation, and might without the least flattery be stiled a good and careful General, an honest and prudent Governor, a true and upright Judge to them, &c.

[C] *By his last Will, he bequeathed his two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of the island of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts.*] And desired, That the plantations should continue entire; and three hundred Negroes at least be always kept thereon. The uses he chiefly appropriated this great benefaction to, was, for building a college in Barbadoes; in which he appointed, that a convenient number of Professors and Scholars should be maintained: who are to be obliged to study and practise Physick and Chirurgery, as well as Divinity. That

legacy to All Souls-College, of which he had been Fellow [*D*]. He might be author of several things, but there is nothing, as far as we can find, published under his name, except verses to Sir Samuel Garth, in praise of his excellent Poem the Dispensary [*E*]. We shall give his character in the note [*F*].

That by the apparent usefulness of the former (as the Will ran) they might endear themselves to the people, and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's souls, while they are taking care of their bodies (1). This gift is valued at two thousand pounds a year, clear of all charges (2).

(1) Abstract of the Will.

(2) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Vol. II. B. v. p. 37.

[*D*] *And also left a very handsome legacy to All Souls-College, of which he had been Fellow.*] Namely, the sum of *ten thousand pounds*: as appears from the following clause of his Will.—— '*Imprimis*, I give 'my nearest kinsman, Lieutenant-Colonel William Codrington, all my estate in and about Doddington, provided, and upon condition, that he pay to All Souls-College in Oxford ten thousand pounds sterling, in manner following; *viz.* two thousand pounds within one year after my decease, and the sum of two thousand pounds yearly afterwards, until the sum of ten thousand pounds be paid. I do appoint that six thousand pounds thereof be expended in the building of the library for the use of the said College; and that the remaining four thousand pounds be laid out in books to furnish the same. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto the said College, my library now in the custody of Mr John Caswell in Oxford.' This library, we are informed (3), was valued at six thousand pounds.——With the said six thousand pounds, there is built a magnificent library, in length, within the walls, two hundred feet; in breadth, thirty-two feet and a half; and in height, forty feet.

(3) Annual List of the Deaths of eminent persons; at the end of Boyer's History of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, p. 54, fol.

[*E*] *There is nothing, as far as we can find, published under his name, except verses to Sir Samuel Garth, in praise of his excellent Poem the Dispensary.*] They are intituled, 'To my friend the author, desiring my opinion of his Poem.' And begin thus,

Ask me not, friend, what I approve or blame,
Perhaps I know not why I like, or damn;
I can be pleased; and I dare own I am.

I read Thee over with a lover's eye,
Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can spy;
Thou art all beauty, or all blindness I, *&c.*

We have observed, since the above was written, that he had a hand in *Auctio Davisiana*, &c. printed in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, edit. Lond. 1741, 8*vo*. pag. 173, *&c.*

[*F*] *We shall give his character*, &c.] Being as follows: 'Nature had blessed him with vast capacious parts, exceedingly above the common level of mankind. He had a great soul, of a fiery genius, happily united to a body of a subtle and flexible composition, in which the blood and animal spirits moved with vigor and rapidity, and rendered it rather a spur, than an hindrance to the operations of his mind. He had a quick and piercing apprehension, a strong, solid, distinguishing judgment, a retentive memory, a warm imagination, a fruitful sagacious invention, a bold pregnant wit, a sublime way of thinking, a methodical persuasive way of reasoning; and a voluble distinct utterance, upon the most unexpected occasions. After having resigned his government, he led a very private retired life, and spent most of his time in contemplation and study. For a few years before his death he chiefly applied himself to Church-History and Metaphysicks. If he excelled in any thing, it was in Metaphysical learning, of which he was, perhaps, the greatest master in the world. He was a great admirer of the Fathers, particularly of St Basil, whom he seems not a little to have resembled, in the universality of his genius, the warmth and activity of his temper, and affection for a monastick life; but chiefly in his eloquent sublime way of speaking and writing. He was particularly careful to form his stile upon the great models of Antiquity, some of whom he equalled, and most of them excelled. His stile was plain and easy, yet powerful and lofty; fluent but not turgid; florid, yet natural and unaffected; elegant, but not overwrought or forced. In his studied and elaborate composures, there was an inimitable beauty and efficacy, whereby he would, at once, charm the affections, move the passions, and convince the understanding, with such surprizing turns, impetuous force, and solid reasons, that, as was said of his formentioned pattern, he spoke nothing but life, and breathed a soul in the dullest argument he treated of; and yet his care of his stile, did not at all cramp the exactness, or interrupt the chain of his most refined and abstracted enquiries; for every thought was placed in the most advantagious light, as well as dressed in the gayest manner; and every period was just, and had a natural cadence: in the same discourse, he would display the Orator and the Philosopher, to so great perfection, that it was hard to determine in which he most excelled, so much did he excel in both. In a word, he had, in his West-India retirement, made so wonderful a progress in his studies, that had he lived to have returned to his beloved University, he would have been as much the object of their admiration, as he deserved to be the object of their delight. He was so great a lover of learning, and learned men, that wherever he met with an ingenious person, he courted his acquaintance, and readily received him into his friendship (4).' C

(4) Gordon, as above, and D. Cotes, ubi supra.

COKE, or COOKE (John) Secretary of State in King Charles the Ist's reign, was a younger brother of Sir Francis Cooke, and born at Trusley in Derbyshire, of an ancient family there, allied to the best in that county (*a*). He was probably educated at Westminster-school; and on the 22d of April 1580, admitted Scholar of Trinity-college in Cambridge. After having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was chosen Fellow of the same college, about the 4th of April 1584 (*b*). He continued long in the university (*c*); and being taken notice of for his learning, was chosen publick Professor of Rhetorick: in which employment he so distinguished himself by his ingenious and Critical Lectures, that Rhetorick seemed not to be so much an art to him, as his nature. Then he travelled beyond the seas for some time, in the company of a person of quality, and returned rich in languages, remarks, and experience: having avoided all the dangers incident to him on account of his religion, by this prudent declaration, That he came to learn and not to search (*d*). Afterwards he retired into the country in the condition of a private gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon some reputation he had for industry and diligence, he was called to some painful employment in the office of the Navy, which he discharged well, and was made Secretary thereof. Afterwards, partly through his own merit, and partly through the interest of Fulk Greville, Lord Brook, to whom he was related, he was made Master of the Requests; and at last Secretary of State, about the year 1620, in the room of Sir Albert Moreton, deceased. He was also knighted (*e*). In the first and third Parliaments of King Charles I, he was one of the representatives for the university of Cambridge (*f*): and made several speeches in Parliament.

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, edit. 1662, in Derbyshire, p. 233. By the time of his admission at the University, he seems to have been born about the year 1562, or 1563.

(*b*) From Trinity-college Register.

(*c*) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo, P. i. p. 64.

(*d*) Fuller, as above; and D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 945.

(*e*) Lord Clarendon, Fuller, and D. Lloyd, as above.

(*f*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Brown Willis, Esq; 2d edit. of Vol. I. 1730, p. 179.

Parliament [*A*]. He governed himſelf in the management of his places by the following rules; That no man ſhould let what is unjuſtifiable or dangerous appear under his hand, to give envy a ſteady aim at his place or perſon; Nor mingle intereſts with great men made deſperate by debts or Court-injuries, whoſe falls have been ruinous to their wiſeſt followers; Nor pry any farther into ſecrecy, than rather to ſecure than ſhew himſelf; Nor impart that to a friend which may impower him to be an enemy (*g*). He likewiſe kept himſelf ſtrictly to the law of the land [*B*]. But, notwithſtanding his great caution, on the eighth of November 1641, a Meſſenger of the Houſe of Commons was ſent to fetch him up out of Derbyſhire, to anſwer ſome complaints made againſt him, about ſome commitments in the year 1628 (*h*). He is alſo accuſed, though unjuſtly, of having put into the King's hands a paper from the Scots, inſtead of the genuine Articles of Pacification at York: and to have ſo far complied with the change of the times, as to have brought propoſitions from the Parliament to the King, as actively, as formerly he had carried meſſages from the King to the Parliament (*i*). However, after having continued Secretary of State about twenty years (*k*), he was removed to make room for Sir Henry Vane (*l*): and died the 8th of September 1644 (*m*). With regard to his character; we are informed that he was a grave and prudent man, in gate, apparel, and ſpeech; one that had his intellectuals very perfect in the diſpatch of buſineſs till he was eighty years old (*n*). He is alſo ſaid to have been a very zealous Proteſtant, and to have done all good offices for the advancement of true religion (*o*). But the Lord Clarendon, who ſeems to have had a prejudice againſt him, gives him a more unfavourable character. He was, ſays he (*p*), a man rather unadorned with any parts of vigour and quickneſs, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakneſs or defect of underſtanding, or tranſported with any vitious inclinations; appetite to money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was induſtry, and his moſt eminent infirmity covetouſneſs. His long experience had informed him well of the ſtate and affairs in England; but of foreign tranſactions, or the common intereſt of Chriſtian Princes, he was entirely undiſcerning, and ignorant. But, another, to ſoften his character, ſays (*q*), He had an happy mixture of diſcretion and charity, whereby he could allow to things and perſons more than men of ſtreighter apprehenſions, or narrower affections were able to do. He had a brother named

GEORGE, educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge; who was Rector of Bigrave in Hertfordſhire, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Briſtol, and Hereford (*r*): A meek, grave, and quiet man, much beloved of thoſe who were ſubjected to his juriſdiction. He was involved in the ſame condemnation with the reſt of his brethren the Biſhops, for ſubſcribing the Proteſt in Parliament in preſervation of their privileges (*s*). He died in low circumſtances (*t*) on the 10th of December 1646; and was buried in Hereford Cathedral, where there is a long, obſcure, and almoſt unintelligible epitaph, to his memory (*u*).

(*g*) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 945, 946.

(*h*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, in 1640 and 1641, Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 405.

(*i*) D. Lloyd, p. 947.

(*k*) Fuller, as above, p. 233.

(*l*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150.

(*m*) Fuller, ibid.

(*n*) D. Lloyd, p. 945.

(*o*) Fuller, p. 233.

(*p*) Hiſtory, as above, P. i. p. 64.

(*q*) D. Lloyd, p. 947.

(*r*) He was made Biſhop of Briſtol in 1632, and tranſlated to Hereford, June 18, 1636. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, *&c.* by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. edit. 1727, p. 527.

(*s*) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, *&c.* P. ii. of Vol. I. p. 351; and Walker's Attempt to recover the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34, edit. 1714.

(*t*) Fuller, as above, in Derbyſhire, p. 233.

(*u*) Willis, as above.

[*A*] *And made ſeveral Speeches in Parliament.*] Several of his Speeches, and Meſſages from the King to the Parliament, are printed in *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*; or 'Faithful Regiſter of the Tranſactions in 'Parliament, in the third and fourth years of King 'Charles I (1).' *In his firſt Speech, ſpeaking of the* Papiſts, he hath theſe words. —— 'They have a Biſhop conſecrated by the Pope; this Biſhop hath his 'Subalternate Officers of all kinds, as Vicars-General, 'Archdeacons, Rural Deans, Apparitors, and ſuch 'like. Neither are thoſe nominal or titular offices a'lone, but they all execute their juriſdictions, and 'make their ordinary viſitations through the kingdom, 'keep Courts, and determine eccleſiaſtical cauſes — 'Neither are the Seculars alone grown to this height, 'but the Regulars are more active and dangerous, and 'have taken deep root; they have already planted 'their Societies and Colleges of both ſexes, they have 'ſettled revenues, houſes, libraries, veſtments, and 'all other neceſſary proviſions to travel or ſtay at 'home; nay, even at this time, they intend to hold a 'concurrent aſſembly with this Parliament, — *&c.*

[*B*] *He likewiſe kept himſelf ſtrictly to the law of the land,*] Inſomuch, that being ſent to command Biſhop Williams from Weſtminſter; and being aſked by the ſtout Biſhop, by what authority he commanded a man out of his houſe and his free-hold, he was ſo tender of the point, that he never reſted till he had his pardon for it (2). C

(1) Lond. 1654, fol. p. 33, 43, 44, 138, 161, 167, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 246, 258.

(2) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 945.

COKE (Sir EDWARD) Lord Chief Juſtice of England, and one of the moſt eminent Lawyers this kingdom has produced. His father was Robert Coke, Eſq; of Mileham in the county of Norfolk, himſelf a learned profeſſor of the Law, a Barriſter of great practice, and a Bencher of Lincoln's-Inn (*a*); his mother's name was Winifred, daughter and coheireſs of William Knightley, of Morgrave-Knightley in the county of Norfolk (*b*); ſo that in point of deſcent, he might be juſtly eſteemed of a good family, in a county, where there are as many good families, as in any other in the kingdom [*A*]. He was born at his

(*a*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 429.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 349.

[*A*] *Where there are as many good families, as in any other in the kingdom.*] It appears from a pedigree of this family drawn by the learned Camden, that William Coke was ſeated at Doddington in the county of Norfolk, in the 8th of King John, that is, in the year 1206 (1); from whom deſcended lineally, Sir Thomas Coke, Knt. who flouriſhed in the reign of King Edward III, and his eldeſt ſon Sir Thomas Coke the younger, Knight, who for his wiſdom was made Seneſchal of Gaſcoigne (2), and for his valour a Knight Banneret, but he died before his father. Robert Coke, the grandſon of Sir Thomas Coke the elder, married a lady of a conſiderable fortune, and by her had iſſue John, who was the father of Thomas Coke, who by his intermarriage with Alice, daughter of William Falcard Lord of Sparham and Stivekey-Hall (3), thoſe eſtates, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, came to their ſon Robert Coke, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Woodhouſe, Eſq; by whom he had two ſons and two daughters; and his eldeſt ſon Robert Coke, was the father of Sir Edward, of whom we are ſpeaking; who by the Lady mentioned in the text, had this only ſon and ſeven daughters, who all lived to be married (4). As for this Robert Coke, Eſq; he

(1) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(2) Rot. Vaſc. 15 E. III. m. 26.

(3) From the Pedigree drawn by Camden, in the hands of the family.

(4) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 429.

his father's seat at Mileham in the year 1550, and had all the care taken of him in his infancy that could be bestowed by a tender mother, for whose memory he had always the highest veneration. At the age of ten he was sent to the free-school at Norwich, then esteemed one of the best in England, where, under the care of Mr Walter Hawe (c), and by his own singular diligence and application, he made a very great proficiency. His next remove was to Trinity-college in Cambridge, where, if a certain author might be relied on, he had Dr George Whitgift for his Tutor (d), but that seems to be improbable, for Dr Whitgift was Fellow of Peter-House (e), and became Master of Trinity-college about the time that Mr Coke became a member of the university (f), which is sufficient to justify the fact for which he is mentioned as his Tutor, and of which we shall hereafter take notice. He remained in the university about four years, and was then removed to Clifford's-Inn, the year after which he was entered a Student of the Inner-Temple. He had not been long there before he gave a very extraordinary proof of the quickness of his penetration and the solidity of his judgment; this was with regard to the Cook's case of the Temple, which had puzzled the whole House, and which he stated so exactly that it was taken notice of and admired by the Bench (g). It is not at all improbable that this might promote his being early called to the Bar, as he was at six years standing, which, in those strict times, was held very extraordinary (h). We are told by himself, that the first cause in which he appeared in the Court of Queen's Bench was in Trinity term 1578, and it was a very remarkable one (i) [B]. About this time he was appointed Reader of Lyon's-Inn, and so continued for three years; during which space his Lectures were much resorted to, his reputation increased, and with it his practice, so that when he had been at the bar a few years, he thought himself in a condition to form pretences to a Lady of one of the best families, and at the same time of the best fortune in the county of Norfolk (k). This Lady's name was Bridget, daughter and co-heiress of John Paston, Esq; whom he soon married, and with whom he had first and last thirty thousand pounds (l) [C]. After this marriage, by which he became allied to some of the noblest

(c) Antiquitates Scholæ Regiæ Norwic. p. 37.

(d) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk, p. 251.

(e) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 9.

(f) History of Cambridge.

(g) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 823.

(h) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(i) Coke's Reports, P. iv. fol. 12. b. 14. b.

(k) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 820.

(l) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

he died November 15, 1657, at his chambers in Lincoln's-Inn, while his son was at Norwich-School; who in honour of his memory, caused a fair monument to be erected many years after in the parish church of St Andrew's Holborn, with an inscription, from which most of these particulars are taken.

[B] *In Trinity Term 1578, and it was a very remarkable one.*] Mr Edward Denny was Vicar of Northlinham in the County of Norfolk, and the then Lord Cromwell who lived near him, procured two persons to preach several sermons in his church, in which they inveighed against the book of Common Prayer, stiling it superstitious and impious. For this reason, when one of them came next to preach, the Vicar knowing he had no licence would have hindered him; but being supported by Lord Cromwell, he proceeded and did preach. Upon this occasion some warm words passed between Lord Cromwell and the Vicar; the former saying, *Thou art a false varlet, and I like not of thee*; to which the latter replied, *It is no marvel though you like not of me, for you like of these*, meaning the preachers, *that maintain sedition against the Queen's proceedings.* Upon this Lord Cromwell brought his action, upon the statute *de scandalis magnatum.* The defendant justified, upon which the plaintiff demurred, and the bar was held insufficient; but upon a motion in arrest of judgment that the declaration was insufficient, the Court gave judgment for the defendant. Upon this Lord Cromwell brought another action, and amended his declaration, and then the Court was moved that the words were not actionable, because they might be taken in a milder sense; but the Court delivered no opinion, but said to the defendant's council, be well advised, and plead or demur at your pleasure; whereupon they pleaded a special justification, and set it forth in the manner before recited; to which the plaintiff's council took exception, for two reasons: First, That the matter of justification was insufficient, because sedition cannot be committed by words, but by publick and violent actions: Secondly, If the matter of justification was sufficient, then the defendant was not guilty, and ought so to plead. The Court however held, that the justification was good, and that the defendant should not be driven to the general issue. Afterwards the matter in dispute was compromised between the parties. Our author's observations upon this, will shew the excellence of his method in reporting, which acquired him so high a reputation in his own time, and which has been deservedly admired and applauded ever since (5). 'In this case, reader, you 'may observe an excellent point of learning in actions 'for slander, to observe the occasion and cause of 'speaking of them, and how it may be pleaded *in the defendant's excuse.* 2. When the matter of fact 'will clearly serve for your client, although your opinion is, that the plaintiff has no cause of action, 'yet take heed you do not hazard the matter upon a 'demurrer; in which upon the pleading and otherwise, more perhaps will arise than you thought of; 'but first take advantage of the matters of fact, and 'leave matters in law, which always arise upon the 'matters in fact *ad ultimum*, and never at first demur 'in law; when after trial of the matters in fact, the 'matters in law (as in this case it was) will be saved to 'you.'

(5) Coke's Reports, P. iv. fol. 14. a.

[C] *With whom he had first and last thirty thousand pounds.*] The Paston's of Paston in Norfolk, were a very ancient and honourable family, greatly distinguished by their services rendered to the Crown in almost all capacities; William Paston was Serjeant at Law in the reign of Henry IV, a Judge and in high favour with King Henry VI; he left a vast estate to John Paston, Esq; his eldest son, and no small one to William his second son, who married Anne, daughter to William Duke of Somerset (6); of the same line was Sir Clement Paston, who it is said King Henry VIII called his champion, the Duke of Somerset his soldier, Queen Mary her seaman, and Queen Elizabeth her father (7). As for the father of this Lady, he was the third son of Sir William Paston of Paston, but was himself settled at Huntingfield-Hall in Suffolk (8). His sister Eleanor married Thomas Earl of Rutland, by whom she had Henry Earl of Rutland, Gertrude Countess of Shrewsbury, Anne Countess of Westmoreland, and Frances Lady Abergavenny; to all which noble families Mr Coke became allied, by this marriage (9). If therefore we consider that he had a very large fortune left him by his father, that he had one way or other thirty thousand pounds with this Lady, and that from his first coming to the bar he was in great business, to which we may add, that purchases were then made at very moderate rates, we need not at all wonder, that in a very few years he acquired a very large landed estate, more especially as he was always frugal and a great oeconomist, keeping very exact accounts both of the income of his estates, and of what he acquired by his profession, as appears from several large books, mostly in his own handwriting, that are still carefully preserved, as authentick monuments of his wonderful accuracy and industry (10); qualities, by which he was distinguished in an age, when they were much more common than they are now. It does not very clearly appear, either when he married this Lady, or when she died, but from several concurring

(6) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(7) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 203.

(8) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 349.

(9) Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Coke.

(10) In the custody of this noble family.

noblest houses in the kingdom, he began to rise faster by much than was usual in those times, for the cities of Coventry and Norwich (*m*) chose him their Recorder; he was in all the great causes of Westminster-Hall, was in high credit with the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh (*n*), and was frequently consulted in the Queen's affairs. His large estate, and his great credit in his country as well as at Court, recommended him to the freeholders of his county, by whom he was chosen Knight of the shire, and in the Parliament held in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth he was chosen Speaker (*o*), being at that time the Queen's Sollicitor, which was bestowed upon him in 1592 (*p*), and very soon after he was advanced to the post of Attorney-General. Some time after this he lost his wife, by whom he had ten children, which gave him an opportunity of making his addresses to another Lady of great fortune and quality, *viz.* the Lady Hatton, relict of Sir William Hatton, and sister to Thomas Lord Burleigh afterwards Earl of Exeter, which marriage, as it was afterwards the source of many inconveniences and troubles to both parties, so the very celebration of it occasioned no small noise and disquiet, by a very unlucky accident that attended it. There had been the same year, which was 1598, so much notice taken of irregular marriages, that Archbishop Whitgift had signified to the Bishops of his province, that he expected they should be very diligent in causing all such persons to be prosecuted as were guilty of any irregularity in the celebration of marriage, in point of time, form, or place (*q*). But whether it was that Mr Coke looked upon his own and the Lady's quality, and their being married with the consent of the family, as setting them above such restrictions, or whether he did not advert to them, certain it is, that they were married in a private house without either banns or license, upon which Mr Coke and his new married Lady, Mr Henry Bothwel, Rector of Okeover in the county of Rutland, Thomas Lord Burleigh, and several other persons, were prosecuted in the Archbishop's court, but upon their submission by their proxies, were absolved from the greater excommunications and the consequent penalties which they had incurred, by over-looking the authority of the Church, because, says the record, they had offended, not out of contumacy, but through ignorance of the law in that point (*r*). It cannot be conceived that there was any thing, either of extraordinary severity, or of personal prejudice, in the Archbishop, but rather the contrary, for upon Mr Coke's being made the Queen's Attorney-General, we are told that he sent him a fair Greek Testament with this message, *That he had studied the* Common Law *long enough, and that he should thereafter study the* Law *of* God (*s*); neither was it likely that Mr Coke meant any contempt of the Church, since it clearly appears, that he was upon all occasions a very fast friend both to it and to the Clergy, as is more especially evident from an extraordinary testimony given him in that respect, by the Chapter of the cathedral church of Norwich, to whom he had been very useful in his profession, and had saved part of their lands from being torn from them by foul practices, and under colour of concealments (*t*) [*D*]. His favour to the Clergy was also very discernible, in the freedom with which

(*m*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 350.

(*n*) Several of his Letters to that noble person are in the hands of James West, Esq;

(*o*) Prynne's Animadversions on the Fourth Part of the Institutes.

(*p*) Dug. Chron. Series in Orig. Juridic. p. 99.

(*q*) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 522.

(*r*) Regist. Whitgift, P. iii. fo. 108. *A.D.* 1598.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(*t*) See that Certificate in note [*D*].

concurring circumstances it seems pretty evident, that his first marriage was contracted about seven years after he was first called to the bar.

[*D*] *Under colour of concealments.*] The services rendered by this worthy person to the church of Norwich, were of different sorts, upon very different motives, and done at many different times. What we aim at in this note, is to give the reader a general, and at the same time a clear notion, of the nature of these services; because they give a strong light into the temper and disposition of this Gentleman, with regard to the church and churchmen in general, and of the Clergy of his own county of Norfolk in particular. He was very instrumental in procuring an act to pass in the 35th of Elizabeth (11), when he was Speaker of the House of Commons, of the nature and effects of which, more will be said hereafter. This was with regard to the Church in general. Some years afterwards a sett of people procured, in consequence of letters patents of concealment, bearing date August 2, in the 27th of Queen Elizabeth, several estates to be taken from them by leases, and one particularly with the privity of Dr William Redmayne, then Bishop of Norwich; but Mr Attorney Coke foreseeing what this might produce, interposed so far as to prevail upon the Bishop to agree to the bringing in of a bill for establishing the Bishoprick and the revenues, which by his interest was passed into a law; which set the Cathedral of Norwich out of the reach of these devourers of churches, as this Gentleman very justly calls them (12). This did not hinder the same sort of folks from endeavouring, under the very same title, to seize the estate of the Deanery and Chapter of Norwich; but here again Mr Attorney Coke interposed, and with spirit and learning defended the Chapter, and preserved their estates, as the reader may see at large in his own excellent work (13). At the close of this report, he shews the great importance of the act mentioned at the beginning of this note, and the great security derived from thence to the Protestant Clergy.

(11) Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 659.

(12) Coke's Institutes, Part iv. fo. 257.

(13) Coke's Reports, Part iii. fo. 73.

'Note reader, The great assurance and establishment, which is made by the good and strong act of Parliament, of the said most illustrious and most noble Queen Elizabeth, in the said thirty-fifth year of her reign, not only of all foundations of cathedral churches and colleges, in any manner founded or translated, or mentioned to be founded or translated by King Henry VIII, but also to all subjects who have any estate or interest, in any of the possessions of any Abbot, Prior, or any other such religious persons, notwithstanding they made not any surrender to King Henry VIII, or that their surrender was insufficient, or that the record thereof be now imbezzled or lost; and notwithstanding divers other such like defects, all which are remedied by the said most excellent act of Parliament, the fatal plea to all concealments as to these possessions. And although these resolutions properly concern the meridian of the cathedral church of Norwich, yet they will very well serve as well for many other cathedral churches, as for divers colleges in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.'

The Dean and Chapter therefore might well grant under their common seal, an authentick testimony of the obligations they were under to so kind a friend, so learned an advocate, and so powerful a protector. This testimonial was conceived in the following terms (14).

Edwardus Coke, Armiger, sæpius & in multis difficillimis negotiis ecclesiæ nostræ auxiliatus est, & nuper eandem contra templorum belluones, qui dominia maneria & hæreditamenta nostra devorare, sub titulo obscuro (concelatum dicunt) sponte suâ nobis insciis & sine mercede ullâ legitime tutatus est, atque eandem suam nostri defensionem in perpetuam tantæ rei memoriam, quam posterorum (si opus fuerit) magna cum industria & scriptis redegit & sub sigil. nostræ ecclesiæ donavit.

(14) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

[*E*] *With*

which he bestowed the many benefices that were in his own gift, and from his memorable saying on that head, as indeed many of his sayings were memorable on very different subjects, but in regard to this it was his constant maxim, *That he would have Church livings pass by* livery *and* seisin, *not* bargain *and* sale *(u)*. As there was no reign in which great Lawyers were more considered than in that of Queen Elizabeth, which perhaps may be one reason why in few reigns there have been so many considerable Lawyer's as in her's, so, amongst them, none, towards the latter end of her government, was either more distinguished in his profession, or had greater respect paid him, than Mr Coke, whom the Ministers consulted in all points of difficulty, and who never failed to furnish them with legal colours for all their proceedings, which, though many of them were very extraordinary, yet being so guarded, were beheld by the people as just and honourable. But the affair of greatest moment, in which, as Attorney-General, he had a share in this reign, was the prosecution of that popular Nobleman Robert Earl of Essex, who, together with Henry Earl of Southampton, was brought to the bar before the Lords commissioned for his trial in Westminster-hall, Feb. 19, 1600 *(w)*, the Earl of Buckhurst sitting as Lord High Steward. The charge against the Lords was opened by Serjeant Yelverton, in which, though he compared the Earl of Essex to Cataline, and expressed his wonder that the Lords did not blush to put themselves upon a trial, instead of confessing their guilt, which he said was in all mens judgment palpable, yet it does not appear that either of the prisoners were troubled at his discourse. But when Mr Attorney Coke laid open the nature of the treason, the many obligations the Earl of Essex was under to the Queen, and hinted at last, *That by the just judgment of God, be of his earldom should be* Robert the last, *that of a kingdom thought to be* Robert the First *(x)*, Essex lost all patience, and on several other occasions in his trial, endeavoured to represent Mr Attorney as having a special hand in all the proceedings to his prejudice, and as if he was deep in the interests of Cobham, Cecil, and Ralegh, whom he alledged were his capital enemies, and insinuated that they, and particularly Sir Robert Cecil, were in the Spanish interest, and that the latter had gone so far as to declare, that none but the Infanta had a right to the crown of England. *It does not however appear, that* Mr Attorney Coke *had any particular prejudice to that unfortunate Lord, but that, as his manner always was, he kept close to the point, and instead of running out, as others did, into parallels from* the Greek and Roman Histories, he stuck to the facts, and shewed wherein the treasons consisted with which the Earls were charged *(y)* [*E*]. There is no doubt that in the latter part of that Queen's reign, Mr Attorney was upon the best terms possible with *Sir Robert Cecil and the rest* of her Ministers, and there is good reason to believe, *that the Proclamation* of King James, and other papers of State at that time, were drawn by *him (z). Yet he* was not so hasty as many much inferior to him in degree, in procuring admission to the King's person, but upon the twenty-second of May 1603, when the King feasted the principal persons of the kingdom, on account of his quiet accession, at Greenwich, he, together with Robert Lee, then Lord Mayor of London, and John Crooke, Esq; the Recorder, received the honour of knighthood *(a)*. In the beginning of July following, that which was called Sir Walter Ralegh's plot was discovered, but though all who were concerned in it were immediately seized and sent to several prisons, yet they were not brought *to their trial till the beginning* of the month of November following, at Winchester, to which city the term was adjourned on account of the plague being at London *(b)*. There, upon the seventeenth of November, Sir Walter Ralegh was tried before Commissioners appointed for that purpose,

(u) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 822.

(w) Camdeni Annal. p. 847.

(x) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 199.

(y) Camdeni Annal. p. 853. State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 205.

(z) See Stowe, Wilson, Saunderson, &c.

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 824.

(b) Camden. Annal. Jacob. p. 21.

[*E*] *With which the Earls were charged.*] We have a large account of the whole of this transaction in Camden, as well as in the printed trial by authority; and in the former, I think there are some things more clearly explained than in the latter; we are there told, 'That Southampton made a short and modest defence, 'and asked pardon for his crime, which was purely 'owing to his affection for the Earl of Essex; and after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen, 'he answered, That some proposals of that kind 'were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the 'whole being referred to Essex. That what was acted, 'was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, '*viz.* Their going into the city, which was with no 'other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the 'Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the 'wrongs that were done him: That his sword had not 'been drawn all that day. That he heard nothing of 'the proclamation, wherein they were declared rebels: 'That he hindered as much as in him lay, the firing 'of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired 'that the cause might be decided by rules of equity, 'not the niceties and quirks of the law.' This the 'Queen's Attorney called a colourable evasion, and 'demanded, *Whether it were not treason to seize upon 'the Court-Gate, the Court, the Privy Chambers, &c. 'hereby to get the Queen into their hands?* Southampton calmly asked him, *What he thought in his con- 'science they designed to do with the* Queen? *The same,* 'replied he, *that* Henry *of* Lancaster *did with* Rich- 'ard II. *He went to the King and fell on his knees, 'pretending nothing but the removal of his evil coun- 'sellors; but when he had once got the King in his 'clutches, he robbed him of his crown and life* (15).' This seems to be a severer passage, and to have gone deeper in shewing the Earl's treason, than any in the trial; and yet there are many sharp things there too, insomuch that the Earl of Essex all along complains of being talked out of his life by Orators; and as for the Earl of Southampton (16), he went farther, making use of these words at the end of his defence, Mr Attorney, *you have urged the matter very far, and you wrong me therein. My blood be upon your head.* Yet it is evident enough that Mr Attorney Coke did not stretch the nature of that treason at all, nor does he seem to have changed his opinion some years afterwards, as appears by what he said to Sir Walter Ralegh upon this subject at his trial; 'Essex, said he, died the child 'of God, God honoured him at his death; thou wast 'by when he died: *Et lupus & vulpes instant morienti- 'bus ursæ.* He died indeed for his offence (17). The 'King himself spake these words, *He that shall say Essex 'died not for treason, is punishable.*' So that Coke not only kept his own notions, but prevailed on King James to change his, for we are told, he once considered Essex as his martyr.

(15) Camden. Annal. p. 851, 852.

(16) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 206.

(17) Ibid. p. 224.

[*F*] *As*

pose, amongst whom were Sir John Popham Chief Justice of England, and Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. The trial lasted from morning till six in the evening (c); there was no evidence offered against the prisoner, but several examinations of the Lord Cobham, and extracts of other examinations; for the Chief Justice told the prisoner, that the Statutes requiring two witnesses were repealed, and that if there were proofs, either under hand, or by testimony of witnesses, or by oaths, it was sufficient, even if the examinations were not signed by those from whom they were taken; if it did otherwise appear by evidence that they were taken (d). Sir Edward Coke managed this trial entirely with much eagerness against the prisoner, and with great indecency towards the Court, for upon Lord Cecil's interposing and desiring him to be patient, or, as it is elsewhere said with some shew of probability, upon that Lord's asking him, *Whether he came thither to direct them* (e)? he sat down in his chair and would not speak again, until all the Commissioners joined their entreaties, upon which he rose up, and recapitulating the circumstances relating to the charge, Sir Walter was found guilty. This behaviour of Sir Edward Coke has been generally and justly censured, as carrying in it such marks of heat, resentment, and an over-bearing spirit, as much lessened him in the world's opinion (f) [F]. Whatever credit this great man might lose by his intemperate behaviour upon this occasion, yet he soon recovered it again by the sagacity and vigilance he shewed in unravelling all the dark scenes of the Powder Treason, and by his admirable management of the evidence against Sir Everard Digby, and the rest of the conspirators tried at Westminster June 27, 1605 (g), and at the trial of Henry Garnet at Guild-Hall, the twenty-eighth of March following, on both which occasions he gave the most convincing proofs of his extensive capacity, quick penetration, and solidity of judgment, so that the Earl of Salisbury had reason to say in his own speech upon the last trial, *That the evidence had been so well distributed and opened by the* Attorney-General, *that he never heard such a mass of matter better contracted, or made more intelligible to a jury* (h). This appears so exactly conformable to truth, that many esteem this last speech especially, Sir Edward Coke's master-piece at this day [G]. It was in reward for his service upon this

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 830.

(d) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 218.

(e) Sanderson's Reign and Death of King James, p. 287.

(f) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 153, note [C].

(g) Hist. of the Powder Treason, p. 39.

(h) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 266.

[F] *As much lessened him in the world's opinion.*] This appears clearly from a letter sent to him by Sir Francis Bacon many years afterwards, containing a very extensive view of all his faults and foibles, wherein are these expressions (18); 'As in your pleadings you 'were wont to insult over misery, and to inveigh 'bitterly at the persons, which bred you many ene'mies, whose poison yet swelleth, and the effects now 'appear, &c.' It has been believed, that Shakespear in his Comedy of the Twelfth Night (19), hints at this strange behaviour of Sir Edward Coke at Ralegh's trial. Mr Osborn says plainly, *that* Sir Walter Ralegh *was tired out of his life, by the bawling of the King's Council on one side, and the Bench insisting on a confession extorted from the Lord* Cobham *out of fear, on the other*. Another Gentleman observes (20), 'that 'as to *Coke's behaviour, there is but one way to* ac'count for it, which is this; that if Essex was known 'to have ever been in any wise a friend or patron to 'him, as it appears he was, in a private memorial of 'an honourable person, who was of the same college 'in Oxford with Ralegh, and almost of the same 'standing, then Coke might perhaps think of retriev'ing himself in the eye of the world, and making 'atonement for his ingratitude to the said Earl also, at 'his trial, and to his memory after his death, by his 'inhumanity now to one of the contrary faction (21).' The reader may compare this with what is observed at the close of the last note, from which it plainly appears, that though Sir Edward Coke commended Essex's death, yet he did not retract his opinion of his being a traitor, but urges as a confirmation of it, that the King was of his opinion also. He was as tenacious of his sentiment with respect to Ralegh's treason, for we find him insisting upon it again and again, at the trial of the Powder Plotters (22). Yet whatever his opinion might be, it is no sort of excuse for his language, and therefore that worthy person who wrote the preface to the State Trials, describes very justly such petulant Orators in the following terms (23). 'Those who with rude and boisterous language, abuse 'and revile the poor unfortunate prisoner; who stick 'not to take all advantages of him, however hard 'and unjust, which either his ignorance, or the strict 'rigour of the law may give them; who by force or 'stratagem endeavour to disable him from making his 'defence; who brow-beat his witnesses as soon as they 'appear, though ever so willing to declare the whole 'truth; and do all they can to put them out of coun'tenance, and confound them in delivering their evi'dence, as if it were the duty of their place to con'vict all who are brought to trial, right or wrong, 'guilty or not guilty; and as if they above all others, 'had a peculiar dispensation from the obligations of 'truth and justice. Such methods as these should be 'below men of honour, not to say men of conscience; 'yet in the perusal of this work, such persons will too 'often arise to view; and I could wish for the credit 'of the Law, that that great Oracle of it, the Lord 'Chief Justice Coke, had given less reason to be num'bered among this sort.'

(18) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 626.

(19) Theobald's edition of Shakespear, 1733, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 503.

(20) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 153.

(21) Osborne's Works, Vol. II. p. 108.

(22) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 242, 243, 252, 253.

(23) Preface to the State Tryals, in six Volumes, p. 3.

[G] *Sir Edward Coke's master-piece at this day.*] In his speech at the trial of Sir Everard Digby (24), he informs us, that three and twenty days had been spent in taking those examinations, the substance of which he offered to the Court, he shews, that the ground-work of this treason was laid in the life-time of Queen Elizabeth; and that two of the conspirators Catesby and Tresham, had been in all the plots that had fallen under his inspection; that of the unfortunate Earl of Essex, that of Watson and Clark, that with which Sir Walter Ralegh was charged, and now this, which was originally contrived to have taken effect by the assistance of a Spanish army; but not being able to depend upon that, the conspirators had recourse to the horrid design of freeing themselves from penal laws, by blowing up the King, the Royal Family, and the Parliament, with thirty-five barrels of gunpowder. There is not a step or motion of these conspirators in the management of their affairs, for so many years together, with so many different persons, and in so many several places, that is, in Spain and Flanders as well as in England, but what he has traced out; nor were there any colours in which they meant to shade or conceal their treason, which he did not remove; setting the whole and every circumstance of the transaction in so perspicuous a light, that the prisoners themselves acknowledged, that all their doings were fairly detected, recommending themselves to the favour and intercession of the Court. At Garnet's trial (25) he carried his inquiries much higher, and traced the plots and conspiracies of the Priests and Jesuits through the greatest part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, down to this very last; shewing that there was a constant series of them, from which they were never to be diverted, either by severe laws, and frequent punishments, or by repeated acts of lenity and mercy; that with respect to the King then reigning, they plotted against his title to the Crown before Queen Elizabeth's death, writ books on purpose to render it weak and dubious in the opinions of

(24) Hist. of the Powder Plot, and the Proceedings against Sir Everard Digby and his Accomplices, p. 21.

(25) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 248.

this occasion, that it was resolved to promote him to the most beneficial place in the Law; in order to which he was called to the degree of a Serjeant, June 20, 1606 *(i)*, and upon this promotion it was remarkable, that the motto he gave upon his rings came to be afterwards very applicable to his fortune, *viz.* Lex est tutissima cassis, *The Law is the safest helmet* *(k)*. On the last of the same month he was raised to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and as this made way for Sir Henry Hobart to be Attorney-General, so it brought Sir Francis Bacon into the post of Sollicitor *(l)*, not much to the satisfaction of the new Chief Justice, if we may confide in a letter written to him by Sir Francis Bacon on that occasion, the contents of which are singular enough [*H*]. In this post, as Sir Edward Coke behaved with great probity as well as sufficiency, so there seems to be little or no reason to doubt, that he was perfectly well satisfied with his station, and would very willingly have remained there as long as he lived; but it seems there were other people who desired to see him removed, and the method they took was, by suggesting that his great abilities might be much better employed for the King's service in another place, and by this slight he was, October 25, 1613, raised to be Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, or, as he stiled himself according to the custom of his predecessors, Chief Justice of England *(m)*. By this he made room for Sir Henry Hobart to succeed him as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, whereupon Sir Francis Bacon became Attorney-General, which it is proper to mention, because the latter seems to own, that he had no small hand in that intrigue by which all these changes were brought about *(n)*, and this plainly shews that the old dislike between them still continued, and we shall meet with some other very remarkable instances before this article is concluded, that will shew how great injuries the publick receive from the private feuds and animosities of great men, who study to gratify their particular inclinations, though it be at the expence of their Master's service, and the good of his subjects *(o)*. But notwithstanding all this, and the Lord Chief Justice having in point of Proclamations, Prohibitions, and other matters, shewn himself no friend *(p)* to a boundless Prerogative, yet so much he retained of the King's favour, or at least such expectations were had of his future services, that November 4, 1613, he was sworn of the Privy Council *(q)*. This was a mark only of the King's countenance, for Bacon had now his Majesty's ear entirely, to whom he represented his antagonist in a very unfavourable light on many occasions, but more especially in a certain case of treason, where he undertook to obtain the opinions of the Judges of the Court of King's-Bench, and particularly that of the Chief Justice separately and privately *(r)*, in which he met with more difficulty than he imagined, for Sir Edward Coke was very unwilling to enter into any matter of this sort in the manner Mr Attorney proposed, because it was directly contrary to his Lordship's sound maxim, *That he was a Judge in a Court and not in a chamber.* It appears however, that Sir Francis Bacon valued himself very much on the art and skill he shewed in managing the

(i) Chronic. Jurid. p. 181.

(k) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(l) Stevens's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 15.

(m) Chronic. Jurid. p. 185.

(n) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 272.

(o) Memorable Events of the Reign of James I. MS.

(p) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 50, 74, 82, 85.

(q) Camden. Annal. Jacob. p. 9.

(r) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 593.

of the people; that after his accession, and before his coming into England, they entered into schemes to defeat his possession; as a little more than a month after he came, they formed a design of surprizing his person; that notwithstanding his lenity and clemency towards them in the first year of his reign, they were still prosecuting the same wicked purposes by a variety of treasons; and that by their absolute dominion over the consciences of their deluded followers, they had influenced some who were embarked in this treason, and who died before they could be brought to justice, to perjure themselves in their last moments. To sum up all in a word, whoever desires to see a true picture of the art and subtilty of these sort of men, and to find in a narrow compass, the history of their endeavours to subvert this constitution, and to throw all things into blood and confusion, for the furtherance of their design, need only peruse this speech of Sir Edward Coke's, most of the capital facts in which, were acknowledged freely by Garnet himself in open Court after his conviction; so that as the penetration and sagacity of this great man are plainly proved by so long and clear a deduction, the truth of what he delivered is freed from all doubts, by the evidence then produced, and the confession before-mentioned.

[*H*] *The contents of which are singular enough.*] As we have occasion to speak often of the disputes and animosities between these two great men *Bacon* and *Coke*, it is requisite to produce this short letter from the former to the latter, which shews when and from whence it took rise, *viz.* in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Bacon by the assistance of his great friend the Earl of Essex (26), made the strongest efforts to have obtained the post of Sollicitor-General about the year 1594; which missing then, and more than once afterwards, fixed in him that strong desire of mortifying his adversary; for which as various opportunities offered, so it will be found that he neglected none, whenever they offered. There is no date to this letter, but the contents of it plainly shew, that it was written while Sir Edward Coke continued Attorney-General, and after it was resolved that he should be made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (27).

'*Mr Attorney,*

'I Thought best once for all, to let you know in 'plainness what I find of you, and what you shall 'find of me; you take to yourself a liberty to dis'grace and disable my law, my experience, my dis'cretion; what it pleaseth you, I pray think of me; 'I am one that knows both mine own wants and other 'men's, and it may be perchance that mine mend 'others stand at a stay. And surely I may not endure 'in publick place to be wronged, without repelling 'the same to my best advantage to right myself. You 'are great, and therefore have the more enviers, 'which would be glad to have you paid at another's 'cost. Since the time I missed the Sollicitor's place '(the rather I think by your means) I cannot expect 'that you and I shall ever serve as Attorney and Sol'licitor together; but either to serve with another 'upon your remove, or to step into some other course: 'so as I am more free than ever I was, from any oc'casion of unworthy conforming myself to you, more 'than general good manners, or your particular good 'usage shall provoke; and if you had not been short'sighted in your own fortune (as I think) you might 'have had more use of me. But that side is passed. 'I write not this, to shew my friends what a brave 'letter I have written to Mr Attorney; I have none of 'those humours, but that I have written is to a good 'end; that is, to the more decent carriage of my 'Master's service, and to our particular better under'standing one of another. This letter, if it shall be 'answered by you in deed and not in word, I suppose 'it will not be worse for us both: else it is but a few 'lines lost; which for a much smaller matter I would 'have adventured. So this being to yourself, I for 'my part rest.'

(26) See the article of BACON (Sir FRANCIS) in this Dictionary, Vol. I. p. 373.

(27) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 570.

[*I*] *That*

the Chief Justice, though in spite of all his dexterity and address, he seems to confess that he was baffled in the end [*I*]. In the spring of the succeeding year, an occasion happened by which the Chief Justice might have recovered his Master's favour. Mr Oliver St John, upon a benevolence being set on foot, had declared his opinion publickly that it was against law, reason, and religion, for which he was brought into the Star Chamber, and April 25, 1615, was sentenced there to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to suffer imprisonment during the King's pleasure (*s*); upon this occasion, as Bacon told the King in a letter, the Chief Justice delivered the Law for the benevolence strongly, but adds, that this might do him no good, that he wished he had done it timely (*t*). Another case followed soon after in which Bacon also boasts of having sifted the Chief Justice, but owns that he found him exceeding clear in his opinion, and this too was a case of treason; for one Mr Owen of Godstowe in Oxfordshire, having asserted that Princes excommunicated by the *Pope* might be lawfully killed, he was thereupon indicted and convicted, May 17, 1615 (*u*). Some time after this there broke out a very extraordinary affair, which was the discovery of Sir Thomas Overbury's being murdered in the Tower, at the distance of about two years after the fact happened, for Overbury died September 16, 1613 (*w*), and the judicial proceedings against his murtherers did not commence till about September 1615. It has been much disputed whence this affair took rise, some ascribing it to Dr George Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who was supposed to have a great aversion to the Earl of Somerset; others to Sir Edward Coke (*x*), but the most probable opinion is, that Sir Ralph Winwood, who succeeded the Earl of Somerset as Secretary, had the first intelligence of it from one Mr Trumbal, the King's Agent in the Low-Countries, which produced some strong reports that reflected on Sir Gervase Ellways, Lieutenant of the Tower, and he, by endeavouring to vindicate his own character, brought the whole matter to light, as has been already mentioned in another place (*y*). In the detecting all the secret steps of this dark business, the Lord Chief Justice Coke was equally zealous and diligent, taking, as we are told from a very high authority, several hundred examinations (*z*). In consequence of these, the principal actors in this black affair were apprehended and brought to justice, notwithstanding all the arts and influence that were exerted to prevent it. Richard Weston, who had been Overbury's Keeper, was brought to his trial *October* 19, 1615, at *Guild-Hall*, and at first shewed a resolution of standing mute, to which he is said to have been prompted by the *King's Sollicitor*, who owed his promotion, and other favours, to the Earl of Somerset (*a*). The Chief Justice very judiciously avoided coming to extremities by adjourning the Court, and before it met again Weston was prevailed upon to plead, and was thereupon convicted and executed (*b*). Upon this, Sir John Hollis afterwards Earl of Clare, Sir John Wentworth, and Mr Lumsden, undertook

(*s*) Memorable Events of the Reign of King James, MS.

(*t*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 602.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 12.

(*w*) Historical Narration of the first fourteen Years of Jac. I. p. 53.

(*x*) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(*y*) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 388.

(*z*) See Sir Francis Bacon's Speech at the Earl of Somerset's Trial.

(*a*) This is hinted by my Lord in his Speech in the Star Chamber against Mr Lumsden.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 14.

[*I*] *That he was baffled in the end.*] It is necessary in the first place, to shew what the nature of this business was; next, what the King desired; and lastly, how Sir Francis Bacon endeavoured to accomplish what the King committed to his charge. As to the first, *the case was this; Mr* Peacham was a Minister, and in a sermon *found in his study, which was never preached*, or intended to be published, there were several passages supposed to be treasonable (28). Now the thing the King desired, was to have the sentiments of the Judges as to these passages separately and privately, before the man was brought to his trial. This was the point Sir Francis Bacon was to manage, and of his management he gives this account to the King, in a letter dated January 27, 1614 (29).

'For the course your Majesty directeth and commandeth, for the feeling of the Judges of the King's-Bench their several opinions, by distributing ourselves and enjoining secrecy; we did first find an encounter in the opinion of my Lord Coke, who seemed to affirm, that such particular, and as he called it, auricular taking of opinions, was not according to the custom of this realm; and seemed to divine, that his brethren would never do it. But when I replied, that it was our duty to pursue your Majesty's directions, and it were not amiss for his Lordship to leave his brethren to their own answers; it was so concluded, and his Lordship did desire that I mought confer with himself; and Mr Serjeant Mountague was named to speak with Justice Crook, Mr Serjeant Crew with Justice Houghton, and Mr Sollicitor with Justice Dodderidge. This done, I took my fellows aside, and advised that they should presently speak with the three Judges, before I could speak with my Lord Coke for doubt of infusion; and that they should not in any case make any doubt to the Judges, as if they mistrusted they would not deliver any opinion apart, but speak resolutely to them, and only make their coming to be to know what time they would appoint to be attended with the papers. This sorted not amiss, for Mr Sollicitor came to me this evening, and related to me, that he had found Judge Dodderidge very ready to give opinion in secret; and fell upon the same reason, which upon your Majesty's first letter I had used to my Lord Coke at the Council Table; which was, that every *Judge was bound expresly by his oath, to give your* Majesty council when he was called; and whether he should do it jointly or severally, that rested in your Majesty's good pleasure as you would require it. And though the ordinary course was to assemble them, yet there mought intervene cases wherein the other course was more convenient. The like answer made Justice Crook; Justice Houghton who is a soft man, seemed desirous first to confer; alledging, that the other three Judges had all served the Crown before they were Judges, but that he had not been much acquainted with business of this nature. We purpose therefore forthwith, they shall be made acquainted with the papers; and if that could be done as suddenly as this was, I should make small doubt of their opinions; and howsoever I hope, force of law and precedent, will bind them to the truth: neither am I wholly out of hope, that my Lord Coke himself, when I have in some dark manner put him in doubt that he shall be left alone, will not continue singular.'

In another letter dated the 31st of the same month, he acquaints the King at large, with the arguments he made use of to the Lord Chief Justice, and concludes with saying, that the Chief Justice desired the papers might be left with him (30); and notwithstanding, it appears by several letters, that Sir Francis Bacon gave him no rest, yet it was a fortnight before he could obtain his Lordship's answers; which were so little to his purpose, that he tells the King his Master, *He was glad to find them in the* Chief Justice's *hand-writing, for his own discharge* (31). Yet notwithstanding this, it seems Mr Peacham was tried and convicted of high treason.

(28) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James, MS.

(29) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 595.

(30) Ibid. p. 596.

(31) Ibid. p. 601.

[*K*] *And*

undertook to examine him at the gallows, in order to make the world believe, *that this* exemplary act of justice, was only the effect of a conspiracy against that Nobleman who has been so often mentioned, for which they were severely censured in the Star Chamber *(c)*. It is certain, that from the very beginning, the Chief Justice was very apprehensive of the consequences of this affair, and therefore went to Royston to the King, and desired that others might be joined with him in commission, which was granted, and these Commissioners were, the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, the Duke of Lenox, Lord Steward, and the Lord Zouch, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and by their assistance this whole business was conducted *(d)*. Sir Francis Bacon, in a Letter to the King himself, says, that this was the wisest action of Sir Edward's life, which seems to speak it voluntary, and so it is represented upon another solemn occasion *(e)*. But there is notwithstanding a very different account of this matter, which, as it is supposed to have come from the mouth of one of his Lordship's sons, who was an eye and ear witness, may be worth the reader's notice *(f)* [*K*]. But however this matter might be, the Chief Justice, with the assistance of his fellow Commissioners, proceeded vigorously, tho' with great caution. On the seventh of November following, Mrs Anne Turner, who had been about the Countess of Somerset from her youth, was brought to her trial in the Court of King's-Bench, and upon very full evidence convicted and executed *(g)*. On the sixteenth of the same month, Sir Gervase Ellways, who had been Lieutenant of the Tower, was convicted at Guild-Hall, and on the twentieth hanged at Tower-hill *(h)*. Upon the twenty-seventh of the same month, James Franklin was tried and convicted in the King's-Bench, and a few days after executed. One would have imagined after all this, that no great blame could be laid at the Chief Justice's door, and yet we find a certain writer charging him, though in all appearance very falsely, with dealing hardly with the prisoner at this last trial, and making too much haste in the former *(i)* [*L*]. Sir Thomas Monson, who was a great favourite

(c) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 333.

(d) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 14.

(e) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

(f) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(g) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 141.

(h) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 15.

(i) Court and Character of King James, p. 109.

[*K*] *May be worth the reader's notice.*] There is hardly any transaction, about which there has been more written, than as to this barbarous and inhuman murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and yet it may be very truly affirmed, that hardly any of the relations we have, are (at least as they stand) of any great authority; because most of them are full of inconsistencies, contradictions, and palpable falshoods; notwithstanding which, we find them transcribed into our Histories, as if they contained indisputable facts. The following is a very proper specimen of this, as it pretends to great accuracy, as well as to the best authority (32). 'The 'King, *says this writer*, at this time, that is, when 'the murder was discovered, which he places in the 'middle of August, was at *Royston*, and *Somerset* with 'him; and when the King had been there about a 'week, next day he designed to proceed to *Newmarket*, 'and *Somerset* to return to *London*, when Sir *Ralph* '*(Winwood)* came to *Royston*, and acquainted the 'King with what he had discovered about Sir *Thomas* '*Overbury*'s murder; the King was so surprized here-'with, that he posted away a messenger to Sir *Edward* '*Coke*, to apprehend the Earl; I speak this with con-'fidence, because I had it from one of Sir *Edward*'s 'sons.

'Sir *Edward* lay then at the *Temple*, and measured 'out his time at regular hours, two whereof were to 'go to bed at nine o'clock, and in the morning to 'rise at three: at this time Sir *Edward*'s son and some 'others, were in Sir *Edward*'s lodging, but not in 'bed, when the messenger about one in the morning, 'knocked at the door, where the son met him and 'knew him: says he, *I come from the King, and must* '*immediately speak with your father. If you come from* '*ten Kings*, he answered, *you shall not, for I know my* '*father's disposition to be such, that if he be disturbed* '*in his sleep, he will not be fit for any business; but if* '*you will do as we do, you shall be welcome, and about* '*two hours hence my father will rise, and you then* '*may do as you please*, to which he assented.

'At three Sir *Edward* rung a little bell, to give no-'tice to his servant to come to him, and then the 'messenger went to him and gave him the King's let-'ter, and Sir *Edward* immediately made a warrant to 'apprehend *Somerset*, and sent to the King that he 'would wait upon him that day.

'The messenger went back post to *Royston*, and ar-'rived there about ten in the morning; the King had 'a loathsome way of lolling his arms about his fa-'vourites necks and kissing them, and in this posture 'the messenger found the King with *Somerset*, saying, '*When shall I see thee again? Somerset* then design-'ing for *London*, when he was arrested by Sir *Edward*'s 'warrant: *Somerset* exclaimed that never such an af-'front was offered to a Peer of *England*, in the pre-'sence of the King: *Nay man*, said the King, *if* 'Coke *sends for me I must go*; and when he was gone, '*Now the Deel go with thee*, said the King, *for I will* '*never see thy face any more*.

'About three in the afternoon, the Chief Justice 'came to *Royston*, and so soon as he had seen the 'King, the King told him that he was acquainted 'with the most wicked murder by *Somerset* and his 'wife, that was ever perpetrated, upon Sir *Thomas* '*Overbury*; and that they had made him a pimp, to 'carry on their bawdry and murder; and therefore 'commanded the Chief Justice with all the scrutiny 'possible, to search into the bottom of the conspiracy, 'and to spare no man how great soever; concluding, '*God's curse be upon you and your's, if you spare any of* '*them; and God's curse be upon me and mine, if I par-* '*don any one of them*.'

In the first place it is observable, that here is not one single date, but from the manner in which this is delivered, one would imagine that all these facts passed in the month of August; but there is another circumstance which seems to point out the day, and that is the committment of the Earl of Somerset, and yet this was upon the 18th of October (33). It is indeed true, as is said in the text, that Sir Edward went to Royston, and received the King's instructions, and this might be about the time, or perhaps before the Earl of Somerset was committed. It is certainly not true that he was sent for from Royston, or arrested there by Sir Edward Coke's warrant, on the contrary, he was at full liberty when Weston was first taken up and examined, and came from Court to London, to outface the report that he was concerned in the murder (34). It is no less certain, that at this very time King James was not convinced of the Earl of Somerset's having a hand in the murder; but upon the application of the Lord Chief Justice, which seems to have been on the day the Earl was committed; and that was the day before Weston was arraigned, the enquiry was referred to Commissioners mentioned in the text (35), and not to the Judges; so that upon the whole, there are very few circumstances in all this account, that can with any shadow of probability be thought true; and this will still further appear, from the circumstances mentioned in the subsequent notes.

[*L*] *Dealing hardly with the prisoner at this last trial, and making too much haste in the former.*] Sir Anthony Welden, if he was the author of the book that goes under his name, pretends also to tell the story very circumstantially; sometimes from his own knowledge, and sometimes from the information of persons, who had the greatest opportunity of knowing the truth. His account is equally inconsistent with itself.

(32) Roger Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England, 1696, 8vo, p. 49.

(33) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I. p. 14.

(34) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 159.

(35) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 350.

favourite with Lord Northampton, who appears to have been very deep in this affair, and to have made use of him as his agent, was arraigned on the fourth of December at Guild-Hall, as an accessary, before the fact, with Weston and the rest, in poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury (*k*); yet he was never tried, for reasons about which posterity have been but darkly informed, and it is with much confidence reported, that the Lord Chief Justice, at his arraignment, let fall some very hasty and mysterious speeches, which gave occasion to the stopping the progress of his prosecution (*l*). Yet with respect to these speeches, there is only inconsistent and suspicious evidence, as the reader will see in the notes [*M*]. One might conjecture, from the laying together of circumstances, that Sir

(*k*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 160.

(*l*) Court and Character of King James, p. 123.

self, and with the former, and yet most of the same *facts are in it. He* makes the King go from Whitehall to Royston, and the same day when he was there, send for all the Judges and make a speech to them, ending with the curses mentioned in the former (36). The Chief Justice's son, if the account last mentioned came from him, makes the King send only for his father late at night (37). Sir Anthony Welden makes the Judges sent for to Royston in a body (38), without shewing any cause why the King did not send for them the day before, when he was at Whitehall. Yet Sir Francis Bacon in a letter to the King himself, says, that Sir Edward Coke went of his own accord, and shews us why he went (39). Sir Anthony Welden pretends to have been an eye-witness of the King's parting with Somerset, and speaks of his hanging upon his neck, and kissing him (40). The former account says, this was after the Chief Justice had sent for him, and that by a warrant (41). Sir Anthony directly the contrary, and that he was not arrested till his coming to London, which the King knew would happen, but Somerset did not (42). Wilson, from whom we have the same story, says, that the Chief Justice sent for *him, and that the Earl complained to the King of his* insolence (43). *After all it is certain, that he was not* sent for, that he came to London of his own motive, and to take measures for his own safety, as he affirmed himself (44) at his trial. But Sir Anthony Welden, though he makes the Earl of Somerset as black as he can make him, inclines to make this a conspiracy against him, into which he insinuates Sir Edward Coke entered, on account of Sir George Villiers's brother being to marry his daughter, which was a thing not thought of for many years after. Having thus prejudiced the reader's opinion against the Chief Justice, he proceeds to blacken his conduct in the following manner (45). 'And now poor Mrs Turner and 'Franklyn began the tragedy; Mrs Turner's day of 'mourning, being better than the day of her birth, '*for she died very penitently*, and shewed much modesty in her last act, which is to be hoped was accepted with God; after that died Weston, and then was 'Franklyn arraigned, who confessed that Overbury 'was smothered to death, not poisoned to death, 'though he had poison given him. Here was Coke 'glad how to cast about to bring both ends together, 'Mrs Turner and Weston being already hanged for 'killing Overbury with poison, but he being the very 'quintessence of the law, presently informs the Jury, 'that if a man be done to death with pistols, poinards, 'swords, halters, poison, &c. so he be done to death 'the indictment is good, if but indicted for any of 'those ways; but the good Lawyers of those times 'were not of that opinion, but did believe that 'Mrs Turner was directly murthered by my Lord 'Coke's law, as Overbury was without any law.' Some little truth there is in this paragraph, and but a little, for Weston was executed long before Mrs Turner; and not only hanged before her, but before she was arraigned. As for Sir Thomas Overbury's being smothered, that is a pure invention of his own; nor was Franklyn ever indicted for any such thing, but for procuring the poisons which Weston administered to Sir Thomas; neither was Franklyn present at Overbury's death, nor was there ever the least suspicion but by himself, that Mrs Turner was murdered by my Lord Coke's law. In all probability, this poor Gentleman wrote after his senses began to fail him; for afterall, there was a kind of ground for this strange story that he has told, though not with regard to Franklyn, but to Weston; of whom as we said before, there was a report that he did not confess the fact at his death; and the reason of this the Lord Chief Justice gave, in the speech he made at the trial of Sir John Hollis in the Star-Chamber, from a dark remembrance, or a hearsay report, of which, this wild tale was coined. What he said, take in his own words (46). 'In this case of Weston, he would never 'confess the indictment, because the indictment was, 'that he poisoned Sir Thomas Overbury with arsenick, 'rosealer, and mercury sublimate, when as indeed it 'was not known what poison killed him. Here the 'poor man conceived a scruple, that if he did not 'know with which of the poisons Overbury was poisoned, he was not guilty of the offence laid in the 'indictment, and therefore said he was not guilty of 'the offence. Now, *ut obstruatur os iniqui*, that the 'mouth of the wicked man may be fully stopped, after 'that it was resolved unto him, that the manner of 'killing laid in the indictment, was not the point of 'the indictment, but the matter of killing; as if the 'indictment be that a man was killed with a sword, 'whereas indeed he was killed with a dagger, yet the 'party is guilty, because the killing of a man is the 'point of the indictment; then he confessed the fact.'

(36) Court and Character of King James, p. 99.

(37) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(38) Court and Character of King James, p. 100.

(39) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

(40) Court and Character of King James, p. 102, 103.

(41) Coke's Detection, p. 50.

(42) Court and Character of King James, p. 104.

(43) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 698.

(44) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 364.

(45) Court and Character of King James, p. 99, 108, 109.

(46) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 337.

[*M*] *As the reader will see in the notes*] The first, and indeed the most credible author that relates any thing upon this head to the prejudice of the Chief Justice, delivers his story thus (47). 'Sir Thomas 'Monson, another of the Countess's agents in this poi-'soning contrivance, had past one day's trial at Guild-'hall. But the Lord Chief Justice Coke in his rhe-'torical flourishes at his arraignment, vented some ex-'pressions (which he either deduced from Northamp-'ton's assuring the Lieutenant of the Tower, that the 'making away of Sir Thomas Overbury would be ac-'ceptable to the King, or from some other secret hint 'received) as if he could discover more than the death 'of a private person; intimating, though not plainly, 'that Overbury's untimely remove had something in 'it of retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the 'same crime against Prince Henry, blessing himself 'with admiration at the horror of such actions. In 'which he flew so high a pitch, that he was taken 'down by a Court lure; Sir Thomas Monson's trial 'laid aside, and he soon after set at liberty, and the 'Lord Chief Justice's wings were clipt for it ever 'after.

'And it was rumoured that the King (heightened to 'so much passion by this eruption of Sir Edward Coke's) 'went to the Council Table, and kneeling down there, 'desired *God to lay a curse upon him and his posterity for ever, if he were consenting to Overbury's 'death.*' It is exceeding strange, that if the Lord Chief Justice really dropt any such expressions at this trial, there should not be a word of them mentioned in the minutes of that trial; which were published not only at a time when any thing might have been freely said in respect to this Monarch's memory, but when, from the preface prefixed to them, it plainly appears the great end of publishing them, was to throw dirt upon him (48). It is also worth observing, that the story of the curse is entirely altered for the third time, but appears here with greater probability, than in either of the other stories. Here comes in properly, what Sir Anthony Welden says, both with respect to the King's curse, and the Chief Justice's speech (49). 'It is verily believed, that when the King made those 'terrible imprecations on himself, and deprecations of 'the Judges, it was intended the law should run in it's 'proper channel, but was stopt and put out of course, 'by the folly of that great Clerk, Sir Edward Coke, 'though no wise man; who in a vain-glorious speech 'to shew his vigilancy, enters into a rapture as he sat 'on the bench, saying, *God knows what became of that 'sweet babe Prince Henry, but I know somewhat*; and 'surely in searching the cabinets, he lighted on some 'papers that spake plain in that, which was ever whispered;

(47) Wilson's Life and Reign of King James, p. 702.

(48) See that Preface signed, *Mi. Scintilla*, before the book printed in 4to, *A. D.* 1651.

(49) Court and Character of King James, p. 122, 123.

Sir Thomas Monson's trial was postponed, in order to bring on those of the *Earl* and Countess of Somerset; for if the evidence had failed in convicting him, it might have given a new turn to things, at least with respect to the Earl, and his conviction was now looked upon as a point of very great consequence (*m*). Besides, Sir Francis Bacon was now come into the principal management of things, who had not meddled in this matter before, but left the prosecution of the other offenders to the Queen's Attorney-General. For this reason we find the proceedings were now drawn into a greater length, and it is pretty evident, that in the course of them certain circumstances appeared, by which a suspicion was given, that besides their privity to this murder, Northampton and Somerset had been embarked in some state intrigues of a dark and dangerous consequence, and had been tampering with the Spaniards (*n*). Hence arose the necessity of new searches and fresh examinations, by which this matter received a delay of some months. In the mean time, there happened another affair that produced no small disturbance to the Chief Justice. This was a clashing in point of jurisdiction, between the Court in which his Lordship sat as Chief, and the High Court of Chancery (*o*). This made a very great noise then, and has been the ground of much controversy since, notwithstanding the matter was brought to some kind of termination a few months after (*p*). At this time, when the difference broke out, the Chief Justice was of so great use, that those who were none of his friends, advised the King to dissemble any knowledge he had of the share he took in it, and what share that was, or rather was supposed to be, will at the bottom of the page appear (*q*) [*N*]. By this means things were kept quiet a little, while matters were preparing

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 616.

(*n*) Historical Narration of the first fourteen Years of Jac. I. p. 59, 60.

(*o*) Compl. Hist. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 704.

(*p*) See the Act of Council in the Appendix to the first Volume of Chancery Reports.

(*q*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 611.

'whispered; which had he gone on in a gentle way, 'would have fallen in of themselves, not to have been 'prevented; but this folly of his tongue, stopt the 'breath of that discovery, of that so foul a murder, 'which I fear cries still for vengeacne.' There is yet another writer who speaks of this matter, and it is very fit the reader should see what he says (50). 'There was a general rumour, that the Chief Justice 'making a severe inspection into Overbury's murder, 'found some papers about the poisoning of Prince 'Henry; and Sir Anthony Welden, in his *History of* '*the Reign of King James*, says, *That the Chief* 'Justice had blabbed abroad so much: I am sure there 'was never any such acquaintance between the Chief 'Justice and him, that he should blab it out to Wel- 'den; whether this was true or false I cannot tell, but 'sure the displacing Sir Edward Coke the next year, 'gave reputation to these rumours?' Yet this very writer, notwithstanding this insinuation, very well knew what was the real cause of Sir Edward Coke's removal, and that from his family, which he afterwards gives in his work very fairly (51). What has been before said of the printed trials, is a full answer to both these writers, as well as to him who is first cited. But besides all this, we have several letters of Sir Francis Bacon's to the King upon this subject, in which he is far enough from *magnifying the Chief Justice's conduct*, and yet not a word in them of these intemperate speeches (52). If it should be suggested, that Bacon could not mention these to his Master with decency, we have yet another letter of his to Sir Edward Coke after his fall, in which he insists largely upon his errors in the management of this business; and there surely he would hardly have omitted a thing, at once so gross and so notorious, if there had been any truth in it (53). On the whole therefore, this seems to be a groundless rumour thrown out by those, who hated both the King and the Chief Justice; and who were credulous enough to believe any thing, or at least malicious enough to say any thing, that might fix an odium upon either. As to the credulity of Sir Anthony Welden, it appears clearly in this, that after all he has said, he declares in his own opinion, that the Earl of Somerset was innocent of the murder (54); and, which is still more extraordinary, he seems to think Sir Gervase Ellways innocent (55) also; so that his notions and his evidence, seem to be of equal value; or, to speak plainly, of any value at all.

(50) Coke's Detection, p. 50.

(51) Ibid. p. 54.

(52) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 616, 618, 620, 625.

(53) Ibid. p. 627.

(54) Court and Character of King James, p. 121.

(55) Ibid. p. 93.

[*N*] *Will at the bottom of the page appear.*] The clearest, most curious, and withal most concise account of this affair, is contained in a letter from Sir Francis Bacon then Attorney-General, to King James; and as he professes therein, to write *ex officio*, for the true information of his Master's judgment, so it is very apparent, that he penned it with equal skill and sincerity; and considered in that light, it is one of the finest papers that ever fell from his pen (56). 'It is necessary 'I let your Majesty know, the ground of the difference 'between the two Courts, that your Majesty may the 'better understand the narrative.

(56) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 611.

'There was a statute made 27 Edw. III. cap. 1. 'which no doubt, in the principal intention thereof, 'was ordained against those that sued to Rome; where- 'in there are words somewhat general against any that 'questioneth, or impeacheth any judgment given in 'the King's Courts, or in any other Courts. Upon 'these doubtful words, (other Courts) the controversy 'groweth. For the sounder interpretation taketh 'them to be meant of those Courts, which though *lo-* '*cally they were not held at Rome, or where the* '*Pope's chair was, but here within the realm*, yet 'in their jurisdiction had their dependance upon the 'Court of Rome, as were the Court of the Legate 'here, and the Courts of the Archbishops and *Bishops*, 'which were then but subordinate judgment-seats to 'that high tribunal of Rome. And for this con- 'struction, the opposition of the words, if they be well 'observed, between the King's Courts and other 'Courts, maketh very much, for it importeth as if 'those other Courts were not the King's-Courts. Also 'the main scope of the statute fortifieth the same. 'And lastly, the practice of many ages. The other 'interpretation which cleaveth to the letter, expound- 'eth the King's Courts to be the Courts of Law only, 'and other Courts to be Courts of Equity, as the 'Chancery, *Exchequer-chamber, Duchy, &c. Though* '*this also flieth indeed from the letter*, for that all these 'are the King's Courts

'There is also another statute, which is but a simple 'prohibition, and not with a penalty, of a premu- 'nire, (as the other is) that after judgments given in 'the King's Courts, the parties shall be in peace, ex- 'cept the judgment be undone by error or attaint, 'which is a legal form or reversal. And of this also 'I hold the sounder interpretation to be, to settle pos- 'sessions against disturbances, and not to take away re- 'medy in equity, where those judgments are obtained '*ex rigore juris*, and against good conscience.

'But upon these two statutes, there hath been a late 'conceit in some, that if a judgment pass at the com- 'mon law against any, that he may not after sue for 'relief in Chancery; and if he doth, both he and his 'Counsel, and his Sollicitors, yea and the Judge in Equi- 'ty himself, are within the danger of those statutes.

'Here your Majesty hath the true state of the ques- 'tion, which I was necessarily to open to you, first be- 'cause your Majesty calleth for this relation not as 'news, but as business. Now to the historical part.

'It is the course of the King's-Bench, that they 'give in charge to a Grand-Jury offences of all na- 'tures, to be presented within Middlesex where the 'said Court is; and the manner is to enumerate them, 'as it were in articles. This was done by Justice 'Crook the Wednesday before the term ended. And 'that article (If any man after a judgment given had 'drawn the said judgment to a new examination in any 'other Court) was by him specially given in charge, 'which had not used to be given in charge before. It 'is true it was not solemnly dwelt upon, but as it were 'thrown in amongst the rest.

'The

paring for the trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, in which those who were now entrusted with the King's secrets, were obliged to carry fair with him. Yet, as a variety of accidents retarded those trials, the enemies of the Chief Justice contrived to bring him into a new difficulty in respect to the business of *Commendams*, where he behaved with great dignity and firmness, and in which, if he was guilty of any error, he offended in company with all his brethren, as will be shewn hereafter (*r*). This happened towards the latter end of April, and within a day or two after the Peers were summoned for the trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset. The latter was first tried on the twenty-fourth of May, and Lord Chancellor Ellesmere sat as Lord High Steward; the King's instructions were produced to the Commissioners, by which they were directed to examine, first, Whether there were good grounds to believe the Lord and Lady guilty? and if there were not, then they were to enquire after the authors of the conspiracy (*s*). To these *instructions* were subjoined heads of examination, and they were produced to the Lords as an evidence of the King's care and impartiality, as well as the Commissioners diligence in this business. The Countess gave them no trouble, for she pleaded guilty (*t*). The next day, being the twenty-fifth of May, the Earl of Somerset was tried, and the Lord Chief Justice gave a very full and fair account of his own conduct in the whole business, and the manner in which the Letters and other written evidence produced came into the hands of the Commissioners; so that after a trial which lasted twelve hours, the Earl was found guilty by his Peers (*u*). All the thanks which the Chief Justice received for his honest zeal and matchless vigilance in this business, was to be considered in a bad light at Court, where he was alike persecuted by the friends of the old, and the creatures of the new, favourite. By the industry of these people, his conduct was not only misrepresented to the King but to the crowd; and Bacon, who certainly wrote as well as any man, undertook to make my Lord Coke himself sensible (*w*), that for all the pains and labour he had bestowed, he met with no worse treatment than he deserved [*O*]. It was not long after, that he was attacked

(*r*) See the Letter signed by himself and the rest of the Judges, in note [*P*].

(*s*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 350.

(*t*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 71.

(*u*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 365.

(*w*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 626.

'The last day of the term, and that which all men 'condemn the supposed last day of my Lord Chancellor's life, there were two indictments preferred of 'premunire for suing in Chancery after judgment in 'Common Law; the one by Richard Granville, the 'other by William Allen; the former against Courtney the party in Chancery, Gibb the Chancellor, 'and Deurst the Clerk; the latter against Alderman 'Bowles and Humphrey Smith, parties in Chancery; 'Serjeant More the Counsellor, Elias Wood Sollicitor 'in the cause, and Sir John Tindal Master in Chancery, 'and an Assessor to my Lord Chancellor.

'For the cases themselves it were too long to trouble your Majesty with them, but this I will say, if 'they were set on that preferred them, they were the 'worst marksmen that ever were, that set them on. 'For there could not have been chosen two such causes 'to the honour and advantage of the Chancery, for '*the justness of the decrees, and the foulness and scandal both of fact and person, in those that impeach 'the decrees.*

'The Grand-Jury, consisting as it seemeth of 'very substantial and intelligent persons, would not 'find the bills, notwithstanding they were clamoured 'by the parties, and twice sent back by the 'Court; and, in conclusion, resolutely seventeen of 'nineteen found an *Ignoramus*, wherein for that 'time I think, *Ignoramus* was wiser than those that 'knew too much.'

[*O*] *He met with no worse treatment than he deserved.*] It is very certain, that this letter of Sir Francis Bacon, as it is written with much spirit and freedom, so it is very far from being void of elegance or truth; and perhaps it had been a great happiness for him, if, in his turn, he had met with such a monitor. It is however to be regretted, that this letter has no date, though the very circumstances of it plainly shew, that he was already under difficulties, though not absolutely overthrown; and hence we may conjecture, that it might be penned in June 1616. At present, we will quote only what relates to these prosecutions (57).

(57) Ibid. p. 612, 613.

'In your last, which might have been your best piece 'of service to the state, you affected to follow that 'old rule, which giveth justice leaden heels and iron 'hands; you used too many delays, till the delinquents hands were loosed and your's bound: in that 'worke you seemed another Fabius, where the humour of Marcellus would have done better. What 'need you have sought more evidences than enough? 'while you pretended the finding out of more (missing 'your aim) you discredited what you had found. This 'best judgments think; though you never used such 'speeches as are fathered upon you, yet you might 'well have done it, and but rightly: for this 'crime was second to none but the Powder Plot: that 'would have blown up all at one blow, a merciful 'cruelty; this would have done the same by degrees, a lingering but a sure way; one by one 'might have been culled out, till all opposers had 'been removed.

'Besides, that other plot was scandalous to Rome, 'making Popery odious in the sight of the whole 'world; this hath been scandalous to the whole Gospel, and since the first nullity to this instant, when 'justice hath her hands bound, the Devil could not 'have invented a more mischievous practice to our 'State and Church than this hath been, is, and is like 'to be. God avert the evil!

'But herein you committed another fault; that as 'you were too open in your proceedings, and so 'taught them whereby to defend themselves; so you 'gave them time to undermine justice, and to work 'upon all advantages, both of affections, and honour, 'and opportunity, and breach of friendship; which 'they have so well followed, sparing neither pains nor 'costs, that it almost seemeth an higher offence in you 'to have done so much indeed, than that you have 'done no more; you stopt the confessions and accusations of some, who perhaps had they been suffered, 'would have spoken enough to have removed some 'stumbling-blocks out of your way; and you did not 'this in favour of any one, but of I know not what 'present unadvised humours, supposing enough behind 'to discover all, which fell not out so. Howsoever, 'as the Apostle saith in another case, you went not 'rightly to the truth, and therefore though you were 'to be commended for what you did, yet you were to 'be reprehended for many circumstances in the doing; 'and doubtless God hath an eye in this cross to your 'negligence, and the briars are left to be pricks in 'your sides and thorns in your eyes.'

It is not a little strange, that these reflections upon Sir Edward Coke's conduct have gone so long current, and are like to be transmitted without so much as a remark to posterity, and yet sure they deserve a contrary usage. The Lord Chief Justice at his setting out, acted with the spirit of Marcellus; which nobody knew better than the author of this letter, or he would not have said so much in his fine speech against Sir John Hollis in the Star-Chamber (58). But when there appeared such a spirit in the city and country, as well as in the Court, of treating this matter not as a course of justice, but as a conspiracy against the Earl of Somerset, it very much imported Sir Edward Coke to act with caution. It was then he assumed the character of Fabius, and this very writer told the King thereupon

(58) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 335.

attacked in another manner, and with greater effect; first, with relation to the cause of *Commendams*, in which not only his behaviour, but that of the whole twelve Judges, was examined and censured in the Privy-Council, for doing what they took to be their duty, and following what they understood to be the meaning of an Act of Parliament, to which the rest submitted patiently, but Sir Edward Coke expostulated the matter with dignity and decency; so that notwithstanding he could not resist a superior power, for here he had both the Crown and the Church, or rather the Crown at the instigation of the Church, against him; yet he did not give way to it, or afford any sanction to the usage he met with, by a tame and pusillanimous submission (*x*) [*P*]. About this time the business

(*x*) See the extract of the Act of Council in the note.

thereupon in one of his letters, it was the wisest part he ever acted (63); but what was right then, could it be wrong now? As to the trial of the great offenders, no man could be better acquainted with the reasons of the delay than the author of this letter; who ascribes them absolutely to the Chief Justice, though surely many of them lay out of his power. For first they could not be tried as accessaries before the fact, till the principals were convicted. Franklyn, who was the last of them, was tried on the 30th of November, and on the 9th of December following, the Countess of Somerset was brought to bed (60). This was another cause of delay, which the Chief Justice could not either foresee or prevent. But the Earl might have been tried in the mean time. He might so, if there had been evidence to convict him, which very probably there was not; since the evidence on which he was convicted, did not come to the Chief Justice's hands till the 21st of December, when by accident the trunk was discovered, in which the letters that affected him were hid (61). There was indeed a delay of four months after this, but that ought not to lie at the Chief Justice's door, as any who will peruse this Gentleman's letters to Sir George Villiers and the King will perceive. Others have accused Sir Edward Coke for his intemperate speeches, of which he is acquitted by Sir Francis Bacon; who by a very singular kind of logick, censures him for not using them, though himself advised and procured the King's command, that no harsh speeches should be used at the trials of the Earl and Countess (62). After all, what was done in the way of justice was done by Lord Coke; what was afterwards done in the way of mercy, came through other hands. It is also no less certain, as the reader may see in another place, that Bacon was very jealous of Coke's becoming Chancellor; to prevent which, he insinuated some things to the King, that were not much to the advantage of Lawyers, or indeed of the Law itself (63). These are facts that occur in justification of this great man's memory, though I do not find they have ever been applied to that purpose, the reader must decide with what propriety they have been so applied here.

(59) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

(60) Camd. Annal. Jac. I. p. 15.

(61) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 357.

(62) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 624, 625.

(63) Ibid. p. 607.

[*P*] *By a tame and pusillanimous submission.*] The history of this affair, which is very curious, and has also a very close connection with the memoirs of this eminent person, we shall digest into the narrowest compass possible. The dispute arose thus, Dr Bilson Bishop of Winchester informed the King, that Serjeant Chiborne in arguing the cause against *Commendams* at the Common Pleas Bar, had maintained divers positions contrary to the King's prerogative, as that the translation of Bishops was against the Canon Law; and that the King had no power to grant *Commendams* but in cases of necessity; which necessity could never happen, because no man was bound to hospitality beyond his means (64). Upon this information, the King directed his Attorney General Sir Francis Bacon, to signify his pleasure unto the Lord Chief Justice, that he held it necessary himself should be first consulted, before the Judges proceeded to argue it; and therefore the day appointed should be put off, till they might speak with his Majesty. This letter was dated April 25, 1616 (65). Sir Edward Coke upon receiving the letter, desired the other Judges might have the like, which they accordingly had; and upon their meeting together, they came unanimously to a resolution of doing in this case, what they took to be their duty; and when they had so done, they justified themselves by the following letter to the King. Mr Collier in his Ecclesiastical History, says, this letter was signed by ten Judges, of whom Coke and Hobart were two (66); but the reader will see (67), that it was signed by all the twelve, and runs thus.

(64) See the Act of Council, dated June 6, 1616.

(65) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 637.

(66) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 710.

(67) This Letter is transcribed from the Act of Council.

' *Most dread and most gracious Sovereign,*

' IT may please your most excellent Majesty to be ' advertised, That this letter here inclosed, was delivered unto me your Chief Justice on Thursday last ' in the afternoon, by a servant of your Majesty's Attorney-General; and letters of like effect were on ' the day following, sent from him by his servant to ' us, your Majesty's Justices of every of the Courts at ' Westminster; we are, and ever will be ready, with ' all faithful and true hearts, according to our bounden ' duties, to serve and obey your Majesty, and think ' ourselves most happy to spend our times and abilities ' to do your Majesty true and faithful service, in this ' present case mentioned in this letter; what information hath been made unto you, whereupon Mr Attorney doth ground his letter from the report of the ' Bishop of Winton, we know not; this we know, that ' the true substance of the cause, summarily is thus: ' It consisteth principally upon the construction of two ' Acts of Parliament, the one of the 25th year of ' King Edward III, and the other of the 25th of ' King Henry VIII; whereof your Majesty's Judges ' upon their oaths, and according to their best knowledge and learning, are bound to deliver their true ' understanding faithfully and uprightly; and the case ' between two for private interest and inheritance, earnestly called on for justice and expedition. We hold ' it our duty to inform your Majesty, that our oath is ' in these express words, That in case any letters come ' unto us contrary to Law, that we do nothing by such ' letters, but certify your Majesty thereof, and go ' forth to do the Law notwithstanding the same letters; ' we have advisedly considered of the said letter of ' Mr Attorney, and with one consent do hold the ' same to be contrary to Law, and such as we could not ' yield to by our oath; assuredly persuading ourselves, ' that your Majesty being truly informed that it standeth not with your royal and just pleasure to give way ' to them. And therefore knowing your Majesty's ' zeal to justice to be most renowned, therefore we ' have according to our oaths and duties, at the very ' day prefixed the last term, proceeded, and thereof ' certified your Majesty, and shall ever pray to the Almighty for your Majesty in all honour, health, and ' happiness, long to reign over us.

' Serjeant's-Inn. ' Edw. Coke, Henry Hobarte, Laur. ' Tanfield, Pet. Warburton, Geo. ' Snigge, Ja. Altham, Ed. Bromley, John Croke, Humphry ' Winche, John Dodderidge, Augustine Nicholls, Rob. Houghton.'

The King replied in a letter, that the alledging their oath for their non-compliance, was a weak and impertinent pretence: that 'twas very unreasonable to suppose his predecessors should be carried off their guard to such a degree, as to pass an act so very prejudicial to their prerogative: that their oath only reached to private cases between subject and subject, and was designed to prevent the Prince being sollicited by either of the parties. And in the close, commands them not to proceed in the cause, till his return to London. At his Majesty's coming to town, the Judges were all sent for to the Council Table. The King began with taking their letter in pieces, and shewing their misbehaviour with respect both to matter and manner. He reprimands them for their remissness, in permitting the Council to dispute his prerogative at the Bar; and tells them 'twas their duty to check those intemperate sallies, and not suffer such insolence upon the Crown. Then as to their own business he acquaints them, That deferring their resolution upon just and necessary reasons, is neither a denial nor delay of justice: 'tis rather

business of the Court of Chancery was also brought to an issue; in which it is generally thought that the Chief Justice, who was a man of high spirit, and naturally prone to rough measures, was in reality much in the wrong (y). But perhaps there is somewhat of mistake in this matter, for though it should be granted that there might be something amiss in the decision of the cause in the King's-Bench, which gave occasion to this dispute, and that consequently it was reasonable the party injured should find relief elsewhere; yet as it was never suggested that the Chief Justice did any thing that was wrong, and as there appear only suspicions of his having countenanced the measure taken to support the jurisdiction of his Court, we ought not to be too hasty in concluding to his prejudice (z) [Q]. But a design there was of humbling him, and a multitude of great and powerful persons were embarked in it, so that there is no great cause for amazement, if, notwithstanding his steady courage, his great integrity, and his quick and admirable parts, he was brought into great *difficulties*, more especially in the Royal Presence, and before a new judicature, and where those who sat while he knelt, were, some of them at least, the principal authors of his calamity, and the inventors of this new method of treating a Lord Chief Justice, considered by the nation

(y) Wilson's Life and Reign of King James, in the Compleat Hist. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 704.

(z) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

ther a pause of necessary prudence: nothing being more proper and adviseable, than to consult the King where the Crown is concerned. He told them farther, That to say the point was a private contest between the subject, was wide of the case: for that a Bishop, the defendant, pleaded for a *Commendam* only in virtue of the prerogative royal; and besides, they could not prove either of the parties sollicited for expedition. And lastly, he let them know their letter was indecently couched, and failed in the form. Upon this all the Judges kneeled, owned their error, and craved pardon. But as to the matter, the Chief Justice Coke stood upon his defence, declared that his Majesty's command for stopping the proceedings was a delay of justice, and by consequence against Law and their oath: *and that as they intended to manage the pleading, the King's prerogative should not have been concerned.* To this the King answered, *that for them to pronounce whether his prerogative was concerned or not, without consulting him, was preposterous management.* And his Majesty required the Lord Chancellor to deliver his opinion, whether he had commanded the Judges any thing against Law and their oath?

The Chancellor excusing himself as to the point of Law, referred the Question to the King's Counsel. Upon this the Attorney-General Bacon declared, That to put off the day was no delay of justice, nor any failure in their oaths: that the King's reasons for this delay were only to secure his prerogative. And therefore puts the question to the Judges, *Whether this refusal of theirs to make a stay, was not nearer a breach of their oath?* For they were sworn to counsel the King when *they are called. But not to give his Majesty counsel* till the business is over, is in effect not to give counsel at all. The rest of the King's Counsel concurred with the Attorney. The Chief Justice Coke argued the King's Counsel had exceeded their bounds: that 'twas their duty to plead before the Judges, but not against them. To this the Attorney Bacon replied, that the King's Counsel were obliged both by their oath and office, not only to plead, proceed, and declare against the greatest subject, but also against any body of subjects, were they Judges, Courts, or Commons in Parliament: That the Judges had highly outraged their character by making this challenge. And in the close, the Attorney appealing to the King, the Chief Justice said he would not dispute it with his Majesty. The Lord Chancellor gave his opinion for the King, and his Counsel learned in the Law. Upon this the question was put by all the Lords of the Board, *Whether in a case where the King believed his prerogative or interest concerned, and requires the Judges to attend him for their advice; whether in such a case they ought not to stay proceedings till his Majesty has consulted them?*

All the Judges submitted to the affirmative side of the question, excepting Coke Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who said, *That when the case happened, he would do his duty.* The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas was more compliant in his answer, and declared that for his part, he would always trust the justice of the King's command. The day drawing nigh for arguing the *Commendams* further, the King asked the Judges if they intended to discuss, whether the King had a general power for granting *Commendams* or not? They all agreed not to draw his Majesty's power into question, and promised to correct the presumption of those pleaders, who took the liberty to state the prerogative. And as to the present case, Judge Dodderidge gave his opinion for the King, that the Church was void and in his Majesty's gift; and that he might grant a *Commendam* to a Bishop, before, or after consecration, and that either during life, or for years. When the Judges were gone, it was resolved by the Privy-Council, that what the King required, was neither against Law, nor the Judge's oath. And this opinion was signed by all the Board (68).

[Q] *We ought not to be too hasty in concluding to his prejudice.*] We are told by a certain Historian, that the case in the King's Bench about which all this trouble arose, was a very foul one; and so indeed it was, if he hath stated it fairly (69); which from certain authorities I have seen, I really conceive he has. The matter then was thus; the defendant in the cause while in the King's Bench, prevailed upon the plaintiff's *principal witness not to attend, or to give any evidence in the cause, provided he could be excused.* One of the defendant's agents undertakes this, and carrying the witness to a tavern, called for a gallon of sack in a pot, and bid the man drink. As soon as he laid his lips to the flaggon, the defendant's agent quitted the room. When the witness was called, the Court was informed that he was unable to come; to prove which this agent was produced, who deposed, *that he left him in such a condition, that if he continued in it but a quarter of an hour he was a dead man.* For want of this person's testimony the cause was lost, and the verdict given for the defendant. Upon this a bill was brought in Chancery for relief, to which the defendants refused to answer, and were committed for their contempt; and they again in revenge for this, preferred bills at the close of term, as has been before mentioned. The King having all this matter brought before him, and having had it solemnly argued by his Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and Counsel learned in the Law, caused the same to be settled by an order of Council (70). In this matter it cannot be denied, that the resort of the plaintiffs to the Court of Chancery was very reasonable; but then on the other hand, there is room to imagine, that some inconveniences were also discernable in the other practice, since we find that Sir Francis Bacon (71), upon his having the Seals, thought fit amongst other things to declare himself largely upon this very head in the Court of Chancery, and this in terms, which shew plainly enough, that how much soever he aggravated the offence of the Lord Chief Justice Coke, in taking such rough measures to support the jurisdiction of his Court; ye the did not care in the place he then held, to be esteemed the author of a sentiment directly opposite, but chose rather to qualify the power of the Court of Chancery, and thereby remove effectually those inconveniences, that with great reason were apprehended, from the clashing of these jurisdictions. Whoever desires to see this whole matter, as it was discussed upon this memorable occasion, may consult the book cited in the margin, and receive full satisfaction (72). It may not be amiss however to observe, that it will hereafter appear, that the Lord Chief Justice himself was content with this decision, and that he never complained of it afterwards; which is a proof, that the principal point he aimed at, was to obtain some kind of settlement, that was to be a universal benefit to the subjects of this kingdom; and for the sake of which, his conduct might surely be excused, though not justified.

(68) Franklyn's Annals of King James, p. 17; from the Council Book.

(69) Wilson's Life and Death of King James, in the second Vol. of the Compleat Hist. of England, p. 704.

(70) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(71) Bacon's Resuscitatio, p. 81.

(72) Reports in Chancery, 8vo, 1715, Vol. I. in the Appendix.

[R] In

(a) Compl. Hist. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 705.

nation as the head of the Law, in a manner as extraordinary as it was mortifying (a) [R]. The

[R] *In a manner as extraordinary as it was mortifying.*] The first proceedings by way of censure on the Chief Justice, were before the Privy-Council July 26, 1616, and were thus reported to the King (73).

(73) From the MS. Collections of the late Rev. Mr Thomas Baker of St John's.

'*It may please your Majesty,*

'THE Lord Chief Justice presenting himself on his knees at the Board, your Sollicitor signified, that he was by your commandment to charge him for certain acts and speeches, wherein your Majesty was much unsatisfied, which were in number three. I. An act done. II. Speeches of high contempt, uttered in the seat of justice. III. Uncomely and undutiful carriage in the presence of your Majesty, the Privy-Council, and Judges. Concerning the first, which was the act, it was done when he was in a place of trust, and concealed a statute of 12,000 *l.* taken of Sir Christopher Hatton to the use of Sir Edward Coke, when he was your Majesty's Attorney-General, not to pay a debt of good value due unto your Majesty, nor to accept of a discharge for the same. And for the better strengthening of the statute, there was likewise a bond taken of 6000 *l.* with sureties to the same effect. So that Sir Christopher Hatton lay charged under the penalty of 18,000 *l.* not to pay the debt, nor agree to any surrender, discharge, or release, nor any ways to assent thereunto. That this offence was aggravated by the denial and protestation made of late by the Lord Chief Justice, that he was not privy to the condition of the defeazance, whereas the statute was taken to himself by indenture, whereof Sir Christopher Hatton's part was found, but the other was not found. That he was privy to the penning of it, inserted words with his own hands, and that Mr Walter and Mr Bridgman his own Counsel, were witnesses thereunto. The *second*, words spoken in the King's Bench the last day of Hillary Term last, at a case of Glanvill and Allen, whereof the Sollicitor made a narrative relation, and charged the Lord Chief Justice to have given too much heart and encouragement to that cause; and that he had too constantly directed the Jury, turning them thrice from the Bar, that if they set their hand to a bill after judgment, he would foreclose them the Court. And further in another cause the same day, said, that the Common Law of England would be overthrown, and that the light of the Law would be obscured. And that all this was confirmed by good witnesses. The *third* and last point, was his undecent behaviour before your Majesty, your Council, and your Judges. And that consisted of two points. First, the exception that he took at your learned Counsel in your presence, for speaking at your commandment. The second, that your Majesty having opened yourself in the case of *Commendams*, and satisfied the Judges that your Majesty's sending to them, had no intent to delay justice; and the question being put to the rest of the Judges, whether they did not hold it for a delay of justice, that your Majesty had sent in the case, or if your Majesty should send hereafter in a like case, wherein your Majesty's progenitors were interested? The rest of the Judges submitting themselves, he only dissented from all the rest. This being the effect of your Sollicitor's charge, your Lord Chief Justice made answer, that he would by their Lordships favour begin with the last. And said, for the part of challenge and taking exception at your Majesty's Counsel learned, speaking in the case by your Majesty's commandment, he acknowledged it for an error, and submitted himself. To the part, that upon the question asked the Judges, touching stay of proceedings, he denied when all the rest did yield, his answer was, That the question yielded many particulars, which suddenly occurred to his mind, and caused him to make his answer; that when the time should be, he would do that which should become an honest and just Judge. For the bond he saith, that that assurance was in hammering a year and a half, they were *Elephanti libelli*; and now twelve years being past, it was no great marvel if his memory were short. Especially since about that time he was employed, first, in the great service of the Priest treason and Cobham, and in the next year, in the Powder Treason. And that if any things had slipped in the multitude of business, that these services blot out his errors: Secondly, *ab impossibili*, which was, that the debt remaining at the time, was 33,000 *l.* and that young Mr Hatton's means were very mean, and not above 100 marks a year. And as soon as it came to the possibility, when he first heard of Sir Robert Rich's offer, he then submitted it before such time as he remembered the statute or defeazance. Thirdly, *Cui bono?* He said he had never any profit by it, but the presentation to a benefice, and all the rest was his wife's. Fourthly, that the Crown was content with the establishment, and he did but take bond to continue it. And throughout all this, he did submit himself to your Majesty and the Board, saying, *Actus non facit reum, nisi mens sit rea.* For his speech in the King's Bench, &c. he saith, that first, whatsoever was done, was by the common consent. And for those speeches, many of them were spoken, and he knew by whom they were spoken, but not by himself. And then offered four considerations. I. That the Court, unto which nevertheless he did except, was *ad informandum non ad convincendum.* II. They were witnesses but on one side. III. That the interrogatories might be drawn too short. IV. That it was concerning words spoken four months ago, which being spoken amongst many, may be diversly reported. And thereupon produced a paper written by himself, containing, as he saith, the true passage of the day (which paper we present unto your Majesty here withal) being, as he saith, set down by himself the day after, *sedato animo.* And touching these words, that the Common Law would be overthrown, and the Judges would have but little to do at the Assizes, because the light of the Law would be obscured, he confesseth the words, but saith, they were not spoken the same day, but at another time, in a case of Sir Anthony Mildmays. And added, that he would not maintain a difference between the two Courts; nor bring it into question; yet if it were an error, he may say, *Erravimus cum patribus.* And thereupon alledged the examples. First, the article against Cardinal Wolsey, 20 Hen. VIII, wherein the same words are used, *viz.* that such proceedings in the Chancery, tended to the subversion of the Common Law, art. 20. Secondly, the book intituled the *Doctor and Student.* Thirdly, an opinion of the Judges in Throgmorton's case, in Queen Elizabeth's time. And added also further, that for the time to come, no man should ever make any opposition. So that the Judges having received your Majesty's commandment by the Attorney-General, that no bill of that nature should be hereafter received, he and his brethren have caused the same to be entered as an order in the same Court, which shall be observed; which being the effect of his answer, we have have thought to add withal, that before us, as well in speech as in action, he behaved himself modestly and submissively.'

On the 30th of June following, the Chief Justice presented himself again at the Council Table (74) upon his knees, when Secretary Winwood informed him, that report had been made to his Majesty of what had passed there on the Wednesday before, together with the answer he had given, and that too in the most favourable manner, but that his Majesty was no way satisfied in respect to any of the heads; but that notwithstanding his Majesty, as well out of his own clemency, as in regard to the former services of his Lordship, was pleased not to deal heavily with him, and therefore had decreed, I. That he be sequestred from the Council Table, until his Majesty's pleasure be further known. II. That he forbear to ride his summer-circuit as Justice of Assize. III. That during this vacation, while he had time to live privately and dispose himself at home, he take into his consideration and review his books of Reports; wherein as his Majesty is informed, be many extravagant and exorbitant opinions set down and published, for positive and good Law. And if in reviewing and reading thereof, he find any thing fit to be altered and amended, the correction

(74) From a MS. Collection belonging formerly to Moore, late Bishop of Ely, now to the University of Cambridge by the gift of his late Majesty, George I.

The issue of this strange business was, that on the thirtieth of June 1616, Sir Edward Coke was suspended from the execution of his office, and Sir Randolph Crew appointed to go the circuit in his stead (*b*); things stood thus till the 15th of November, when Sir Henry Mountague was made Chief Justice, and at the time of his being sworn into his office it was intimated, that the cause of his predecessor's removal was his too great popularity (*c*). We are however to consider this merely as a colour, since it is in a manner certain, that he lost his office for not complying with the will of the favourite, then Lord Viscount Villiers (*d*), afterwards Duke of Buckingham; and as this assertion would be an inexcusable injury to King James's administration if it was not well founded, so it will be shewn in the notes, that it is not a piece of secret History drawn from the libels of those times, or from weak and suspected authorities, but supported by plain, positive, and incontestible evidence (*e*) [S]. Thus was this great man removed from that high seat of justice, in which he had been regarded as the Oracle of the Law; and be it spoken to his honour, that he was removed by the power of his enemies, and did not fall through any fault of his own. Not that Sir Edward Coke was free from imperfections, either as a man or as a Judge; but those imperfections were not of a nature to require, or to justify, such a proceeding towards him; and this is apparent from hence, that he might have been restored if he would but have taken, not the right, but the ready, road to it, which he disdained, for his answer upon such a motion was (*f*), *That as a Judge ought not take, so neither ought he to give, a bribe.* We are told that his Master said of him, *That whichever way he was thrown he would fall upon his feet*, but perhaps it might be more truly said, that in spite of all the art and power of his adversaries, he still stood upon them (*g*), and made good his motto, when advanced

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 19.

(*c*) Sir Francis Moor's Reports, p. 826.

(*d*) Stephens's Introduction prefixed to Bacon's Letters, p. 37.

(*e*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 657.

(*f*) Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, P. ii. p. 120.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 826.

rection is left to his discretion. Amongst other things, the King was not well pleased with the title of those books, wherein he stiled himself Lord Chief Justice of England, whereas he could challenge no more, but Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. And having corrected, what in his discretion he found meet, in these Reports, his Majesty's pleasure was, he should bring the same privately to himself, that he might consider thereof, as in his princely judgment should be found expedient. *Hereunto Mr Secretary advised him* to conform himself in all duty and obedience, as he ought, whereby he might hope that his Majesty in time, would receive him again to his gracious and princely favour. Thereunto the Lord Chief Justice made answer, That he did in all humility prostrate himself to his Majesty's good pleasure; that he acknowledged that decree to be just, and proceeded rather from his Majesty's exceeding mercy, than from his justice; gave humble thanks to their Lordships for their favours and goodness towards him; and hoped that his behaviour for the future time, shall be such as should deserve their Lordships favours. The Lords having thus far proceeded, the Lord Treasurer told him, that he had one thing more to let him know, which belonged to *the Earl Marshal to take notice of*, which was, that his coachman *used to ride bear-headed before him*, which was more than any ways he could assume or challenge to himself, and required him to forbear it for the future. To which the Lord Chief Justice answered, That his coachman did it only for his own ease, and not by his commandment. And so, with the like submission and acknowledgment of favour, departed.

[S] *But supported by plain, positive, and incontestible evidence.*] A certain writer, who says that he had his information from one of his Lordship's sons, gives us the history of his removal, pretty truly in the main (75); though he makes a strange mistake in the name, and lets slip a very material passage, if indeed his author out of regard to his father's memory, did not conceal it from him. We will relate the whole story, let the blame fall where it will. In the time of the Earl of Somerset's prosperity, Sir Edward Coke had given his consent to an agreement, that upon Sir John Roper's resigning the office of Chief Clerk for inrolling of Pleas in the King's Bench, which at that time was worth four thousand pounds a year, he would admit two persons that should hold that office in trust for the favourite (76). Upon the fall of the Earl of Somerset, and the rise of Sir George Villiers, an overture was made to the Chief Justice by Sir Francis Bacon, that he should admit two trustees for the new favourite (77). To this the Chief Justice gave no other answer, than that *he was old and could not struggle*, which very probably was taken for a mark of compliance. But when Sir John Roper actually surrendered his office, in consideration of which, July 9, 1616, he was created Lord Teynham (78), the Chief Justice shewed himself of another opinion; and suggested, that as the salary of the Judges in his Court were very small, it would be an easy matter to augment them, by making a proper use of this place, which was absolutely in his disposal (79). This was Sir Edward's great crime, for a resolution was immediately taken to remove him, and to prefer another person, who should do what the favourite, now Lord Viscount Villiers, expected. It seems that Lord Teynham was desirous of having one of the lives, and leaving the other to the Viscount, and to this the Lord Treasurer Suffolk was inclined to give way, but the Attorney-General interposed warmly, and secured both lives for his friend. He went farther still, for he took declarations in trust from Mr Shute and Mr Heath, afterwards Sollicitor-General, who were to be the Viscount's deputies and trustees, so as to secure him the entire benefit of that office for their lives, that he might dispose of it by will in case he died before them (80). His caution stretched beyond this, for Sir Henry Mountague, then Recorder of London, being the person fixed upon to succeed Sir Edward Coke, he took a tye of him (not a *toy*, as it is falsly printed in Bacon's Works) that is, an obligation that he would keep his promise (81); for having mistaken one Chief Justice's sense, he was resolved not to trust another. Accordingly he was no sooner possessed of his office, than Lord Villiers's de*puties were admitted*. All these circumstances are collected, as the reader sees, from Bacon's own letters; and if it be requisite to shew, that this was the true and absolute reason of Sir Edward Coke's removal, we have their testimony for that too, for thus Sir Francis Bacon writes to the Viscount (82). 'I did cast 'with myself, says he, that if your Lordship's deputies had come in by Sir Edward Coke, who was tied '(that is, under an agreement with Somerset) it would 'have been subject to some clamour from Somerset; 'and some question what was forfeited by Somerset's 'attainder, being but a felony to the King; but now 'they coming in from a new Chief Justice, all is with-'out question or scruple.' Thus the reader sees plainly, what was meant by the several gradations of Sir Edward Coke's punishment, and why he was suspended before he was removed, as well as the means made use of to interest the new favourite in both. It is a very strange thing, and deserved to be set in a clear light, that the great may see there is a time, when the darkest intrigues are discovered, and the closest and most subtile practices are brought to light. The mistake committed by the author first mentioned, is this, he sets down Sir Nicholas Tufton instead of Sir John Roper; and says he was created Earl of Thanet, instead of Lord Teynham, which was the natural consequence of his first mistake; his omission is, that he takes no notice of Sir Edward Coke's agreement with the Earl of Somerset, from whence the new demand arose; and as it is probable he had his account from Sir Robert Coke, it is not at all unlikely that he might conceal that circumstance, out of tenderness to his father's memory.

(75) Coke's Detection, p. 54.

(76) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 37.

(77) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 605.

(78) Coke's Detection, p. 54.

(79) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 657.

(80) Ibid.

(81) Letters of Sir Francis Bacon, published by Stephens, 4to, 1702, p. 187.

(82) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 658.

[T] For

advanced to the degree of a Serjeant, *The Law is the beſt helmet*; for it was not long before a new turn happened in his affairs, and that ſome even of thoſe who were moſt buſy in bringing him into difficulties, found it for their intereſt, and therefore were as ready, to bring him out of them again, and to ſmooth the way for his return to ſome degree, at leaſt, of the King his Maſter's favour. But the firſt ſtep to his being reſtored to credit, was a difference that fell out between the Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Winwood; for upon the King's going to Scotland about the middle of March 1617, the chief direction of affairs was confided to the former, who carrying it ſomewhat haughtily to the Secretary, he is ſaid to have refuſed ever to ſit afterwards with him in Council, during the King's abſence (*b*). Sir Edward Coke having buſineſs with Secretary Winwood, who was his old friend, and knowing his intereſt with the favourite, now become Earl of Buckingham, propoſed to him a match between the Earl's eldeſt brother Sir John Villiers, and his own youngeſt daughter by the Lady Hatton (*i*). An account of this being written to Buckingham in Scotland, the propoſal was readily accepted, but it very quickly appeared, that notwithſtanding the great perſonages intereſted therein, it was not like to proceed ſo quietly as might have been expected, and, in proceſs of time, this little family buſineſs ripened into an affair of State (*k*). On the one hand, the Lady Hatton reſenting her huſband's attempt to diſpoſe of her daughter without aſking her leave, carried away the young Lady, and lodged her at Sir Edmund Withipole's houſe near Oatlands (*l*). Upon this Sir Edward wrote immediately to the Earl of Buckingham, to procure a warrant from the Privy-Council to reſtore his daughter to him, but before he received an anſwer, he had intelligence where ſhe was, and thereupon, without waiting for any authority, he went with his ſons to Sir Edmund Withipole's houſe, and took her away by force, which produced a complaint of the Lady Hatton to the Privy-Council (*m*). On the other hand, the Lord Keeper Bacon, ſuſpecting that he ſhould loſe the favourite, and in conſequence of that the King, oppoſed this match to the utmoſt, and thereby drew upon himſelf immediately that, of which he had only a diſtant apprehenſion. For Buckingham, who was not of a nature to bear any contradiction, reſented his proceeding highly; and his mother, the Lady Compton, loſt all patience, and treated the Lord Keeper with extraordinary freedom (*n*). His Lordſhip, however, was ſo ſet upon carrying this point, that he countenanced the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Yelverton, (*the ſame perſon who had adviſed Weſton to ſtand mute at his trial*) in filing an information in the Star-Chamber againſt Sir Edward Coke, for the ſteps he had taken to recover his daughter (*o*). In the mean time the two Ladies, Compton and Hatton, came to a good underſtanding, and ſoon after the latter was, in appearance at leaſt, reconciled to Sir Edward Coke, upon which the Star-Chamber ſuit was ſuſpended. On the King's return from Scotland, which was on the fifteenth of September, Sir Edward Coke was reſtored to his favour, and reinſtated in his place (*p*) as a Privy-Counſellor, for which however he paid pretty dearly [*T*]. The King's affairs in general were at this time in much diſorder on every ſide,

(*b*) Court and Character of King James, p. 131.

(*i*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 42.

(*k*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*l*) Several Letters, in which this whole tranſaction is largely ſet forth, are ſtill preſerved in the valuable Collection of James Weſt, Eſq;

(*m*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*n*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 43.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 26.

(*p*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 44. Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 26.

[*T*] *For which however he paid pretty dearly.*] To ſuch a degree was King James under the direction and dominion of his favourite, that upon his coming to London, he ſignified his ſatisfaction *in their conduct to ſuch of his Miniſters as had* promoted this match, and made thoſe who had oppoſed it thoroughly ſenſible of his diſpleaſure, particularly Bacon and Yelverton; the former by a very deep ſubmiſſion to Buckingham, ſoon recovered the King's good graces (83); but the latter ſtood upon his integrity, and never made any ſubmiſſions, which coſt him afterwards the loſs of a great part of his fortune, and a ſevere impriſonment; and yet his courage and conſtant friendſhip to his old maſter Somerſet, wrought ſo much with Buckingham, that he ſued for his friendſhip, and made him a Judge of the Common-Pleas unaſked, in which ſtation he died (84). The very ſame day the King arrived, Sir Edward Coke was admitted to his preſence and to the Council Table, and on Michaelmas-day following, Sir John Villiers was married to Mrs Frances Coke at Hampton-Court, with all the ſplendor imaginable (85). It was this wedding, that as it reſtored Sir Edward to credit at Court, went ſo deep in his fortune. For beſides 10,000*l.* paid in money at two payments, Sir Edward and his ſon Sir Robert, did upon the 2d of November, purſuant to articles and directions from the Lords of the Council, aſſure to Sir John Villiers a rent charge of 2000 marks *per annum*, during Sir Edward's life; and of 900*l.* a year during the Lady Hatton's, if ſhe ſurvived her huſband. And after both their deaths, the manor of Stoke, *&c.* in Buckinghamſhire, of the value of 900*l.* *per annum* (being the moiety of the lands intended to his two daughters by the Lady Hatton) to Sir John Villiers and his Lady, and to the heirs of her body. And that the ſame were ſettled by good conveyances carefully drawn, upon the 27th of January, 1617, was certified to his Majeſty, under the hands of Sir Ranulph Crewe, Sir Robert Hicham, and Sir Henry Yelverton, the King's Serjeants and Attorney (86). *It is not abſolutely certain what ſettlements were made by the Lady* Hatton upon this marriage, but without queſtion they were very conſiderable; for ſince her marriage with Sir Edward Coke, ſhe had purchaſed the iſland and caſtle of Purbeck, and ſeveral other eſtates in different counties; and by her liberality upon this occaſion, ſhe procured her liberty ſoon after; for at the time of the marriage ſhe was confined, upon the complaint of her huſband (87). On the 2d of November ſhe was ſet at large, and on the 18th of the ſame month, ſhe entertained (88) the King, the Duke of Buckingham, and the whole Court, without inviting her huſband. In the month of June 1619, Sir John Villiers was raiſed to the dignity of Baron Stoke in the County of Buckingham, and Viſcount Purbeck in the county of Dorſet (89); and it was currently reported, that the Lady Hatton might have been raiſed to the dignity of Viſcounteſs Weſtmoreland at the ſame time, *but that* ſhe refuſed to come up to the price (90). All this time the quarrel between her and her huſband ſubſiſted, and many letters are ſtill preſerved, which ſhew a great deal of heat and reſentment in both parties; and what is moſt extraordinary, is to find that ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality in the kingdom, intereſted themſelves deeply on both ſides in this quarrel, inſomuch that the Lord Houghton (formerly Sir John Hollis) was committed, for having, in conjunction with Lady Hatton, framed ſome ſcandalous libels againſt Sir Edward Coke (91). This marriage of the Lord Purbeck and his Lady, as it began with ſo much trouble and diſturbance, became productive of much more; the Lady being accuſed of too great familiarity with Sir Robert Howard, which ſerved to exerciſe the tongues of the multitude for many years (92). The Lord Viſcount Purbeck

(83) See his humble Letter upon that occaſion, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 674.

(84) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 15.

(85) Camd. Annal. Jac. p. 26.

(86) Steph[ens's] Introduct[ion to Ba]con's Le[tters, p.] 36.

(87) This [ap]pears from [seve]ral Letters o[f the] parties, wh[ich] are ſtill preſe[rved].

(88) Camden[. An]nal. Jac. p.

(89) Dugd[ale] Baron. V[ol.] p. 432.

(90) Mem[orable] Events in [the] Reign of [King] James. Camden. A[nnal.] Jac. p. 45.

(91) Mem[orable] Events in [the] Reign of [King] James. Camden. [Annal.] Jac. p. 46.

(92) Straff[ord's] Letters, V[ol.] p. 390, 426.

side, but more especially in respect to his treasure, which, through his own liberality on one side, and the frauds of those who had been entrusted with the management of it on the other, was in a great measure exhausted, and, which was still worse, it was found a thing equally difficult, to procure supplies, or to work a reformation (q). The Favourite was by no means inclined to a Parliament, the only method by which the first could be obtained; and therefore the latter was looked upon as the only remedy, in respect to which the counsels of Sir Edward Coke were very much regarded. The Lord Chancellor Bacon seeing him in this road, and aiming, as he apprehended, at the post of Lord Treasurer, dropped his animosity, and from this time forward we find Sir Edward Coke's abilities represented in a very favourable light both to Buckingham and the King his master (r). It would draw this article into too great a length, if we should enter particularly into the services he performed of this kind during his continuance in favour, and therefore it shall suffice to give the reader a succinct account of them in the note [U]. The enemies of this great man have represented him as one of an impatient spirit, and yet apt to retain the impression of injuries, and to follow them at a great distance of time with extraordinary resentment (s). If this was really a part of his character, he had undoubtedly as many favourable opportunities, during the short space in which he enjoyed this second possession of power from the recovery of his master's favour, as ever any man had, to gratify them, since, except those of his enemies who had reconciled themselves to him, there was hardly one that did not fall under the weight of his hand, a few instances of which make not only proper, but indeed necessary parts of his personal History. In the year 1691, the chief of the Dutch merchants in England fell under a prosecution for exporting bullion contrary to Law, in the bringing which cause to a hearing, Sir Edward Coke was almost alone, the Chancellor Bacon being suspicious of the event from a change in the Attorney-General's conduct, who, though warm in the beginning of the prosecution, grew faint before the trial; but Sir Edward, well knowing the grounds upon which he went, kept his own pace, and would not be either drawn off, or taken down in the management of this business, which he brought to it's intended issue, and the several offenders were fined in the Star-Chamber to the

(q) See this largely set forth in Bacon's Letters. Wilson's Life and Death of King James. Sanderson's Hist.

(r) See Bacon's Letters, in the years 1618, 1619, 1620.

(s) Wilson's Life and Death of King James, p. 705. Sir Anthony Welden's Court and Character of King James. Sanderson's Hist.

Purbeck went abroad *in the latter end of May 1620*, under colour of drinking the waters at Spaw, but in fact, as Camden tells us, to hide from the world his being run mad with pride (93). To this man, and to him only of all Buckingham's family, Sir Anthony Welden gives a good character, and insinuates, that his wife was supported in her bad behaviour, till she drove him mad (94); which is a little improbable, considering the prosecutions set on foot against her for her bad behaviour. Many years after this, Viscount Purbeck married privately after her demise, the daughter of Sir William Slingsby of Yorkshire, by whom he had a son, who married the daughter of Sir John Danvers, one of the King's Judges, and obtained a patent from the Protector Cromwell, to change his name from *Villiers* to *Danvers*, but he died without issue (95).

(93) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 58.

(94) Court and Character of King James, p. 137.

(95) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 432.

[U] *A succinct account of them in the note.*] We can only give the reader here, an account from the records of those weighty and important affairs, in which Sir Edward Coke as a Privy-Counsellor was employed. He was commissioned 23 June 1618, 16 Jac. I (96), with other Privy-Counsellors, to put in force the Act of Parliament made in Queen Elizabeth's reign, against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and others; and to banish them out of England and Ireland, and all other the King's dominions. The same year he was also commissioned with others, in confidence of their approved wisdoms, fidelities, and circumspections, from time to time, to call before them all officers, or Minister's Clerks, and other persons, that since the first of May, in the 10th year of the reign of the King, had any charge, directly or indirectly, in or about the receipt or disbursement of any of his treasure; or had any office in or about the receipt or disbursement of his treasure; as also to view Privy-Councils, and other warrants, orders, tallies, books, &c. to the same belonging, in order to discover frauds committed by the Ministry, in disposing of the publick money.

(96) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 93.

The year after, the King signifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt. one of his Privy-Council, and others, 2 July 1619 (97), That whereas by a late commission dated the 19th of April last past, he impowered them, or some of them, to make inventories and schedules of all such jewels, precious stones, ornaments, houshold-stuff, and implements, &c. as did belong to his late dear consort Queen Anne, in her life-time, with their names, fashions, qualities, and values, and the same to sign, which they had performed. And forasmuch as he appointed the choicest of them to be sent to the secret Jewel-house in the Tower of London, there to be preserved for the honour of the Crown; others to be preserved for presents for Ambassadors, and others to the custody of Sir Henry Knight, Master and Treasurer of his jewels and plate; and others to be kept at Denmark-House for ornament there, or otherwise to be disposed of at pleasure; and the rest, being of small value, to be disposed of to the best advantage, and a book or inventory being made of the same, with their names, fashions, and quantities, amounting to the sum of 20,000 *l.* or thereabouts. Therefore confiding in their approved fidelities, wisdoms, and circumspections, he commissions them to sell and dispose of the same, at such rates and prices, as the same stand therein valued, or to the most benefit and advantage; and the monies arising thereby, to deliver into the receipt of Exchequer, &c.

(97) Ibid. p. 97.

He was also commissioned, 16 July 1619, 17 Jac. I (98), to confer with the Deputies of the States-General, touching the differences between the Dutch East-India Company and the English merchants trading to the East Indies. And by another commission dated at Westminster the twenty-ninth of April, 1620, 18 Jac. I (99), he was empowered to put in force certain laws, relating to matters ecclesiastick. Also by commission dated at Westminster the 22d of June, 1620 (100), 18 Jac. I. he and others were to inquire into the abuses touching fines payable to his Majesty, as well by copyholders as freeholders, on surrenders, alienations, and the herriots, reliefs, escheats, perquisites and profits of courts, waifs, estrays, goods and chattels of felons, growing due to his said Majesty; and being within the survey of the court of Exchequer. And in another commission dated at Westminster, 15 July 1620 (101), 18 Jac. I. he was empowered, with others of the Privy-Council, to demise the royalties of the Crown, casualties and casual profits, and to suppress the superfluous number of officers, and for reducing the unnecessary charge of them. The same year, the King on December the twelfth, signifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt. and others, the great offences committed by transporting to foreign parts great quantities of brazen and iron ordnance for their private lucre and gain, contrary to Law; and therefore appoints them commissioners, to examine witnesses, on or without oath; and to search into such books or writings, as to them shall seem convenient, for the discovery of all such matters, since the beginning of his reign. Such were the services, in which Sir Edward Coke was employed during his second return to royal favour.

(98) Ibid. p. 166.

(99) Collier's Eccles Hist. Vol. II. p. 722. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 201.

(100) Annals of the Reign of King James. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 224.

(101) See Bacon's Letters in that year. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 240.

the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which as they were very able to pay, this might have been a seasonable relief to his Master, if Buckingham, at the request of the States-General, had not interfered and procured a mitigation (*t*). The year following the Lord High-Treasurer Suffolk and his Lady fell into disgrace, and under a severe prosecution for corruption; the reader has been told how that Lord stepped once a little out of his way to reflect upon Sir Edward Coke when upon his knees, upon his coachman's driving bare-headed, but Sir Edward now sat on the Bench when he came to receive his sentence in the Star-Chamber, Nov. 13, 1619, and led the way in a long and learned speech, where, after shewing how often Treasurers had pillaged both King and people, he concluded with proving, that by the Earl and his Countess the King had lost fifty thousand pounds, for which he fined them double that sum, and imprisonment in the *Tower* till it was paid; but the Lord Chief Justice Hobart thinking that too much, proposed thirty thousand, and with him the major part of the Court agreed, but the *Earl* and Countess were committed to the Tower, and their instrument, Sir John Bingley, to the Fleet (*u*). In 1620, the Attorney-General Yelverton, who, when he was Sollicitor, had been so active against the Lord Chief Justice, fell under a like prosecution, for having put some clauses into a charter for the City of London for which he had no warrant, and tho' his cause was drawn to a great length, yet on the eighth of November it came to a hearing, when Sir Edward Coke, whose place it was to begin, concluded his long and bitter speech, as a certain author calls it, with a fine of six thousand pounds and loss of his place, which the rest of the Court moderated to four thousand pounds, discharging him of his place by way of opinion, but submitting the same to the King, during whose pleasure they also sentenced him to imprisonment in the Tower (*w*). It appeared clearly towards the end of this year, that the King's affairs absolutely required the calling of a Parliament, which was chiefly advised by Chancellor Bacon, now become Lord Verulam and Viscount St Albans, who undertook to prepare things for it's meeting, and in this consulted with, and had all the assistance that Sir Edward Coke (*x*) could give him, notwithstanding which, it was very far from answering those purposes for which it was called. Sir Edward Coke was a member, and his age, experience, and dignity, gave him a great weight there, but it very soon appeared that he was resolved to act *a different part from what the Court, and more especially the great favourite Buckingham, expected*. On the sixth of February 1620-21, there was a great debate in the House of Commons on several points of importance, such as liberty of speech, the increase of Popery, and other grievances, upon which Sir Edward Coke spoke very warmly, and also took occasion to shew, that Proclamations against the tenor of Acts of Parliament were void, for which he is highly commended by Camden (*y*). On the fifteenth of March, complaints were made to the House of Commons against the Lord Viscount St Albans, Chancellor of England, in which Sir Edward Coke was of the Committee for preparing the charge, and proceeded mildly (*z*). On the fifth of May following, Clement Coke Esq; youngest son to Sir Edward, was committed to the Tower for some rash expressions that had escaped him (*a*). In the month of July Sir Edward Coke and his wife, the Lady Hatton, were reconciled by the King (*b*). The Houses being adjourned by the King's command on the fourth of June, met again in November, and, upon their meeting, the House of Commons fell into great heats on account of the commitment of Sir Edwin Sands soon after the adjournment, which had such unfortunate consequences, that on the one hand the Commons protested, December 18, 1621, against the invasion of their privileges, upon which the King prorogued the Parliament on the 21st (*c*), and on the 27th Sir Edward Coke was committed to the Tower, and his chambers in the Temple being broke open, his papers were delivered to Sir Robert Cotton and Mr Wilson to examine (*d*). On the thirtieth of December the King sent for the Journal of the House of Commons, and tore out the Protest with his own hand, as appears by an Act of Council (*e*) drawn up by his order upon that occasion. On the sixth of January the Parliament was dissolved, and the same day Sir Edward Coke was charged before the Council with having concealed some true examinations, in the great cause of the Earl of Somerset, and obtruding false ones (*f*); notwithstanding which he was soon after released, but not without receiving some very high marks of the King's resentment, for he was a second time turned out of the Privy-Council, and the King gave him this character, *That he was the fittest instrument for a tyrant that ever was in England*, which might very probably be, on account of his having called the King's prerogative in Parliament *a great monster* (*g*). Some have represented him as very inconsistent in this, but we want sufficient lights to judge of this question, and where we find them in others, it never appears that Sir Edward Coke did not know what he was saying, or was ever at a loss to defend what he had done. Notwithstanding all this we find, that towards the close of the year 1623, the King issued a commission to him with several others, in which very large powers were given them in the kingdom of Ireland, but it might be very much questioned, whether this was a mark of favour and confidence, or a stigma of banishment and disgrace; but it is very apparent that Sir Edward himself understood it in the latter sense, and yet he was willing to have gone (*h*) [*W*]. It may be the willingness he shewed prevented his going, though other

(*t*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 46. Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*u*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 696. Wilson's Life and Death of King James, 706.

(*w*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 17.

(*x*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 704.

(*y*) Annal. Jac. p. 67.

(*z*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 375.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 71.

(*b*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*c*) Franklyn's Annals of King James.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 76.

(*e*) See that Act in Franklyn's Annals of King James.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 77.

(*g*) Wilson's Life and Death of King James, in the second Vol. of Compleat Hist. of England, p. 748, 749.

(*h*) See this clearly explained in the note.

[*W*] *And yet he was very willing to have gone.*] Among other arts that were practised at this time, to remove out of the way such persons, as were obnoxious to the great favourite Buckingham; one was, to put such

other gentlemen, who were in his sentiments actually went. He remained firm in his opinions, nor does there appear any traces of his seeking to be again reconciled to the Court; so that he was absolutely out of favour at the death of King James. In the beginning of the next reign, when it was found necessary to call a second Parliament, he was pricked for Sheriff of the county of Buckingham in 1625, to prevent his being chose (i). He laboured all he could to avoid it, in order to which he took exceptions against the oath, which he transmitted to the Attorney-General, who, by order of the Council, attended the Judges, who found only one objection out of four to be reasonable, and that was as to the prosecution of Lollards (k), in respect to which the oath was amended, but Sir Edward was obliged to serve the office, and to attend the Judges at the assizes, who had been Chief Justice of England himself (l). This did not hinder his being elected Knight of the shire for the county of Bucks, in that Parliament which was held in the year 1628 (m), in which he distinguished himself more than any man in the House of Commons, spoke warmly for the redress of grievances, argued boldly in defence of the liberty of the subject, and strenuously supported the privileges of the House of Commons (n). In this Parliament he did the highest service to his country, not only in regard to his personal endeavours, but perhaps the highest that was ever done by a private man; for he it was, that, laying hold of a message from the King, proposed and framed the PETITION OF RIGHTS (o). He also, on the fifth of June 1628, vindicated the right of the House of Commons to proceed against any subject how high soever, who mis-led his Sovereign to the prejudice of his subjects, by naming the Duke of Buckingham as the cause of all the miseries of the kingdom [X]. We are indeed told by the noble Historian, that, not long before this, Sir Edward

(i) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 12.

(k) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 822.

(l) Franklyn's Annals of the Reign of King Charles.

(m) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 79.

(n) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 505, 509, 512, 513.

(o) Id. ibid. p. 558, 559.

such persons into commissions, for the kingdom of Ireland (102), with great expressions of royal kindness and confidence in them, but with a real design to prevent their being troublesome, by sending them out of the realm. The truth of the first part of this account, will sufficiently appear, by giving the heads of that commission, in which the name of Sir Edward Coke was inserted, and his own explanation of the matter five years after, will make good the latter part of the assertion. On the twenty-ninth of December 1623 (103), the King signifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt, and others, That whereas he granted his commission to his Deputy of Ireland and others, dated at Westminster the twentieth of March, in the nineteenth year of his reign, out of his princely care and desire to advance the flourishing state of Ireland, by the increase of trade, settling of plantations, &c. he now commissions Henry Viscount Falkland, Deputy of Ireland, Sir Edward Coke, Knt, Sir William Jones, Knt, Sir Edwin Sandys, Knt, John Lloyd and Francis Philips, to inquire what, and how many parishes and churches be in Ireland; also how many presentations, and which are appropriate, and how those churches are served, &c. and to consider what churches are fit to be repaired or new built, &c. and generally to inquire into all matters tending to the decay of religion in that kingdom; as also into the trade and commerce of that nation, &c. Thus far the commission, let us come next to the explication.

In the third parliament, called in the reign of King Charles the First, *viz.* April the second, 1628, amongst other grievances, this of sending men abroad against their will, and thereby into a kind of involuntary banishment, was canvassed in the House of Commons (104); when Mr Selden, Sir Thomas Hobby, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr Hakvill, and others, delivered their sentiments; amongst the rest, Sir Edward Coke spoke to the following effect (105): 'No restraint, be it ever so 'little, but is imprisonment, and foreign imploy'ment is a kind of honourable banishment: I myself 'was designed to go to Ireland, I was willing to go, 'and hoped if I had gone, to have found some '*Mompessons* there; there is difference when the party 'is the King's servant, and when not, 46 E. III. 'This was the time, when the law was in it's height; 'Sir Richard Pembridge was a Baron, and the King's 'servant, and at that time Warden of the Cinque-Ports, 'he was commanded to go to Ireland, and to serve 'as Deputy there, which he refused; he was not com'mitted, but the King was highly offended, and having 'offices, and fees, and lands, *pro servitio suo impenso*, the 'King seized his lands and offices. I went to the parlia'ment roll, 47 E. III, where I found another prece'dent for foreign imployment; they that have offices '*pro consilio* or *servitio impenso*, if they refuse, those 'lands and offices so given are seized, but no commit'ment.

(102) Wilson's Life and Death of King James, in the second Vol. of Compl. Hist. of England.

(103) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 531.

(104) Franklyn's Annals of King Charles I. p. 244.

(105) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 523. Franklyn's Annals, p. 257.

[X] *By naming the Duke of Buckingham as the cause of all the miseries of the kingdom.*] On the fifth of June 1628, Sir John Finch, the Speaker of the House of Commons, delivered a message to the House from the King, importing, That his Majesty had fixed a day for putting an end to their session, and therefore required that they should not enter into new business, or lay any aspersion on the Government, or Ministers thereof. This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot, advancing somewhat that looked as if he meant to touch the Duke of Buckingham; the Speaker rose up, and said, *There is a command upon me, that I must command you not to proceed* (106). Upon this a deep silence ensued, and then the House resolved itself into a committee, to consider what was fit to done; and ordered that no man should go out, on pain of going to the Tower. The Speaker however desiring to withdraw, had leave so to do; and Mr Whitby being in the chair, Sir Edward Coke spoke to the following effect (107). 'We have dealt 'with that duty and moderation, that never was the 'like, *rebus sic stantibus*, after such a violation of the 'liberties of the subjects; let us take this to heart. 'In 30 E. III. were they then in doubt in parliament to name men that misled the King? they 'accused John de Gaunt, the King's son, and Lord La'timer, and Lord Nevil for misadvising the King; and 'they went to the Tower for it. Now when there is such 'a downfal of the State, shall we hold our tongues? 'How shall we answer our duties to God and men? '7 Hen. IV. parl. rot. No. 31, 32, and 11 Hen. IV. 'No. 13, there the Council are complained of, and are 'removed from the King; they mewed up the 'King, and disswaded him from the common good; and 'why are we now retired from that way we were in? 'why may we not name those, that are cause of all our 'evils? In 4 Hen. III, and 27 E. III, and 13 'R. II, the parliament moderateth the King's pre'rogative; and nothing grows to abuse, but this House 'hath power to treat of it; what shall we do? let us 'palliate no longer; if we do, God will not prosper us. I 'think the Duke of *Buckingham* is the cause of all 'our miseries; and till the King be informed thereof, 'we shall never go out with honour, or sit with honour 'here; that man is the grievance of grievances; let us 'set down the causes of all our disasters, and all will 'reflect upon him.' It seems, that the Patriots of those times were either much more in earnest, or much better dissemblers, than in others; for we are assured, that the Speaker wept very much, while he delivered his disagreeable message to the House; that many of the members followed his example, during the silence occasioned thereby; and that Sir Edward Coke himself sat down, after he began speaking, to wipe away his tears (108). His speech was seconded by Mr Selden, and at length it was agreed to frame a remonstrance to the King, and therein to name the Duke of Buckingham as the great author of their grievances. But while this was in agitation, the Speaker, who went privately to the King, returned, and in his Majesty's name desired them to adjourn to the next day, which

(106) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 10.

(107) Franklyn's Annals of King Charles I. p. 325.

(108) See Mr Alured's Letter in Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 609.

ward Coke had blaſphemouſly ſtiled the ſame Duke *our Saviour* (*p*). It is not eaſy to excuſe him upon this head, but perhaps if we had the whole of that ſpeech the taſk might not be ſo difficult. In all probability this might be in the laſt Parliament of King James, when the Duke of Buckingham took great pains to ſhew, that he brought the Prince back from Spain, and was the breaker of the match, as moſt undoubtedly he was, and for that reaſon grew into as great favour with the people, as he had been, with either of his Royal Maſters. At this time, if, in the high-flown eloquence of that age, Sir Edward Coke did ſtile him Saviour of the nation, it might deſerve pardon, though it could not be juſtified. But the noble Hiſtorian himſelf, in the very place where he ſays this, confeſſes, that the Duke had been the cauſe of diſſolving two Parliaments, and of ſome violent counſels that had attended theſe diſſolutions, by which, whatever he might intend, he certainly frees Sir Edward Coke from inconſiſtency, ſince the Duke's ſaving the nation by bringing home the Prince and breaking the Spaniſh match, gave him no title to proceed ſo far as he afterwards did, towards the ruin of the King and kingdom; and all that can be inferred from hence in reference to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, is no more than this, that he was a very open and frank Orator upon all occaſions, for there is nothing appears to ſhew that he was not alike ſincere in both his declarations. We may add to this, that whatever he might deſign with regard to the Duke, he could not by that high commendation ſeek to flatter King James, with whom the Favourite then ſtood upon doubtful terms; and in the laſt caſe he did what he took to be his duty, without fear of incurring the hatred of the Favourite, or the diſpleaſure of his Maſter. After the diſſolution of this Parliament, which happened March 28, 1628-9, he retired to his houſe at Stoke-Pogey's (*q*) in Buckinghamſhire, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in a quiet retirement, univerſally reſpected and eſteemed; his behaviour in the latter part of his life having cancelled all the prejudices that had been formed againſt him in the earlier part of it, and there, September 3, 1634, he breathed his laſt, in the eighty-ſixth year of his life, expiring with theſe words in his mouth, *Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done* (*r*). It is ſaid that he was perſecuted by the reſentment of his potent enemies even in his very lateſt moments, Sir Francis Windebanke entering his houſe, in virtue of an order of Council for ſeizing certain ſeditious papers, when he took away his Commentary upon *Littleton*, and the Hiſtory of that Judge's Life in his own hand writing; his Commentary upon *Magna Charta*, &c. the Pleas of the Crown, and Juriſdiction of Courts, and fifty-one other manuſcripts, together with his laſt Will and Teſtament, in which he had diſpoſed of his very large fortune in the way he judged moſt convenient, amongſt his numerous poſterity. About ſeven years afterwards, upon a motion made by one of his ſons in the Houſe of Commons, the King was deſired to order all the papers taken by Sir Francis Windebanke out of Sir Edward's houſe, to be delivered to Sir Robert Coke his heir, with which his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to comply, and ſuch of them as could be found, were accordingly ſo delivered; but as to his Will it was never heard of, to the no ſmall prejudice of his family (*s*). We have now compleated the memoirs of this great man, but there ſtill remains a duty incumbent upon us, to ſay ſomewhat of his publick and private character, as well as of his valuable writings. To begin then with his perſon, which was every way well proportioned, his features regular, his countenance always grave and *compoſed, and* his air and *manner of ſpeaking full of dignity* (*t*). He was neat, but not nice, in his dreſs; and his common ſaying was, *That the* cleanneſs *of a man's* cloaths, *ought to put him in mind of keeping all* clean *within* (*u*). He had great quickneſs of parts, deep penetration, a faithful memory, and a ſolid judgment. He was wont to ſay, *That matter lay in a little room*, and in his pleadings he was conciſe, but in ſet ſpeeches, and in his writings, rather too diffuſe; but whether this was owing to an affectation of learning, to the activity of *his* fancy, and the ſtrength of his memory, which furniſhed not only a copiouſneſs but a redundancy of matter; or to the error of the times, when this manner of ſpeaking and writing was much in faſhion, is not eaſy to determine (*w*). He was indubitably a great maſter of his profeſſion, as even his enemies allow; had ſtudied it regularly, and was perfectly acquainted with all the old authors in which the true principles of our laws are found, and with the records which contain the laws themſelves. It was by his ſingular and comprehenſive knowledge in theſe, that he gained ſo high an eſteem in Weſtminſter-hall, and came to enjoy ſo large a ſhare in the great Lord Burleigh's favour, who never loved ſuperficial men, or raiſed any that were not maſters of the ſcience they profeſſed (*x*). He valued himſelf, and not without reaſon, upon this, that he obtained all his preferments without employing either *prayers* or *pence*; and that he became the Queen's Sollicitor, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Attorney-General, Chief Juſtice of both Benches, High-Steward of Cambridge, and a member of the Privy-Council, without either begging or bribing. As he derived his fortune, his credit, and his greatneſs, from the Law, ſo he loved it with the moſt ſincere affection (*y*), ſome think to a degree of intemperance; but however that might

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 12.

(*q*) Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. XIV. p. 15.

(*r*) This fact is inſcribed on his monument.

(*s*) Coke's Detection, p. 107.

(*t*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(*u*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 823.

(*w*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*x*) This appears from his preferring him to Bacon, and from many Letters of Sir Edward Coke's, which are ſtill preſerved.

(*y*) See his Preface before the ſecond Part of his Reports.

which was agreed (109). But in conſequence of this debate, a remonſtance was drawn up full of duty and reſpect to the King, as well as zeal and fidelity to the publick, in which the Duke of Buckingham, and the Biſhops Neale and Laud, are expreſly named, as the authors of thoſe calamities which the nation felt at that time (110); and the concern he had in this, was the very laſt publick ſervice that Sir Edward Coke rendered to his country.

(109) Coke's Detection, p. 69.

(110) Frankly's Annals of the Reign of Cha. I. p. 330.

might be, as he maintained the character of a learned and upright Judge upon the Bench, to which he was raised by his abilities at the bar; so he had no desire to hide his talent in a napkin, or to conceal the lights he had acquired by his indefatigable reading and extensive practice. On the contrary, he committed every thing to writing with an industry beyond example, and superior to imitation; neither were his writings confined to his closet, but sent abroad into the world, to the great credit of their author, and, if the best judges may be believed, no less to the benefit of the publick (z): more he had published if he had not been hindered by his troubles; and more correct those writings had certainly been that have since come abroad, if they had passed the press in his life-time. As it is, a certain author says (a), *His learned and laborious works on the Laws will be admired by judicious posterity, while Fame has a trumpet left her, and any breath to blow therein.* This is the character of his writings in general, and with respect to particulars they belong properly to the notes [Y]. His whole life, from the time he became a man, was spent in labouring to

(z) Camd. Britan in Icen.

(a) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

[Y] *They belong properly to the notes*] In speaking of the writings of this great man, The most natural method seems to be, to begin with those published in his life-time, and consequently with his Reports; the title of the first part of which runs thus:

The first Part of the Reports of Sir Edward Coke, *Knt. Her Majesty's Attorney-General, of divers Resolutions and Judgments given with great Deliberation by the reverend* Judges *and* Sages *of the* Law, *of Cases and Matters in Law, which were never resolved, or adjudged before. And the Reasons and Causes of the said Resolutions and Judgments during the most happy Reign of the most illustrious and renowned Queen* Elizabeth, *the Fountain of all Justice, and the Life of the Law.*

It appears from the preface, that these were published about the year 1600, and in the same preface, there is an account of the principal reasons, which induced him to publish them; which take in his own words. 'I have since the twenty-second year of her Majesty's reign, which is now twenty years compleat, observed the true reasons, as near as I could, of such matters in Law, (wherein I was of counsel and acquainted with the state of the question,) as have been adjudged upon great and mature deliberation; and as I never meant, as many have found, to keep them so secret for my own private use, as to deny the request of any friend, to have either view or copy of any of them; so, till of late, I never could be perswaded (as many can witness) to make them so publick, as by any entreaty to commit them to print. But when I considered, how by her Majesty's princely care and choice, her seats of Justice have been ever for the due execution of her Laws furnished with Judges of such excellent knowledge and wisdom, (whereunto they have attained in this fruitful spring-time of her blessed reign) as I fear, that succeeding ages shall not afford successors equal unto them. I have adventured to publish certain of their resolutions, (in such sort as my little leisure would permit) for the help of their memory, who heard them and perfectly knew them; for the instruction of others, who knew them not, but imperfectly heard of them; and lastly for the common good, (for that is my chief purpose) in quieting and establishing of the possessions of many in these general cases, wherein there hath been such variety of opinions.'

The second and third part of his Reports were published in the same reign; in the preface to the former, he speaks largely of the excellency of the Common Law, the uprightness of the Judges, and of the integrity of it's professors. In the preface to the third part, he shews that at the time of his writing, there were no more than fifteen volumes of Reports, *viz.* The nine Year Books, the Commentaries of Mr Edward Plowden, and the Reports of Sir James Dyer, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, with his own three parts of his Reports. He published his fourth Reports in the first year of King James when he was Attorney-General, and so also the fifth part of his Reports which begins with *Caudrey's* Case, from whence he takes occasion to enter into a full and large discourse *of the King's Ecclesiastical Law*, in answer to which, there was written a famous piece by Robert Persons, the Jesuit, under the following title:

An answer to the fifth part of Reports, lately set forth by Sir Edward Coke, Knt. *the King's* Attorney-General, *concerning the ancient and modern municipal Laws of* England, *which do appertain to* Spiritual Power *and* Jurisdiction. *By occasion whereof, and of the principal question set down in the second page, there is laid forth an evident, plain, and perspicuous Demonstration of the* Continuance *of* Catholick Religion, *from our first Kings christened unto these Days; by a* Catholick Divine, 1606, 4*to*.

Of this book, we have a very high character given by Bishop Nicholson (111), but for what reason is not easy to find out; since the whole of it is penned in a high-flown declamatory stile, in defence of papal power and of popish Religion; for which reason Sir Edward Coke, in the sixth part of his Reports, says very justly, that it was impossible for him to write any answer, because as his own was a book of Law and facts, so that of his adversary was a rhapsody of Divinity, History, Canon Law, &c. How competent a Critick the Prelate before mentioned was, appears from his censuring Camden (112), for calling Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and asserting he never was so, contrary to the concurring authorities of Records, Law, and History. The sixth part of Sir Edward Coke's Reports followed soon after. In the title of the seventh Report, he stiles himself *Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas*, and it was published *in the sixth year of King James*; and as it appears by the preface *Calvin's* Case, which is that of the *post-nati*, was reported by Order. The eighth part of the Reports was published in the ninth year of King James, and the year following, the ninth part, in which the author takes the same title. In the tenth Report, published in the eleventh year of King James, our author stiles himself *Lord Chief Justice of England*, which is thus qualified in the next part of his Reports, which was published anno 1615: that is, in the thirteenth of King James, *viz. The eleventh Part of the* Reports *of Sir* Edward Coke, *Knt.* Chief Justice *of* England, *(of Pleas assigned to be holden before the* King *himself) and one of the Privy-Council of State.* These were all the Reports published by himself. The twelfth part of his Reports hath a certificate printed before it, dated February the second 1655, and subscribed *E. Bulstrod*, signifying that he conceives it to be the genuine work of Sir Edward Coke. The title of the thirteenth part is *Select Cases in Law, reported by Sir* Edward Coke, and these are asserted to be his in a preface, signed with the initial letters, J. G.

There was published in the year 1607, *A Speech and Charge at Norwich Assizes*; intended to pass for Sir Edward Coke's, but he clearly disclaims it (113); not but that he did make a speech at that time, and in some measure to this purpose; but these notes of it were gathered and published without his knowledge in a very incorrect and miserable manner, so that there was not so much as a single sentence that was not corrupted and maimed in such a manner, as made it apparent to all the world, that it could not be the speech of this grave and learned Judge; but published with a design to prejudice and expose him: in which however the authors of that design were by no means successful, the blunders in the book rendering the forgery ridiculous.

A Book *of Entries, containing perfect and approved* Precedents *of* Counts, Declarations, Informations, Plaints, Indictments, Bars, Replications, Rejoinders, Pleadings, Processes, Continuances, Essoigns, Issues, Defaults, Departure in despight of the Court, Demurrers, Trials, Judgments, Executions, *and all other matters and proceedings (in effect) concerning the practick part of the* Laws *of* England, *in actions* real, personal, *and* mixt, *and in* Appeals; *being very necessary to be known, and of excellent use for the modern practice of the* Law, *many of them containing matters in* Law, *and points of great learning*; collected *and* published *for the common good and benefit of all the studious and learned professors of the* Laws of England. fol. 1614.

(111) English Historical Library, p. 238.

(112) Annal. Elizabethæ, p. 654. English Historical Library, p. 239.

(113) See Coke's Preface to the seventh Part of his Reports.

to understand, and in endeavouring to support, the Constitution. It is already shewn, that he was a friend to the Church and to the Clergy, and to this it must be added, that after he had lost his publick employments, and a great Peer was inclined to question the rights of the cathedral church of Norwich, he hindered it, by telling him plainly, *That if he proceeded, he would put on his cap and gown, and follow the cause through Westminster-hall again* (*b*). He was a zealous and faithful servant of the Crown in all capacities; asserted the prerogative considered in a right light, and opposed it when either mistaken or misapplied. He

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 825.

As this was a very laborious, so, at the time it was composed, it was a most useful undertaking, compiled with accuracy and judgment, and serving in some measure as a supplement to his Reports. It is true, that, notwithstanding there have been but two editons of this very large collection, it is very far from being scarce, and further still from being dear; but this ought not to diminish the credit of the work, or of it's author, with men of impartial judgments; since this has partly happened from the subsequent alterations of the Law, with respect to practice, and partly from many lesser volumes that have been stolen out of it, and have been accommodated to vulgar use; but when Sir Edward Coke published his book, Entries were more scarce, and he actually laid the foundation thereby of another capital pillar for supportingthe great edifice of the Law (114).

(114) See the Prefaces to later books under the same title.

We come now to speak of his Institutes, which are divided into *four* parts. The *first* is his Translation and Comment upon the Tenures of Sir Thomas Littleton, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Ed. IV, it was published in the life-time of the author, in 1628, but that edition was very incorrect; there was a second in 1629, said to be revised by the author, and in which the work is much amended, yet very probably that manuscript copy, that was seized amongst his papers at the time of his decease, was still more correct, and if it had been printed, there might perhaps have been less room for the censure of a certain prelate, who was more inclined to remark other peoples mistakes than to correct his own (115). The second part of the Institutes gives us *Magna Charta*, and several other select statutes in the original languages in which they were first enacted, and much more correct than they were to be had any where else. He adds to these a continued Commentary full of excellent learning, wherein he shews how the Common-Law stood before those statutes were made, how far they are introductory of new Law, and how far declaratory of the old; what were the causes of making them, to what ends they were made, and in what degree, at the time he wrote, they were either altered or repealed. The *third* part of the Institutes contains the *Criminal Law* or *Pleas of the Crown*; and therein the author proposes the same end as in his former work, comparing the Statute with the Common Law, shewing where acts are only declaratory, and where introductory of new matter. After explaining the nature of crimes, and ascertaining the punishments inflicted on them by Law, he concludes with the nature of pardons and restitutions, shewing, how far the King may proceed in such matters by his prerogative, and where the assistance of Parliament is necessary. The *fourth* part of the Institutes comprehends the jurisdiction of all the Courts in this kingdom, from the high Court of Parliament, down to the Court-Baron. In his proem to this part of his work, he modestly observes, that having collected some materials towards the raising this great building, and fearing they would be of little use after his decease, being very short, and not easy of others to be understood, he in his declining years had done what in him lay to advance and perfect his performance. But this not being published 'till after his decease, there are, as might be expected, many inaccuracies, and some greater faults which gave occasion to the following work.

(115) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 238.

Brief Animadversions on, Amendments of, and additional explanatory Records to, the fourth part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, concerning the Jurisdiction *of* Courts; *compiled by the late famous Lawyer* Sir Edward Coke, *Knight*, Chief Justice of both Benches, *in his life-time; but published and reprinted with some disadvantage since his death.* By *William Prynne*, Esq; London, 1669. Fol.

We have besides of the Chief Justice Coke's writing,

A Treatise of Bail *and* Mainprize, *London*, 1637 *4to*.

Reading on the State of *Fines* 27 Ed. I. French, *London* 1662, *4to*.

Compleat Copyholder, London, 1640, *4to*. There was added in another edition of this book in 1650, *4to*, Calthorpe's *Reading between a Lord of a Mannor and a Copyholder his Tenant*, &c. And in the editions in 12*mo*, 1668 and 1673, there is a Supplement.

When we consider not only the quantity, but the quality of his writings, how they contribute to illustrate, as well the origin as the body and substance of our Laws, explain their nature, vindicate their justice, and demonstrate the benefit of them; how they take in the whole circle of this extensive science, in reference both to it's grounds and practice, and how methodically and accurately every thing touched by his pen is treated, we cannot but stand amazed at his wisdom, his diligence, and his publick spirit. His wisdom appears in his being able to examine, acquire, and digest, such a prodigious fund of knowledge, and apply it with such distinctness, perspicuity, and propriety, as he did, to every point; and tho' much of what he has written, may thro' time become of little use in regard to practice; yet the utility of it, in respect to the understanding of our Law, will remain as long as it subsists on it's present basis; and that I hope will be as long as we shall continue a people. Viewing things only in this light, it is impossible for any impartial reader to *avoid paying the highest reverence to his memory*. But when we consider also, his wonderful diligence in collecting, framing, and disposing, so many, so laborious, and such different kinds of writing, our wonder must increase. And when we reflect on the strange returns made him, for the vast services done the Commonwealth in this respect, and his continuing to the very last to prosecute the same services, in spite of this ill usage, merely from a principle of publick spirit, and the sincere love of his country and it's Laws, it must raise our admirations still higher. Besides there are some circumstances yet untouched, that ought to have equal weight with any thing that has been already said upon this subject. For he took all this pains for posterity in the midst of a life occupied with continual cares for the service of that age in which he lived, *when in the full possession of the greatest practice at the Bar*, when called to the highest offices of his profession, when involved in the perplexity of publick unployments, as well as when out of them and more at leisure. We may add to all this, that, from the account we have of the manuscripts seized at his death, there is a very great probability that the world has been deprived of a considerable part of his writings, notwithstanding those we enjoy make so great a figure, and place him in a sphere so much superior to any of those who have laboured to serve their country in the same way. Permit me to add to these remarks, which proceed purely from sincerity of heart, and a real concern for truth and justice, that, to his care we owe the reducing the knowledge of our Laws into a system, and the putting it in the power of others, to prosecute and improve his plan; for if we compare the Law, as he found it, with the condition in which he left it, and the benefits that have since arisen from his industry and example, we shall see his merit in it's true point of light, and have a just notion of the reasons which induced that and the succeeding age to stile him the Oracle of the Law, as he really was, and will be, whatever may be the fate of his writings in succeeding times; since from him were originally borrowed those lights that have lead all succeeding Lawyers, who, if they had wanted this great guide, would never have been able to have traversed those paths which led them to knowledge and credit. We live in times, when it is fashionable to decry, or at least to depreciate, the abilities of those who went before us; and therefore it is the duty of all such as are embarked in works of this nature, to make a stand in favour of antiquity, and to vindicate the memories of those great men whose actions they record, and in doing which, as they faithfully discharge their trust, so they may hope for a favourable reception from posterity for themselves.

He was a useful member of the Privy-Council, while he continued in it; and very serviceable to Queen Anne, to whom he was of Counsel, and Chief-Justice in Eyre of her forests, as long as she lived (c). In the Star-Chamber he is reputed to have been not only strict and active, but even bitter and severe; by which he created himself many enemies who gave him trouble enough, and who no doubt would have brought his conduct under publick censure, if any colourable imputations could have been fixed upon it (d). In his behaviour as a Senator, he shewed a laudable zeal for correcting abuses, an inflexible integrity in pursuing them, and a spirit not to be quelled either by the arts or threats of a Court (e). He met with many changes of fortune, was sometimes in power, sometimes in disgrace; and it must be allowed, that he made a better figure in adversity than in prosperity; for, as King James said, *he fell always upon his feet*, and whatever credit he lost at Court, he found it made up to him in the country, where he was equally reverenced and esteemed (f). In the earlier part of his life, he represented the county of Norfolk in Parliament; and more than forty years after, he was Knight of the Shire for the county of Bucks, and in that quality sat in the last Parliament he lived to see (g). With all these great endowments, he was certainly not free from failings, nor are we ignorant what those were reputed to be; for as his character was eminent, so it has been drawn by pens very differently affected, and by comparing what has fallen from them, posterity may come at least pretty near the truth [Z]. His private resembled his publick life, that is, it was chequered

(c) As appears by the inscription upon his tomb.

(d) See Mr Stephens's Preface to the Lord Bacon's Letters.

(e) Coke's Detection, p. 79.

(f) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(g) Willis's Not. Parl. p. 79.

[Z] *Posterity may come at least pretty near the truth.*] In order to obtain the sentiments of the contemporaries of Sir Edward Coke, concerning his character, we ought to consider, not so much what was said of him in power, for then envy might work and passion prevail, but what was thought of him in disgrace, and published when he was no longer in a condition, either to hurt such as spoke ill, or to reward those who spoke well of him. When he was first in disgrace, the Lord Keeper Bacon stirred up the business of his Reports, and desired that two more Judges might be added to the committee appointed to examine them; upon this, Sir Edward Coke desired two things, first, That his books might be revised by the whole twelve Judges; and secondly, That they might report not only his defects, but what he had published for his Majesty's prerogative, the benefit of the Church, the quieting men's inheritances, and the general good of the commonwealth; upon this the affair dropped; the enemies of Sir Edward Coke did not chuse to trust him with such a jury as the twelve Judges (116). When he fell under his second disgrace, and was sent to the Tower, all methods possible were contrived as well to distress as to blacken him; his papers were seized, and amougst them securities for money: ways and means were consulted to exclude him from the benefit of a general pardon, and a prosecution set on foot for the old debt of Sir William Hatton; but no imputations could be fixed upon him, notwithstanding the industry of Sir Henry Yelverton his old antagonist, and when a brief was given in the cause to Sir John Walter, he laid it aside with this memorable sentence, *Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when ever I open it against Sir* Edward Coke. Yet he who said this, was the Prince's Attorney-General; the cause however was tryed, and a verdict given for the Defendant (117). This, and his care in preserving Sutton-Hospital, or the Charter-House, are strong proofs of his uprightness and integrity. The learned Camden, besides many other ocasional commendations, drew his character at large in these words, which follow his mentioning a small rivulet in Norfolk (118). 'The river is anonymous, rising 'not far from Godwicke, a lucky name, where is a 'small seat, but made great by the ornament it receives 'from the famous Sir Edward Coke, Knt. a person of 'admirable parts, than whom, as no one ever applied himself closer to the study of the Common-Law, 'so never any understood it better; whereof he convinced England by his discreet management for many 'years together, whilst Attorney-General, and still 'does by executing the office of Lord Chief Justice of 'the Common-Pleas with the greatest prudence; nor 'has he given less proof of his abilities in his Commentaries upon our Laws, whereby he has highly 'obliged both his own age and posterity.' We will next quote his old adversary, Sir Francis Bacon, who in a famous peice of his addressed to King James, speaks thus of our author's writings. 'To give every man 'his due; had it not been for Sir Edward Coke's Re'ports, which, tho' they may have errors, and some 'peremptory and extrajudicial resolutions, more than 'are warranted, yet they contain infinite good decisions, 'and rulings over of cases; the Law by this time had 'been almost like a ship without ballast; for that the cases 'of modern experience are fled from those that are ad'judged and ruled in former time.' If we should cite all the commendations bestowed upon him by his learned successors in the profession, we might fill a small volume, and therefore it may be sufficient to produce the character entered of him by Sir George Croke, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, in his Reports, which runs thus (119). 'Memorandum, in the Vacation, *viz.* in 'August 1634, William Noy, Attorney-General, died 'at his house at Brainford, in the county of Middlesex: 'And Sir Eward Coke, (who was Attorney-General to 'Queen Elizabeth, and to King James, and afterwards 'Chief Justice of the Common Bench, and then Chief 'Justice of the King's Bench, and in 14 Jacobi dischar'ged of that place)' died at his house in Stoke, in the 'county of Bucks, in September 1634, being a pru'dent, grave, and learned man in the Common Laws of 'this realm, and of a pious and virtuous life.' We will now produce a mixt character of him by an author very little inclined to flatter, speaking of him he says (120), 'Truly he was a man of excellent parts, but 'not without his frailties: For as he was a storehouse, 'and magazine of the Common-Law for the present 'times, and laid such a foundation for the future, that 'posterity may ever build on; so his passion and 'pride were so predominant, that, boiling over, he lost '(by them) much of his own fullness, which extin'guished not only the valuation, but respect to his merit; 'so often is a heat, that gives life to noble parts by a 'circular motion, the ruin of them.' Sir Henry Spelman, whose learning was so great, and his character so fair, that his commendation of any man might pass without dispute, in citing the opinion of our author, makes use of this extraordinary circumlocution, *That ever honourable Judge and Oracle of Law my Lord* Coke *himself* (121), which sufficiently shews his sentiments of him. After such writers as these, to cite, as might be easily done, many of lesser note, would be so far from adding to, that they might seem rather to diminish his reputation. But there were writers that spoke of him in a different manner. It is very true, and the reader shall hear who and what they were. The famous Persons, the Jesuit, was one of the fiercest and the loudest (122), he charged him with murdering Father Campion and his companions, to gain credit with the Earl of Essex, in Queen Elizabeth's time; and serving Father Garnet, and his friends, in the same manner, in the days of her successor; but it is well known that these men died by the hand of the hangman for high-treason, and Sir Edward Coke only stated the proofs against them. Sir Anthony Welden (123) has bestowed his dirt pretty plentifully upon his character, which I hope has been already so well wiped off, as to leave little or no stain. The famous Mr William Prynne (124), tho' he qualifies what he delivers with many strange compliments and forced civilities, yet bears hard enough upon him in many circumstances, tho' he knew very well, that the true reason of the imperfections of the book he criticized, was the death of the author before it's publication, and either the ignorance or want of care in those who sent it to the press. The renowned philosopher

(116) Bacon's Letters, published by Stephens, p. 205.

(117) Coke's Detection, p. 80.

(118) Camden, Britan. Iceni.

(119) Croke's Reports, Vol. III. p. 373.

(120) Wilson's Life and Death of King James, in the Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 705.

(121) Spelman's Posthumous Works, p. 14.

(122) In his Preface to his Answer to the fifth Part of Coke's Reports.

(123) Court and Character of King James.

(124) In his Animadversions on the fourth Institute.

chequered with good and evil. He was unhappy in his second marriage more ways than one, and as the inconveniences arising from it began early, so they stuck to him to his last breath (*h*); yet he left behind him a numerous posterity, as well as a vast fortune. By his first lady he had seven sons and three daughters. Of the latter, Elizabeth died young; Anne became the wife of Ralph Sadler, Esq; son and heir of Sir Thomas Sadler; and Bridget was married to William Skinner, Esq; son and heir of Sir Vincent Skinner (*i*). Of his seven sons, Edward, the eldest, died an infant; Robert, his second son, was knighted, and married Theophila, daughter to Thomas Lord Berkeley, by whom he left no issue, dying July 19, 1653, aged sixty-seven (*k*). Arthur, the third son, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir George Walgrave, by whom he had four daughters. John, the fourth son, was seated at Holkham, and married Meriel, the daughter of Anthony Wheatly, Esq; by whom he had seven sons and as many daughters; but the inheritance descending to John, the youngest of them, and he dying unmarried, the estate came to the heirs of Henry Coke (*l*). This Henry, the fifth son, was seated at Thurrington in Suffolk, and having espoused Margaret, daughter and heiress of Edward Lovelace, Esq; left issue Richard Coke, Esq; who, by Mary, daughter of Sir John Rous, Bart. left Robert Coke, Esq; who by the death of John Coke of Holkham beforementioned, became possessed of that seat, and the greatest part of the Lord Chief Justice Coke's estate (*m*). This Robert Coke, Esq; married the Lady Anne Osborne, daughter of Thomas Duke of Leeds, by whom he had an only son, Edward Coke, Esq; and dying January 16, 1679, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, was interred in the church of Tittleshall in Norfolk, where an elegant monument, with a suitable inscription, was erected to his memory, by his widow, the Lady Anne Coke. The said Edward Coke, his only son, married Carey, daughter of Sir John Newton, in the county of Gloucester, Bart. He died on the thirteenth of April 1707, and she survived him but a short time, deceasing on the fourth of August following, and were both buried at Tittleshall in Norfolk. They had issue three sons and two daughters. THOMAS; Edward Coke of Longford in the county of Derby, Esq; who dying at his seat at Longford in August 1733, unmarried, left his estate to his youngest brother, Robert Coke, who was Vice-Chamberlain to the late Queen Caroline, and in June 1733 married the Lady Jane, eldest sister and coheir of Philip, late Duke of Wharton, and relict of John Holt of Redgrave in Suffolk, Esq; The two daughters were, Carey, wife of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, of Constable-Burton in the county of York, Bart. and Anne, married to Philip Roberts, Esq; Major of the second troop of horse-guards. Thomas Coke, Esq; the eldest son and heir of the family, having distinguished himself in the service of his country, by his constant attendance in Parliament and otherwise, was, on the twenty-seventh of May 1725, upon the revival of the Order of the Bath, appointed by his late Majesty King George I, one of the Knight's Companions, and so installed at Westminster, after which his present Majesty, in the first year of his reign, *viz.* on the twenty-eighth of May 1728, was graciously pleased, in consideration of the merits of Sir Thomas Coke, and of the services rendered by himself and his family to the Crown, to raise him to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the stile and title of Baron Lovell, of Minster Lovell in the county of Oxford. In 1733, his Lordship was constituted Post-Master-General of Great Britain and Ireland, jointly with the Honourable Edward Carteret, Esq; which employment he afterwards held with Sir John Eyles, Bart. and now enjoys with Sir Everard Fawkner, Knt (*n*). In 1747, his Majesty, as a farther mark of his royal favour, was pleased to raise his Lordship to the superior title of Viscount Coke and Earl of Leicester. His Lordship married, July 2, 1718, Lady Margaret Tufton, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Thomas Earl of Thanet, to whom his Majesty has confirmed the right she had by descent to the antient barony of Clifford, by whom he has an only son Edward, Lord Viscount Coke, married to Lady Mary Campbell, daughter of the late Field-Marshal Duke of Argyle. Clement Coke, Esq; youngest surviving son of the Chief Justice, married Sarah, daughter of Alexander Redish, Esq; of an antient family in Lancashire, by whom he had two sons and two daughters (*o*), but his posterity became extinct in 1727. Thomas, the seventh son of Sir Edward Coke, died in his infancy. By his second wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Earl of Exeter, Sir Edward Coke had two daughters (*p*): Elizabeth, who died unmarried; and Frances, the wife of John, Viscount Purbeck, by whom she had no issue.

(*h*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 265.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 355.

(*k*) See his monumental inscription in Epsom church in the county of Surrey.

(*l*) Collins's Peer. Vol. IV. p. 355.

(*m*) See his monumental inscription in Tittleshall church in Norfolk.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 356.

(*o*) See his monumental inscription in the Temple church.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 355.

pher of Malmesbury too Mr Thomas Hobbes (125), was a great adversary to my Lord Coke, whom he corrects for his errors in Law, with the same air of superiority and sufficiency, that he did the Archbishop of Armagh in Divinity, and Dr Wallis in Geometry, as being alike knowing, or to speak plainly alike conceited in all things. As for any more censurers, I profess I cannot tell where to find them, unless I mention one Mr Jeffs (126), who in the fifth year of King Charles I, delivered a paper to his Majesty, in which he complained of a Judgment given by Sir Edward Coke, in the case of Magdalen College, which he affirmed to be treason, and stiled him therein a traytor and a perjured Judge; for which he was convicted in the King's Bench, and was set on the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside; obliged to make submission in all the Courts, fined a thousand pounds to the King, and to find sureties for his good behaviour during life. Such were the friends and admirers, such the adversaries and censurers, of Sir Edward Coke; and which do him most honour, being unable to decide, I leave to the judgement of the reader.

E.

(125) A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England, p. 56, 66, 96, 105.

(126) Croke's Reports, Vol. III. p. 125.

COLE

COLE (Henry) a person of considerable learning in the XVIth Century, was born at Godshill in the Isle of Wight, and educated in Wykeham's school near Winchester (a). From thence he was chosen into New-College Oxon, of which he became perpetual Fellow in 1523, and there studying the Civil Law, took the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, March 3, 1529-30 (b). Then he travelled into Italy, and improved himself in his studies at Padua; being a zealous Roman Catholick. Notwithstanding which, upon his return to England, he acknowledged King VIII, to be the supreme Head of the Church of England (c). In 1540, he took the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law (d); and the same year resigned his Fellowship, being then settled in London, an Advocate in the Court of Arches, Prebendary of Yatminster Secunda in the church of Sarum, and about the same time made Archdeacon of Ely (e). On the 11th of September 1540, he was admitted to the Rectory of Chelmsford in Essex; and October the 5th following, collated to the Prebend of Holbourn, which he resigned April 19, 1541, and was the same day collated to that of Sneating; which he voiding by cession on or before March 22d next ensuing, was on that very day collated to the Prebend of Wenlakesbarne (f). In 1542, October the 4th, he was elected Warden of New-College; and in 1545, made Rector of Newton Longville in Buckinghamshire (g). Soon after, when King Edward VI came to the Crown, Dr Cole outwardly embraced, and preached up the Reformation; frequented the Protestants service, and communicated with them. However, altering his mind, or being disgusted at some of the proceedings then taken, he resigned his Rectory of Chelmsford in 1547; and in 1551, his Wardenship of New-College; and the year following his Rectory of Newton Longville (h). After Queen Mary's accession to the Crown, he became again a zealous Roman Catholick; and in 1554, was made Provost of Eaton-College, of which he had been Fellow (i). The same year, June 20, he had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him (k); and was one of the Divines that disputed publickly at Oxford with Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley. (l) He also preached the funeral sermon before Archbishop Cranmer's execution (m). Moreover, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to visit the University of Cambridge; was elected Dean of St Paul's the 11th of December 1556; made (August 8, 1557) Vicar-General of the *Spiritualities under* Cardinal Pole Archbishop of Canterbury; and the 1st of October following, Official of *the Arches, and Dean of the Peculiars*; and in November ensuing Judge of the Court of Audience. In 1558, he was appointed one of the Overseers of that Cardinal's Will (n). In the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was one of the eight Catholick Divines who disputed publickly at Westminster with so many Protestants [A], when that Queen was about to settle a Reformation in the Church of England (o). He distinguished himself then, and afterwards by his writings in favour of Popery [B]. But that disputation, wherein Dr Cole was Spokesman, coming to nothing, he was deprived of his Deanery (p), fined five hundred marks, and imprisoned (q). He died in, or near, Woodstreet Compter in London, in December 1579 (r). The famous Leland hath eternized his memory among other learned men of our nation (s). He is elsewhere called, 'A person more earnest than wise (t).' But R. Ascham highly commends him (u), for his learning and humanity [C].

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol I. col. 196; and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 132.

(b) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 46.

(c) Wood, Ath. ubi supra; and Repertorium Ecclesiastic. &c. by Ric. Newcourt, Vol. I. Lond. 1708, fol. p. 49.

(d) Fasti, Vol. I. col. 64.

(e) Wood, Ath. and Newcourt, ubi supra.

(f) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 158, 211, 222.

(g) Newcourt, and Wood, ubi supra, p. 49, and col. 196.

(h) Newcourt, ib. and Wood, col. 197.

(i) Wood, Ath. col. 197.

(k) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 81.

(l) Fox, Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1428, &c.

(m) Ibid. p. 1885, 1886. It was on the 21st of March 1555-6.

(n) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 49.

(o) Annals of the Reformation, &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1725, p. 87.

(p) Wood, and Newcourt, ubi supra.

(q) Strype's Annals, ubi supra, p. 95.

(r) Wood, Ath. col. 197.

(s) In his Principum ac illustrium, &c. in Anglia virorum Encomia, &c. Lond. 1589, p. 79.

(t) Strype, ubi supra, p. 144.

(u) Epistol. l. iii. epist. 17.

[A] *He was one of the eight Catholick Divines, who disputed publickly at Westminster with so many Protestants.*] Those eight Roman Catholick Divines, were, White, Watson, Baine, and Scot, Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Coventry and Lichfield, and Chester; and the Doctors Cole, Dean of St Paul's, Langdale, Harpsfield and Chedsey, Archdeacons of Lewis, Canterbury and Middlesex. The Protestant Divines, were, John Scory late Bishop of Chichester, David Whitehead, John Jewell, John Aylmer, Richard Cox, Edmund Grindal, Robert Horne, and Edmund Guest (1). The points then disputed upon, were, 1. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 2. The Church's authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies. 3. Whether in the Mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice (2).

[B] *He distinguished himself by his writings in favour of Popery.*] They were I. Disputation with Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley at Oxford, in 1554. II. Funeral Sermon, at the burning of Dr Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (3). III. *Letters to John Jewell Bishop of Salisbury*, upon occasion of a Sermon that the said Bishop preached before the Queen's Majesty and her honourable Council, *an.* 1560. Lond. 1560. in a thick 8*vo*. printed afterwards among Bishop Jewell's works. IV. Letters to Bishop Jewell, upon occasion of a Sermon of his preached at Paul's-Cross on the second Sunday before Easter in 1560. V. Answer to the first Proposition of the Protestants, at the Disputation before the Lords at Westminster (4).

[C] *But R. Ascham highly commends him, for his learning and humanity.*] In the following words. *Tantum ego & communi omnium voci de tua eruditione, & frequenti Morysini sermone, de tua humanitate semper tribui, doctissime humanissimeque Cole, ut imperitus ipse si te non colerem, & inhumanus si non amarem, merito videri possim* (5), i. e. 'I have heard so much by 'common fame of your learning, and by Mr Morysin 'of your humanity, that I must renounce all pretensions to learning if I did not esteem you, and be altogether inhuman if I did not love you.' C

(1) Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. as above, p. 87.

(2) Ibid. p. 89, 91, &c. Fox, Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. ii. B. iii. —

(3) Both printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as above.

(4) Printed in the Collection of Records, at the end of Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. ii. B. iii. No. 4; and in Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. edit. 1714, p. 414, &c.

(5) Epistol. R. Aschami, lib. iii. Epistola D. Colo.

COLES (Elisha) author of the Dictionary, was born in Northamptonshire about the year 1640 (a). Towards the end of the year 1658, he was entered into Magdalen-College in Oxford; but left it without taking a degree; and retiring to London, taught Latin there to youths, and English to foreigners about 1663. Afterwards he continued that employment with good success in Russel-street near Covent-Garden: and at length became one of the Ushers of Merchant-Taylors School. But being there guilty of a very great fault (b), he was forced to withdraw into Ireland, from whence he never returned. He was a curious and critical person in the English and Latin tongues, did much good

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 680.

(b) What it was, is not expressly mentioned any where.

good in his profession, and wrote several useful and necessary books for the instruction of beginners: the titles of them are as follows. I. 'The Compleat English Schoolmaster: 'or, the most natural and easy method of spelling and reading English according to the 'present proper pronunciation of the language in Oxford and London, *&c.*' *Lond.* 1674, *8vo.* II. 'The newest, plainest, and shortest Short-hand, containing, first, A brief Ac-'count of the Short-hand already extant, with their Alphabets and fundamental Rules. 'Secondly, A plain and easy Method for Beginners, less burdensome to the Memory 'than any other. Thirdly, A new Invention for contracting Words, with special Rules 'for contracting Sentences, and other ingenious Fancies, *&c.*' *Lond.* 1674, *8vo.*' III. '*Nolens Volens*: or, you shall make Latin whether you will or no, containing the 'plainest Directions that have been yet given upon that Subject.' *Lond.* 1675, 8*vo*. with it is printed, IV. 'The Youths visible Bible, being an Alphabetical Collection (from the 'whole Bible) of such general Heads as were judged most capable of Hieroglyphicks; 'illustrated with twenty-four copper-plates, *&c.*' V. 'An English Dictionary, ex-'plaining the difficult Terms that are used in Divinity, Husbandry, Physick, Philosophy, 'Law, Navigation, Mathematicks, and other Arts and Sciences. Containing many thousands 'of hard Words (and proper Names of Places) more than are in any other English Dictionary 'or Expositor: Together with the Etymological Derivation of them from their proper 'fountains, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or any other language.' *Lond.* 1676, 8*vo*, reprinted several times since. VI. 'A Dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-Eng-'lish [*A*]; containing all things necessary for the translating of either Language into the 'other. To which end many Things that were erroneous are rectified, many Superflui-'ties retrenched, and very many Defects supplied. And all suited to the meanest Capaci-'ties, in a plainer Method than heretofore: Being for ease reduced into an Alphabetical 'Order, and explained in the Mother-tongue. And towards the compleating the English 'part (which hath been long desired) here are added a thousand of Words, Phrases, 'Proverbs, proper Names, and many other useful things mentioned in the Preface to this work.' *Lond.* 1677, 4*to*, reprinted several times in 8*vo*. the 12th edition was in 1730. VII. 'The most natural and easy Method of learning Latin by comparing it with English: 'Together with the holy History of Scripture-War, or the Sacred Art Military, *&c.* *Lond.* 1677, *8vo.* VIII. '*The Harmony of the Four Evangelists* in a metrical Paraphrase 'on the History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' *Lond.* 1679, 8*vo*. reprinted afterwards. IX. 'The Young Scholar's best Companion: or, an exact Guide or Di-'rectory for Children and Youth, from the A, B, C, to the Latin Grammar, compre-'hending the whole Body of the English Learning, *&c.*' *Lond.* 12*mo* (*c*).

(*c*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 680, 681.

[*A*] *A Dictionary English-Latin and Latin-English.*] Mr Robert Ainsworth (1) gives the following character of that book. 'He [the author] hath indeed con-'siderably enlarged the English-Latin part, which 'containeth many more English words and phrases than 'any Latin Dictionary published before his time. 'But not a few of those words are now entirely ob-'solete, many of them interpreted in a wrong sense, 'and worse translated into Latin. And the Latin-'English part is very defective both with regard to the 'several senses of the Latin words, and the citation of 'the Roman writers proper to fix their authority.'

(1) Preface to his *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ Compendiarius.*

C

COLET (JOHN) a very learned Divine, and founder of St Paul's-School, London, was the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, Knt [*A*], twice Lord Mayor of London, by Christian his wife, a gentlewoman of good birth, probably of the family of Knevet (*a*). He was born in the parish of St Anthonine's, now better known by the name of St Antholin's, within the city of London, in the year 1466 (*b*). 'Tis taken for granted, that he had his first education at St Anthony's-School; then the most eminent in London, but now utterly decayed (*c*). In 1483, he was sent to the University of Oxford, and in all probability to Magdalen-College, where there were at that time one or more of his surname (*d*). After having spent seven years in the study of Logick and Philosophy, he took his degrees in Arts; being then throughly acquainted with M. T. Cicero's works, which he had most carefully perused; and also no stranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared, making the one serve as a commentary to the other [*B*] He was moreover skilled in every branch of the Mathematicks (*e*). Having thus laid a good

(*a*) The Life of Dr John Colet, by Sam. Knight, D.D. edit. Lond. 1724, 8*vo*, p. 1, 8.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 8. See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. iii. p. 15, 16.

(*c*) Knight, ibid. p. 8. Stow and Strype, ubi supra, B. ii. p. 120, 121. Dr Knight is mistaken when he says, 'That this school bare the name of his own parish,' p. 8, for the one was St Anthonine, and the other St Anthony. This St Anthony's school was in Threadneedle-street, near the place where the French chu ch now stands. Stow, ubi supra, B. i. p. 163.

(*d*) Wood. Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I col. 11.

(*e*) Wood, ibid. Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ, Id. Jun. 1521.

[*A*] *Was the son of Sir Henry Colet, Knt.*] Sir Henry Colet was a younger son of Robert Colet of Wendover in Buckinghamshire, Esq; and born in that county at the manor of Hale. He was bred a Mercer in London, where he got very considerable riches (1). In the year 1477, he was the elder of the two Sheriffs of London; and in part of the years 1486, and 1487, Lord Mayor of that city: as he was again, a second time, in part of the years 1495, and 1496 (2). By his wife Christian, he had two and twenty children, eleven sons, and eleven daughters (3). He died in 1510, and was buried at Stepney: but his widow lived to bury her only son the Dean, being then above ninety years of age (4). Sir Henry was a great benefactor to his parish Church of St Anthonine's; and, in Mr Stow's time, the pictures of him, and his wife, ten sons, and ten daughters, were in the glass-window on the north-side of that Church (5). John who is the subject of this article, was the first-born; and within a few years became the only surviving comfort to his parents (6).

[*B*] *He was no stranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared,* &c.] But he was forced to read them only in their Latin translations (7). See below note [*D*].

(1) Life of Dr J. Colet, by S. Knight, as above, p. 1, 2.

(2) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, Vol. II. B. v. p. 124, 125, 126.

(3) Polydore Verg. Hist. Ang. l. xxvi. Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ.

(4) Ibid. and Knight, p. [illegible]

(5) Survey of London, &c. above, B. iii. 16.

(6) [illegible]

(7) [illegible]

[C] *When*

good foundation of learning at home, he went and travelled abroad, for his further improvement; first to France, and then to Italy: and seems to have continued in those two countries from the year 1493 to 1497 (*f*). But, before his departure, and indeed when he was but two years standing at the university, but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe, namely, on the 6th of August 1485, he was instituted to the Rectory of Denington in Suffolk [*C*], to which he was presented by Sir William Knevit, Knt. and his Lady, and kept it to his dying day (*g*). He was also presented by his own father, on September 30, to the Rectory of Thyrning in Huntingdonshire, to which he had institution, October 2, 1490 (*h*), but he resigned it before the latter end of the year 1493 (*i*), probably before he set out on his travels. Being come to Paris, he improved himself there by the conversation of learned men; particularly of Robert Gaguin the Historian, who raised in him an earnest desire of being acquainted with Erasmus, the honour of his age: he became also acquainted with the celebrated Budæus; and Mr Deloine, who procured him what he wished, by recommending him to Erasmus (*k*). In Italy, he contracted a friendship with several eminent persons; especially with his own countrymen, William Grocin, Thomas Linacre, William Lilly, and William Latymer, who were learning the Greek tongue (then but little known in England) under those great masters, Demetrius, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Pomponius Sabinus (*l*). As he knew, himself, very little of it when he left Oxford (*m*), he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himself in that language [*D*]. And, having devoted himself to the study of Divinity, he read, whilst abroad, the best of the ancient Fathers, particularly Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome (*n*). But he very much despised St Augustin; which showed his good sense and judgment (*o*). In the course of his studies both at home and abroad, he sometimes looked into D. Scotus, and T. Aquinas, and other school Divines. He also studied both the Civil and Canon Law. Moreover, there was not one book relating to the History and Constitution of Church and State, which he did not carefully peruse. And, in order to polish and improve his stile, and qualify himself for an elegant preacher, he frequently read such English Poets as were then extant (*p*) During his travels, he was presented to the Prebend of Botevant in the cathedral church of York, into which he was installed by proxy, March 5, 1493-4 (*q*). He was also made Canon of St Martin's Le Grand, London, and Prebendary of Good-Easter in the same church (*r*). Upon his return to England in 1496, or 1497, he was ordained Deacon, December 17, and Priest the 26th of July following (*s*). He had indeed, before he entered into Orders, great temptations both from his natural disposition, and otherwise, to lay his studies aside, and give himself up to all the gaieties of the Court [*E*]: but he

(*f*) Knight, p. 23.

(*g*) Ex Registro Jac. Goldwell, Epi. Norvicen. l. xii. fol. xvi. ap. Knight. p. 20.

(*h*) Reg. Russel Epi. Lincoln. apud eundem, p. 21.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

(*l*) Knight, p. 24.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*n*) Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ, ubi supra.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid. See also Dr Knight, p. 12.

(*q*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 12. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Lond. 1727, 4to, p. 123.

(*r*) Dr Knight, ubi supra, p. 22. Notes, p. 9.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 22.

[*C*] *When he was but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe——he was instituted to the Rectory of Denington*, &c.] This practice of taking livings, while thus under age, has generally prevailed in the Church of Rome, and was one of those many abuses, which have been removed by the Reformation. But if Mr Colet did enter upon a cure of souls before he could sufficiently consider the weighty charge belonging to it, he atoned for it, by his extraordinary care, when he came to a more mature age (8). The order of an Acolythe is one of the seven orders in the Church of Rome as may be seen in all the the rituals.

(8) Knight, p. 21.

[*D*] *As he knew very little Greek, when he left Oxford, he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himself in that language.*] For, at school he had no opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, nor scarce in the University, at his first coming thither. Such was the infelicity of those times of ignorance, that the Greek language was not taught in any of our grammar-schools; nor was there imagined to be any great need of it in the two Universities, by the generality of Scholars. Even to love or encourage the study of it, was looked upon as heresy. Hence the proverb (9), *Cave a Græcis, ne fias Hæreticus. Fuge literas Hebræas, ne fias Judæorum similis*, i. e. 'Take care 'of Greek, lest you become a heretick. Avoid He'brew, that you may not become like the Jews.' And for this reason those very few that understood Greek were afraid to teach it, lest they should be thought to propagate heresy (10). As for Oxford, nothing was known there but Latin, and that in the most depraved stile of the schoolmen. Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, was the first who taught Greek in that University; and from him the famous Grocin learned the first elements thereof. In Cambridge, Erasmus was the first who taught the Greek grammar. And so very low was the state of learning in that University, that in 1485, nothing was taught there, but Alexander's *Parva Logicalia*, the old axioms of Aristotle, and the questions of Scotus, all in Latin; till in process of time, the Mathematicks were brought in, and Aristotle in Greek, with several authors, whose names had not been heard of before (11). Linacre and Grocin were the only two Englishmen then able to teach Greek. Soon after, Bernard André a native of Tholouse opened a school for that language in London. But the first Englishman, who in any publick school taught Greek as well as Latin, was William Lilly in St Paul's-school; the founder whereof, Dean Colet, seeing the necessity of having a tolerable knowledge of the Greek tongue, in order to proceed the better in his Theological studies, did shun no pains, nor thought himself too old to learn it, or at least to improve himself therein (12).

(9) Erasmi Adagia.

(10) See Knight, p. 15.

(11) Erasmi Epist. Henrico Bovillo, Cal. Sept. 1516.

(12) Coleti Epist. Erasmo, edit. Bas. 1521, p. 91. See Dr Knight, ubi supra, p. 14—19.

[*E*] *He had——great temptations——to lay his studies aside, and give himself up to all the gaieties of the Court.*] And, indeed, he was endued with some natural propensities, that seemed fitter for a publick life at large, than for the confinement of a college, or a gown. For he had naturally a spirit exceeding high, and impatient of the least injury and affront. He was too much addicted to love and luxury, and sleep, and mightily disposed to an air of freedom and jocoseness, and had a tincture of avarice in him. But he conquered himself, and brought his high spirit to be subject to reason; so that he could bear a reproof even from his own servant. His disposition to love, sleep, and luxury, he restrained by a continual abstinence from suppers, a strict sobriety, a close application to his studies, and by a serious and religious conversation. So that by his Philosophy, his sacred studies, his watchings, and fastings, and devotions, he preserved himself every step of his whole life from the pollutions of the world. And yet whenever opportunities offered themselves, either of jesting with facetious persons, or talking familiarly with the female-sex, or of appearing at feasts and entertainments, there nature would break forth. For which reason, he very much forbore acquaintance with laymen, and especially all publick entertainments: where, if necessity brought him, he picked out some learned friend, and talked Latin with him, to avoid the prophane discourse of the

he curbed those idle inclinations (t); and, after having stayed a few months with his father and mother at London and Stepney (u), he retired to Oxford (w). Here, he did not spend his time in idleness, but undertook to read publick Lectures, without any stipend or reward, on St Paul's Epistles [F], which were crowded with hearers, and much admired (x). And, in this place, he had the pleasure of contracting an acquaintance with the immortal Erasmus (who came to Oxford about the end of the year 1497) which ended in the strictest intimacy imaginable, and continued to the end of their lives (y). The time when Mr Colet expounded St Paul's Epistles, was in the years 1497, 1498, 1499, &c (z). In the year 1501, he was admitted to proceed in Divinity, or to the reading of the sentences (a). In 1502, he became Prebendary of Durnesford in the church of Sarum: And on the 20th of January 1503-4, he resigned his Prebend of Good-Easter (b). In 1504, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (c). And, May 5, 1505, was instituted to the Prebend of Mora, in the cathedral church of St Paul (d). The same year and month, he was made Dean of that church (e), without the least application of his own (f); at which time he resigned the Vicarage of Stepney, the date of whose admission to which doth not appear (g). Being raised to this station, he reformed the decayed discipline of his cathedral church, and brought in a new practice there, the *preaching* himself upon Sundays, and all solemn Festivals. In which course of preaching, he did not take a desultory text out of the Gospel or Epistle for the day, but chose a larger subject; as St Matthew's Gospel, the Creed, or the like, and made successive sermons upon them, till he had gone through the whole. That his church might be constantly supplied, he called in to his assistance other learned and able persons; particularly William Grocin, and John Sowle, who read Divinity-Lectures. And at last he procured a settlement for ever, for such a lecture to be constantly read in St Paul's cathedral, three days in every week, by the Chancellor of the church, or his sufficient Deputy (h). These Divinity-Lectures raised in the nation an enquiry after the Holy Scriptures, which were in a manner laid aside for the School-Divinity, and so prepared a way for the Reformation. And what helped to promote it, was the contempt which Dean Colet expressed for the religious houses, the abuses he shewed were in them, and the danger of imposing celibacy on the clergy (i). This way of thinking, and the Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts, which were then looked upon as heretical and impious, exposed him to the hatred of the Clergy, and to a persecution from Dr Fitz-james [G], Bishop of London (k). For, preaching frequently at St Paul's, and before the King, and in other populous assemblies, he would not refrain from speaking, with some freedom and boldness, against the vulgar superstitions and prevailing corruptions in the Church; whereby he incurred the indignation of the Bishop, who was a rigid and superstitious man, and had for a long while looked upon him with an evil eye (l). But the Dean's troubles and persecutions seemed only to have rendred him more devout, and charitable, and weaned him from the world. Having therefore a plentiful estate, without any very near relations; and having already dispensed the yearly produce of it in the occasional demands of piety and charity: he resolved, in the midst of his life and health, to consecrate the whole property of it to some standing and perpetual benefaction (m). And this he performed, by founding St Paul's-School in London [H], which hath produced several learned and ingenious men (n). For

(t) Ibid. p. 27.
(u) Ibid. p. 25.
(w) Idem, p. 29.
(x) Ibid and p. 50; and Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ.
(y) Knight, ubi supra, p. 31, 37.
(z) Wood, ubi supra.
(a) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I, col. 4.
(b) Knight, ubi supra, p. 21.
(c) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I, col. 7.
(d) Newcourt's Repert. Ecclef. &c. Vol. I. Lond. 1708, p. 180.
(e) Ibid. p. 46. Wharton. Hist. de Episc. & Decan. Londin. &c. p. 233, edit. Lond. 1695, 8vo.
(f) Knight, p. 62.
(g) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 46.
(h) Erasmi Epist. and Dr Knight, ubi supra, p. 66, 69, 70.
(i) Knight, p. 71, 72.
(k) Ibid. p. 86, 87, 88, 89, &c.
(l) Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ.
(m) Knight, p. 97.
(n) Ib. p. 102, &c. Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ. See also Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. Vol. I. edit. 1720. B. I. p. 163, &c.

the table. And in the mean time he would eat but of one dish, and take but one or two draughts of beer, refraining commonly from wine: which yet he relished, if very good. There never was a more flowing wit; and, for that reason, he delighted in the like society: but even then, he chose rather to divert to such discourses as favoured most of religion. He was a great lover of little children; admiring their pretty innocence and simplicity (13).

[F] *He undertook to read publick Lectures, without any stipend or reward, on St Paul's Epistles*] And though he had neither taken nor desired any degree in Divinity, there was not a Doctor in Divinity, or Law, no Abbot, nor any other dignitary, but came gladly to hear him, and took notes of his Lectures (14). For, at this time, it was a new thing to have any readings upon the Scriptures (15).

[G] *The Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts——exposed him to——a persecution from Dr Fitz-james.*] His Lectures and Sermons being chiefly employed in opening the sense of the Scriptures, then called the New Learning; he came to be counted a perverse heretick, at least to be suspected of the crime of heretical pravity. The Bishop, upon this score, accused him to Archbishop Warham, as a dangerous man; and calling in the assistance of two other Bishops, of equal bigotry, and no less virulence, he began to create Dean Colet a great deal of trouble and vexation; using no other weapon but that of the charge of heresy, then reckoned the most fatal engine for the destruction of an enemy. So the Bishop drew up the following Articles against him. I. That the said Dr Colet had taught, that images were not to be worshipped. II. That he had preached against the temporal possessions of the Bishops, by denying that the repeated exhortation of Christ to Peter, *to feed his sheep*, could be at all meant of hospitality, but of an exemplary life, and good doctrine; because the Apostles were then poor, and not able to be hospitable. III. That he had preached against some mens reading their sermons in a cold unaffected manner; whereby he must needs mean to reflect upon the Bishop himself, who, by reason of his old age, had taken up that way of preaching. But Archbishop Warham, who knew the integrity and worth of Dr Colet, dismissed him, without giving him the trouble of putting in any formal answer. However, the Bishop not satisfied with that fruitless attempt, endeavoured afterwards to stir up the King, and the whole Court, against Dean Colet (16). Nay, we are told, that he was not only in trouble, but should have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary (17). And that, some years after his decease, his body had like to be taken up, and burnt (18).

[H] *And this he performed, by founding St Paul's-school in London.*] This school was founded between the years 1508, and 1512; some years being taken up in purchasing the site, removing the encumbrances, erecting the new pile of buildings, providing suitable masters, and settling the endowment in trust for ever (19). This is the reason why our Historians vary so much about the exact year of its foundation: for some (20) place it under the year 1508; others in 1509 (21); others in 1510 (22); and, finally, others in 1512.

(13) Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ.
(14) Ibid.
(15) See Knight, p. 50, &c.
(16) Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ.
(17) Bishop Latymer's Sermons, edit. 1595, 4to, p. 174.
(18) J. Bale, Image of both Churches, C. XI. and Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. n. 63.
(19) Knight, p. 102.
(20) Polyd. Verg. Hist. Angl. l. xxvi. Alex. Nevil, Annal. ad finem, Nordovici.
(21) Geo. Lilli Chronic. sub anno 1509.
(22) Cooper's Chronicle and Holinshed's Chron. [illegible] the year [illegible]

For the use of this school, he drew up some rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the Principles of Religion; of which we shall give an account below among the rest of his works (*o*). Besides his dignities and preferments already mentioned, he was Rector of the Fraternity or Gild of Jesus in St Paul's Church (*p*), for which he procured new Statutes; and also Chaplain, and Preacher in Ordinary to King Henry VIII, and (if Erasmus is not mistaken) one of his Privy-Council (*q*). When he came to about the fiftieth year of age, he grew so weary of the world, that he fully purposed to throw himself into some monastery, and there end his days in quiet and solitude (*r*). In pursuance of this resolution, he built a convenient and handsome house within the precinct of the Charter-house near Richmond-palace in Surrey, where he intended to retire in his old age, when broken with infirmities, and unable to discharge the duties of his function (*s*). But death prevented him: for having been seized by the sweating sickness at two several times before; and relapsing into it a third time, he fell into a consumption that carried him off on the 16th of September 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age (*t*). He was buried on the south side of the choir of St Paul's, with an humble monument prepared by him several years before, and having no other inscription but his bare name (*u*). But afterwards a handsomer monument was set up for him [*I*], by the company of Mercers (*w*). He writ several things, of which there is an account in the note [*K*]. As to his person

(*o*) Knight, ubi supra, p. 123, 124.

(*p*) Idem, p. 83.

(*q*) Erasmi Epist. Dat. Basil. 7 Cal. Aug. 1518, and Lovanii 1519. Knight, p. 211.

(*r*) Knight, p. 222.

(*s*) Idem, p. 224, 254, ex Erasmo, & Elogiis Virorum aliquot in Britannia, per Geo. Lilium, 1559, 8*vo*.

(*t*) Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ. — & Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia, per Geo. Lilium, 1559, 8*vo*.

(*u*) Erasmi Epist. J. Jonæ.

(*w*) Knight, p. 225, 260. Dugdale's Hist. of St Paul's.

1512 (23). The worthy founder dedicated it to the honour *of Christ Jesus in his childhood:* and ordained, That there should be in it, an High Master; a Surmaster; and a Chaplain; who should teach gratis one hundred and fifty three children, divided into eight classes. He endowed it with one messuage, and two shops in Sopers-lane; six tenements in St George's parish in Pudding-lane; two messuages in Bridge-street, in the parish of St Magnus; four shops; some tenements without Aldgate, and all their appurtenances: manors, lands, and tenements in Buckinghamshire; the manor of Vach in Barton, and that of Berwicke; lands in Colchester; several fields and tenements, the places where they lie not expressed, only the occupiers names; a barn; four acres of land the backside of White-hart-street; eight acres in London-field; nine acres, and gardens, near it, with several tenements, amounting then in all to 122 *l.*—4 *s.*—7 *d.* ½ a year, but now much improved. The Company of Mercers were appointed Trustees (24). The High Masters of this School, from the first to this time, have been these: (1.) William Lilly, appointed by the founder in 1512. (2.) John Rightwyse, chosen in 1522. (3.) Richard Jones—in 1532. (4.) Thomas Freeman—in 1549. (5.) John Cook, *M. A.*—in 1559. (6.) William Malin, or Malim—in 1573. (7.) John Harrison, *M. A.*—in 1581. (8.) Richard Mulcaster—in 1596. (9) Alexander Gill, senior—in 1608. (10.) *Alexander Gill, jun.*—in 1635. (11.) John Langley—in 1640. (12.) Samuel Cromleholme—in 1657. (13.) Thomas Gale, *D. D.*—in 1672. (14.) John Postlethewayte, *M. A.*—in 1697. (15.) Philip Ascough, *M. A.*—in 1713. (16.) Benjamin Morland-*F. R. S.*—in 1721. (17.) Timothy Crumpe, *M. A.*—in 1733. (18) Mr Charles—in 1736-7 (25).

[*I*] *But afterwards a handsomer monument was set up for him.*] By the Company of Mercers. It was destroyed, with St Paul's cathedral, in the general conflagation in 1666. But the representation of it is preserved in Mr William [afterwards Sir William] Dugdale's History of St Paul's; and in Dr S. Knight's Life of Dr John Colet (26). On the two sides of the bust was this inscription. 'John Colet, Docter of 'Divinity, Dean of Pauls, and the only founder 'of Pauls-school, departed this life, *anno* 1519, the 'son of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. twise Lord Mayor of 'the cyty of London, and free of the Company and 'Mistery of Mercers.' Lower, there were other inscriptions in Latin. About the year 1680, when the church was taking down, in order to be rebuilt, his leaden coffin was found inclosed in the wall, about two foot and a half above the floor. At the top of it was a leaden plate fastned, whereon was ingraved the Dean's name, his dignity, benefactions, *&c* (27).

[*K*] *He writ several things,* &c.] Those which he published himself, or that have been put out since his decease, are as follows. I. *Oratio habita a Doctore Joanne Colet, Decano Sancti Pauli, ad Clerum in Convocatione*, anno 1511. Printed the same year by Richard Pynson, in three sheets, 4*to*. This is very scarce, being hardly to be met with, except in the Bodleian library, Oxon, among Archbishop Laud's MSS. It is reprinted by Dr S. Knight, in his Appendix to the Life of Dr John Colet (28). In the same book is also reprinted, an old English translation of it, intituled, 'The Sermon of Doctor Colete, made to the 'Convocation at Paulis.' Printed first by Thomas Berthelet. And supposed by Dr Knight (29) to be done by the author himself. It was reprinted in 1661, 12*mo*. by Thomas Smith of Christ's-College, with notes; under this title, 'A Sermon of Conforming 'and Reforming made to the Convocation at St Paul's 'Church in London, by John Colet, *&c.*' Reprinted again, in the Phoenix, Vol. I. 8*vo*. and lately in a collection of 'Select Sermons, fol.' II. *Rudimenta Grammatices, a Johanne Coleto, Decano Ecclesiæ sancti Pauli London. in usum Scholæ ab ipso institutæ* (30); commonly called *Paul's Accidence*. Lond. 1539, 8*vo*. III. The construction of the eight parts of speech, intituled, *Absolutissimus de octo Orationis partium constructione Libellus*; which, with some alterations, and great additions, makes up the syntax in Lilly's grammar. *Antverp*. 1530, 8*vo*. IV. 'Daily Devotions: or the 'Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice, *&c.*' Printed at London several times in 12*mo*. and 16*mo*. This is said not to be *all* of his composition (31). V. 'Monition to a godly Life.' Lond. 1534, 1563, *&c.* This Mr Wood supposes (32) to be the same with, 'A right fruitful Admonition concerning the 'Order of a good Christian's Man's Life, *&c.*' Lond. 1577, 8*vo*. VI. *Epistolæ ad Erasmum*. Many of them are printed among *Erasmi Epistolæ*; and some at the end of Dr S. Knight's Life of Dean Colet.— The following pieces remain in manuscript. VII. *Commentarii in Epistolas D. Pauli ad Romanos & Corinthios*: i. e. Commentaries on St Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. Given to the publick library at Cambridge by Archbishop Parker. In the same volume are several pieces of Dean Colet, *viz.* VIII. *De Angelis cœlestique hierarchia*, being a commentary *in Ecclesiasticam D. Dionysii Hierarchiam.* And IX. *Epistola Abbati Winchincombensi*, printed by Dr Knight, at the end of the Dean's Life. The Commentaries upon the Epistles to the Corinthians, are also in manuscript in Emmanuel-College library, given thereto by Dr Anthony Tuckney. And in that of Bennet-College; the gift of Archbishop Parker. At the end of this last, there is *the Beginning of a Commentary on Genesis*, no where else to be met with. X. One of the Dean's own manuscripts, being *an Analytical Commentary on the Apostolical Epistles*, and a Summary of his larger Comments, is in the possession of Roger Gale, Esq; it is the fairest, and indeed the only one manuscript of Dr Colet's, of that kind, extant (33). Bale and Pits mention also these books of his. 1. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis*. 2. *In Evangelium S. Matthæi*. 3. *In Precationem Dominicam*; translated, as Mr Wood tells us (34), into English. 4. *In Symbolum fidei*. 5. *Breviloquium dictorum Christi*. 6. *Responsio ad argumenta Erasmiana de tædio & pavore Christi* (35); called by Bale and Pits, *Ad argumenta Erasmi*; And, *De reformidatione Christi*; and made two different books. 7. *Conciones ordinariæ, & extraordinariæ*. Among which were two sermons on war, preached before King Henry VIII. 8. *Vita hominis Christiani*. 9. *Ex-*

(23) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 12.

(24) Knight, Appendix to Dr Colet's Life, p. 335, *&c.* 367, *&c.*

(25) Ib. p. 370—388. Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 167, *&c.*

(26) Page 261.

(27) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(28) This is falsly called by Mr Wood [*Orationes duæ ad Clerum in Convocatione*, ann. 1511, *&c.* Lond. 8*vo*] Ath. Vol. I. col. 11.

(29) Life, p. 197. Dr Knight supposes, that Dean Colet was Prolocutor of this Convocation, p. 199.

(30) MS. in the Publick Library at Cambr. inter MS. reg.

(31) Knight, p. 197, note (*t*).

(32) Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(33) Dr Knight, Life of Dr J. Colet, p. 197; and Introduction to it, p. vii. viii. ix.

(34) Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(35) See Dr Knight's Life of Colet, p. 41, *&c.*

person and character, they are thus described: He was tall, comely, and very graceful: there was something in his mien and carriage extremely becoming; as was every thing he said or did (*x*). His learning and piety were above the pitch of the times he lived in; but what made him most renowned, was his publick spirit (*y*). In his writings, his style was plain and unaffected, but it had always something weighty and pungent. And this, which some might call carelessness, did not proceed from a want of what goes under the name of Rhetorick; but from a professed contempt of it, as an art only of amusing (*z*). He could not bear, that the standard of a good style should be taken from the exact rules of grammar: which, he often said, did rather obstruct the purity of the language; not to be obtained but by reading the best and purest authors. This contempt of grammar-rules made him sometimes fall under the censure of the Criticks (*a*). He was, however, a great master of style and language; so that, tho' his preaching was popular, and adapted to vulgar capacities, yet withal it was agreeable to the better judgment of men of wit and learning, and was much admired by the great Sir Thomas More (*b*). Likewise, he was a great lover and encourager of the Greek tongue. With regard to *some of his notions*, he was a very eminent fore-runner of the Reformation. And he, and Erasmus, jointly promoted it; not only, by pulling down those strong holds of ignorance and corruption, the Scholastical Divinity, and routing entirely both the Scotists and Thomists, who had divided the Christian world between them (*c*); but also by discovering the shameful abuses of Monasteries, and the dangers of imposing celibacy on the Clergy: to which places, Colet gave little or nothing while he lived, and left not a farthing when he died; not so much out of hatred to their several orders, as because he found, few or none of them lived up to their vows and professions (*d*). He thought simple fornication in a Priest more excusable, than pride and avarice. And was with no sort of men more angry, than with those Bishops, who, instead of Shepherds, acted the part of so many wolves: he thought none more execrable than they, because under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themselves to the veneration of the people, while in their own hearts they were slaves to the world, that is, to glory and gain (*e*). He condemned Auricular Confession: and was content to say Mass only upon Sundays and great Festivals, or at least upon a very few days besides. He had gathered up several authorities from the ancient Fathers against the current tenets and customs of the Church: and tho' he did not care to fly in the face of the Governors, yet he could not but favour those who disliked the way of worshipping images (*f*). As to his other qualifications: he was a man of exemplary temperance, and all other virtues. The Dean's table, which, under the name of hospitality, had before served to luxury, he contracted to a more frugal way of entertaining. And it having been his custom, for many years, to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himself. As he dined late, he had but few guests; and the fewer, because his provision was frugal, tho' neat. The sittings were short, and the discourses such as pleased only the learned and the good. As soon as grace before meat was said, a boy read, with a loud voice, and distinctly, a chapter out of one of St Paul's Epistles, or the Proverbs of Solomon. When it was finished, the Dean raised, from some particular part of it, a subject matter of discourse. He was so impatient of whatsoever was foul or undecent, that he could not bear with an improper way of speaking. He loved to be neat and clean in his goods, furniture, entertainments, apparel, and books, and whatever belonged to him; but he despised all state and magnificence (*g*), there being in his demeanour the most unaffected simplicity imaginable (*h*).

(*x*) Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ, et Geor. Lilius, ubi supra.

(*y*) Knight, p. 264, 265.

(*z*) Idem, p. 179.

(*a*) Idem, p. 198. Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*b*) Knight, as above, p. 180, 156, &c.

(*c*) Scotistas, stupidos omnino, ac sine ingenio homines judicabat: Thomistas, lymphatico spiritu arrogantes, *i. e. He counted the Scotists stupid senseless fellows; and the Thomists, mad.* Balei Scriptor Brytanniæ Centuria VIII. n. 63. p. 648. He abhorred the Scotists because they would be Divines without so much as reading the Scriptures: Erasmus J. Jonæ.

(*d*) Knight, as above, p. 60, 61, 72.

(*e*) Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Erasmus, ib.

(*h*) Knight, p. 266.

ceptiones doctorum. 10. *Epistolæ ad Taylerum.* 11. *Ortolanus.* 12. *De moribus componendis.* 13. *De puerili institutione.* These two last seem to be the same, as his *Rudimenta Grammatices* (36). As the Dean had an inaccuracy and uncorrectness in his way of writing (37), that was like to expose him to the censures of the Criticks; and besides was no perfect master of the Greek tongue, without which he thought a man was nothing, that is, no scholar (38); it is therefore probable he had no intention of publishing any thing. The pieces mentioned above, were found, after his death, in a very private corner of his study; as if he had designed they should lie buried in oblivion (39). Besides they were written in such a manner, as if he intended no body should understand them but himself (40). With regard to sermons, he wrote but few; for he generally preached without notes (41). C

(36) Baleus, ubi supra, p. 648, 649. Pits, de Illustr. Angliæ Scriptor. Ætas xvi. ann. 1510, n. 916.

(37) Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ.

(38) Bale, ubi sup.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 12.

(41) Knight, p. 181, note (*i*).

COLLIER (Jeremy) son of Jeremy Collier, was born at Stow Qui, or Quire, in Cambridgeshire, September 23, 1650. His father was a Divine and considerable Linguist, and some time Master of the free-school at Ipswich in the county of Suffolk. His grandfather likewise was a Clergyman, settled at Bradford in Yorkshire, where he lived in esteem for his function. He was born at Yeadon near Bradford, and descended from a gentleman's family of that name, seated at Thrusk in the same county, in the reign of Henry VIII. His mother was Elizabeth Smith of Qui in Cambridgeshire, where her family were possessed of a considerable interest, and related to the Sternes of that town, being by her mother descended from the Keys or Cays of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. He was educated under his father at Ipswich, from whence he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor Scholar of Caius-college, under the tuition of Mr John Ellys. His admission bears date April 10, 1669, in the eighteenth year of his age. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1672-3, and that of Master of Arts in 1676, being ordained Deacon on the twenty-fourth of September the same year, by Dr Peter Gunning Bishop of Ely, and Priest Feb. 24, 1677, by Dr Henry Compton Bishop of London.

Having

Having entered into Priests orders, he officiated some time at the Countess Dowager of Dorset's, at Knowle in Kent, from whence he removed to a small rectory at Ampton, near St Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, to which he was presented by James Calthorpe, Esq; and instituted by Dr Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Norwich, September 25, 1679. After he had held this benefice six years, he resigned it, and came to reside in London in 1685, and was some little time after made Lecturer at Gray's-Inn. But the Revolution coming on, the publick exercise of his function became impracticable (*a*). He did not however think it compatible with his principles, at that critical conjuncture, to sit down contentedly and say nothing, but finding, in that confusion which arose upon King James's going to France, that the Convention was in a great measure influenced by the papers written by a Clergyman who came over with the Prince of Orange, he thought the same liberty might be taken by a Clergyman who conceived differently from him, and accordingly broke the ice, and published the first pamphlet that appeared in defence of the cause which he espoused (*b*), and a very sharp piece it was [*A*]. When the government was settled, by placing King William and Queen Mary upon the throne, Mr Collier remained firm to the principles he had embraced, and continued not only to abstain from taking the oaths which the new legislature had imposed, but laboured all that in him lay to prevent others, more especially such as were zealous members of the Church of England, from owning, or so much as complying with them. It was to this end that he wrote several warm and bitter pieces, which in those days had their effect, and consequently procured their author, in the opinion at least of those who were of his own party, the character both of a solid and shining writer [*B*]. There is no doubt but this conduct of his occasioned an eye to be kept over his proceedings, nor could it be supposed that any government would forbear the first opportunity that occurred of giving some check, to so active, so industrious, and so dangerous a man. It was not long before such an occasion offered itself: information was given to the Earl of Nottingham, at that time Secretary of State, that Mr Collier, with

(*a*) Thus far this article was (except some dates) drawn up by Mr Collier himself.

(*b*) From the information of a gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with Mr Collier.

[*A*] *And a very sharp piece it was.*] As this article cannot be rendered perspicuous, indeed hardly intelligible, without explaining the political, and literary controversies, in which this writer was engaged, we shall endeavour to give as clear and concise an account of them as possible. In the month of December 1688, the famous Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, sent abroad a very succinct, and well written pamphlet, under the title of *An Enquiry into the present state of affairs, and in particular whether we owe Allegiance to the* King *in these circumstances, and whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him* back again, *or not? Published by authority* (1). In this piece, the Doctor gives his sentiments very freely, as to the behaviour of King James, and the conduct that was to be observed towards him, as the reader will see from the following short quotation. 'In all that I have said concerning his desertion, I limit my reflections to his first leaving of Whitehall, for the accident at Feversham, and what followed after that, cannot be called a return to his people; and since the seals never appeared, and the King never spake of a parliament, nor altered his measures in any thing, but still prosecuted his first design by his second escape, his deserting is still to be dated from his first going from Whitehall; and he having given that just advantage against himself, which came after all that series of injustice and violence, that had gone before it, no man can think, that it was not very fitting to carry it as far as it would go; and not to treat with him any more upon the foot of acknowledging him King (2).' It was in answer to this treatise, and particularly to the argument insisted upon in this passage, that Mr Collier wrote the piece mentioned in the text, and which was intituled,

I. *The* Desertion discussed *in a letter to a country Gentleman. Lond.* 1688, *4to.* He labours in this short pamphlet to shew, that the King, before his withdrawing had sufficient grounds to be apprehensive of danger; that his leaving any representative behind him was impracticable at that juncture, and that there were no grounds, either from the laws of the realm, or of nature, to pronounce the throne void from such a retreat. To this pamphlet of Mr Collier's, an answer was written by Edmund Bohun, Esq; in which, he gives him the following character (3). 'The author of it is my acquaintance, and a person for whom I have a great esteem, both on the account of his profession, and of his personal worth, learning, and sobriety; so that I cannot believe he had any ill design, either in the writing, or the publishing of it; his zeal for the Church of England's loyalty, and the difficulty, and the unusualness of the present case, having been the occasions, if not the causes, of his mistake; and therefore I will endeavour to shew him, and the world, his error, with as much candour and sweetness, as he himself can wish; because I have the same design for the main, that he had; *viz.* the honour of the Church of England, and the safety of government, and especially our Monarchy.' But this was not the only answer Mr Collier received, for his performance gave such offence, that after the government was settled, he was seized and committed to Newgate, where he continued a close prisoner for some months, but was at length discharged without being brought to a tryal. He afterwards wrote the following pieces, *viz.*

(1) See the Collection of Tracts written by Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

(2) Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, p. 9.

(3) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, Vol. I. p. 116.

II. *A Translation of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th books of* Sleidan's *Commentaries, Lond.* 1689, *4to.*

III. Vindiciæ Juris Regii, *or Remarks upon a paper intituled,* An Enquiry into the measures of submission to the supream authority, *Lond.* 1689, *4to.* The author of this *Enquiry*, was also Dr Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

IV. Animadversions *upon the modern explanation of* 11 *Hen.* VII. *cap* 1. *or a King* de Facto, 1689, *4to.*

[*B*] *The character both of a solid, and shining writer.*] As Mr Collier was now embarked in an avowed opposition to the government, he laboured as much as in him lay to enlarge the strength of the party which he had joined; and with this view he continued to write, as the reader will see in the following catalogue of his works, during the space of less than two years.

V. *A Caution against* Inconsistency, *or the connection between praying and swearing, in relation to the* civil powers, 1690, *4to.* This discourse is a dissuasive from joining in publick assemblies.

VI. A Dialogue *concerning the* Times, *between* Philobelgus *and* Sempronius, 1690, *4to.* There was another dialogue with much the same title, printed in 1692, and called *a second part*, but it was not Mr Collier's, being a narrative of the *Revolution*, whereas Mr Collier's relates chiefly to the authority of the *Convention*.

VII. *To the Right Honourable the* Lords *and to the* Gentlemen *convened at Westminster*, October 1690, half sheet; it is a petition for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

VIII. *Dr* Sherlock's *Case of* Allegiance *considered with some remarks upon his* Vindication, *Lond.* 1691, *4to.*

IX. *A Brief* Essay *concerning* the Independency *of* Church Power, 1692, *4to.* The design of this essay is to prove the publick assemblies guilty of schism, upon account of their being held under such Bishops, as had assumed, or owned such, as had assumed the sees of those, that were deprived for not complying with the government, *&c.*

[C] As

with one Mr Newton, another Nonjuring Clergyman, was gone down to Romney-Marsh, which was enough to fix a suspicion, that they were either endeavouring to send intelligence to, or were labouring to receive it from, the other side of the water. Upon this, about the latter end of the year 1692, Messengers were sent down into Kent to apprehend them, which they accordingly did, and brought them to London, where, after a short examination before the Earl of Nottingham, who charged them with being in a design against the government, they were committed to the Gate-House (c). But, as no evidence of their being in any such design could be found, they were admitted to bail. So strict, however, were Mr Collier's principles, that he had not been long at liberty, before he began to question the consistency of his own conduct in giving bail, upon which he went before the Lord Chief Justice Holt, surrendered in their discharge, and was committed to the King's Bench prison; but upon the application of some of his friends to that most upright and impartial Judge, he was discharged in a week or ten days (d). Yet even this did not content him, as appears by several pieces of his written upon this subject [C]. In the space of some years following, there happened nothing that so far engaged this gentleman's attention, as to induce him to write against the transactions of the State, which was, generally speaking, the subject that employed his pen. But upon the breaking out of that which was called the Assassination Plot, and the conviction of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, an incident happened which made a very great noise, and deeply affected Mr Collier his whole life after. The fact was this: Mr Collier, with Mr Cook and Mr Snatt, both Clergymen of his own opinion, attended those unhappy persons at the place of execution, where Mr Collier solemnly absolved the former, as Mr Cook did the latter, and all three joined in the imposition of hands upon them both (e). This, as might be very well expected, made a very great noise, and was looked upon as a very high insult on the Civil and Ecclesiastical government, for which reason they fell under a severe prosecution on one side, in consequence of which Mr Cook and Mr Snatt were sent to Newgate, but afterwards were released without being brought to a trial, and Mr Collier having still his old scruple about putting in bail, absconded, and was outlawed, under which incapacity he remained as long as he lived (f). On the other hand, both the Archbishops, and ten of their suffragans, *viz.* the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Coventry and Litchfield, Rochester, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chichester, and St Asaph, published a very strong Declaration of their sense of this scandalous and irregular proceeding (g). To this our author wrote an answer with his usual vigour, and after that several other pieces, in support of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair [D]. After this storm was a little over, Mr Collier employed himself in reviewing and

(c) As appears from the Contents of the Papers afterwards mentioned.

(d) As may be collected from the dates of several papers mentioned in the note.

(e) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III, p. 719. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 143.

(f) From the information before mentioned.

(g) This Declaration is to be found at large in the Appendix to the third Vol. of the State Tracts in the time of King William.

[C] *As appears by several pieces of his written upon this subject.*] It seems that Mr Collier had occasionally read Law, and this it was that induced him to make a scruple of remaining upon bail, because he apprehended that the very recognizance, by which bail was taken, carried in it an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the court, in which the bail was taken, and by consequence of the power from whence the authority of that court was derived. In support of these principles, and in justification of his own conduct, he wrote the following pieces, of which it is said, there were only five copies printed.

X. *The case of* giving bail *to a pretended* authority *examined, dated from the* King's Bench. *November* 23 1692, *with a* preface *dated December* 1692, *and a letter to Sir* John Holt, *dated November* 30 1692. *And also a reply to some* remarks *upon the* case *of* giving bail, &c. *dated* April 1693. He wrote, soon after this,

XI. *A Perswasive to Consideration tendered to the Royalists, particularly those of the Church of England.* Lond. 1693, 4*to*. It was afterwards reprinted in 8*vo*. together with his vindication of it, against a piece entituled, *The Layman's Apology*, &c. written in confutation of that part of the Perswasive, which relates to the controversy about the frequenting the publick assemblies.

XII. *Remarks upon the* London Gazette, *relating to the Straits Fleet, and the battle of* Landen *in Flanders*, 1693, 4*to*.

[D] *In support of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair.*] In order to form some notion of this transaction, it will be requisite to see that part of the Prelates Declaration which relates to the conduct of these Clergymen, and in which they shew, that their proceeding was not to be justified by the doctrines or practice of the Church of England. Their words are these (4):

'For those Clergymen that took upon them to absolve these criminals at the place of execution, by laying all three together their hands upon their heads, and publickly pronouncing a form of absolution; as their manner of doing this was extremely insolent, and without precedent either in our Church, or any other that we know of; so the thing itself was altogether irregular. — The rubrick in our Office of the Visitation of the Sick, from whence they took the words they then used, and upon which, if upon any thing in our Liturgy, they must ground this their proceeding, gave them no authority nor pretence for the absolving these persons; nay, as they managed the affair, they acted, in this absolution, far otherwise than is there directed. That rubrick is concerning sick persons, and it is there required, First, *That the sick person shall be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, and then, after such confession, the Priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it.* But here they absolved, and that publickly, persons condemned by law for execrable crimes, without so much as once moving them, at that time, to make a special confession of their sins, at least of those sins for which they were condemned. And on the other side, here were persons absolved that did not humbly desire absolution, as feeling any such weighty matter to trouble their conscience, but, on the contrary, in Sir John Friend's paper it is declared, that he had a great deal of *satisfaction in suffering* for that cause, which he firmly believed to be *the cause of God and true religion.* If these Ministers knew not the state of these mens souls before they gave them absolution, as it is manifest two of them, Mr Snatt and Mr Cook, did not as to Sir William Perkins, (they having since declared that they had not spoke with Sir William, till they were at the place of execution) how could they, without manifest transgression of the Church's order, as well as the profane abuse of the power Christ hath left with his Ministers, absolve them from all their sins? if they were acquainted with these mens sentiments declared in their papers, then they must look upon them either as hardened impenitents or as martyrs. We are so charitable to believe, that *they* would not absolve them under the former notion, for that had been in effect sealing them to damnation; but if they held these men to be martyrs, then their absolving them

(4) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, Vol. III. in the Appendix.

and retouching several miscellaneous pieces of his, to which he added some others and published them in a volume, and these were so well received, that about seven years afterwards he published another, and several years after that a third. These pieces of his were written upon religious, moral, and entertaining subjects, with such a mixture of learning and wit, and in a stile so easy and flowing, that notwithstanding the prejudice of party which could not but be strong against him, they were generally well received, and have run through many editions since. One must indeed allow, that very few books bid fairer for universal approbation, in an age, which, if not strictly virtuous, was at least highly decent, and when every body affected a concern for promoting, whatever had a tendency to make men wiser, better, or more polite, all which ends were prosecuted with great effect in this collection of Essays (*b*) [*E*]. The very next year after the publication of the first volume

(*b*) See the particular subjects upon which they were written in the note.

'in that manner was a justification of those grievous 'crimes for which these men suffered, and an open 'affront to the laws both of Church and State. Upon 'the consideration of these things, and for the doing 'of right to our Church, which may otherwise suffer 'amongst such as are strangers to our constitution, by 'the evil principles and practices, both of the aforesaid 'criminals, and the three Clergymen that assisted them, 'who all pretended to be members of the Church of 'England: we do declare, that we disown and detest 'all such principles and practices, looking upon them 'as highly schismatical and seditious, dangerous both 'to the Church and State, and contrary to the true 'doctrine and spirit of the Christian religion. And 'we also take this occasion to warn and exhort all the 'people committed to our charge, to beware of such 'seducers, and to avoid them, lest, as the Apostle 'St Peter speaks, *They be led away with the error of the wicked*, and fall from their stedfast adherence to 'the principles of the true Church of England, as it 'was established at the *blessed Reformation of religion*, 'and as, by God's *especial Providence*, *it continues to* 'this day.' What was farther done in this matter, will best appear from Bishop Kennet's account, which runs thus (5): 'On April the 27th, the Lord Chief 'Justice (Holt) of the King's Bench, did likewise re'present to the Grand Jury, the shameful and perni'cious practice of those three absolving Priests. Where'upon the Jury made a presentment to the Court, that 'Collier, Cook, and Snatt, Clerks, did take upon 'them to pronounce and give absolution to Sir Wil'liam Perkins, and Sir John Friend, at the time of 'their execution at Tyburn, immediately before they 'had severally delivered a paper to the Sheriff of Mid'dlesex, wherein they had severally endeavoured to 'justify the treasons for which they were justly con'demned and executed. And that they, the said 'Collier, Cook, and Snatt, had thereby countenanced 'the same treasons, to the great encouragement of 'other persons to commit the like treasons, and to the 'scandal of the Church of England established by Law, 'and to the disturbance of the peace of this kingdom. 'Upon which the court ordered an indictment to be 'preferred against them, and on May the 8th, Mr 'Cook and Mr Snatt were committed to Newgate, for 'suspicion of high-treason and treasonable practices. 'But such was the lenity of the government, that no 'manner of punishment was inflicted on them, and 'Mr Collier, with great assurance, published several 'papers to justify his practice.' The writings to which this Prelate referred were these:

(5) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 719. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 174.

XIII. *A Defence of the* Absolution *given to Sir* William Perkins *at the place of execution, April 3d, with a farther Vindication thereof, occasioned by a paper entitled*, A Declaration of the Sense of the Archbishops, and Bishops, &c. *The first dated April* the 9th, 1696, *the other* April the 21st, 1696. *To which is added a Postscript in relation to a paper called an* Answer to his Defence, &c. dated April 25. *Also a Reply to the* Absolution of a Penitent, according to the Directions of the Church of England, &c. *dated* May 20, 1696; and *An Answer to the Animadversions on two Pamphlets lately published by Mr Collier*, &c. *dated* July 1, 1696, 4to.

[*E*] *All which ends were prosecuted with great effect, in this collection of Essays.*] We have in the text, spoken in general of the several volumes of this collection, as if it had been composed in the same manner with other books of that kind, whereas, instead of being made up of detached discourses, it is rather composed of a variety of small pieces on different topics, which fell from the author's pen at a great distance of time, and after wandering most of them singly through the world, were at last drawn thus into a body to prevent their being lost. The title given them in their last edition is,

XIV. *ESSAYS upon several Moral Subjects, by* Jeremy Collier, M. A. *in three volumes*, 8vo. In order to give the reader a clear account of the contents of these volumes, which are not commonly understood to comprehend so large a part of their author's works as they really do, it is necessary to enter a little into particulars. The first volume is divided into *two* parts, which were published separately. The *first* part consists of six Essays, *viz.* upon Pride, Cloaths, Duelling, General Kindness, the Office of a Chaplain, and the Weakness of Human Reason. The four first are written in the way of dialogue, and with great spirit and vivacity; the two last are continued discourses. That on the Office of a Chaplain is particularly laboured, and has been looked upon as the author's master-piece, the reason being more close, the language more exact, and the thread of the argument better preserved, than in many of the rest. His Essay on the Weakness of Human Understanding is in some measure a declamation, but it ends with a moral reflection of great importance, and which perhaps this gentleman did not keep always in his mind (6). 'We may plainly perceive, says he, 'that the prejudices of education have a great stroke 'in many of our reasonings, and that the sentiments of 'men discover the colour of their original tinctures. 'And as there are some inbred principles impregnable 'against custom, so there are some customs which 'nature finds very difficult to deal with.'

(6) Collier's Miscellanies, Vol. I. p. 240.

The *second* part contains seventeen discourses upon Fame, Musick, The Value of Life, The Spleen, Eagerness of Desire, Friendship, Popularity, The Immateriality of the Soul, The Entertainment of books, Confidence, Envy, *The Aspects of Men*, Despair, Covetousness, Liberty, Old Age, and Pleasure; several of these are written in dialogue, but most of them are set discourses; and are all of them calculated to inform the understanding, reform the manners, and to give a right turn to the thoughts of the reader.

The second volume contains the *third* part, in which, the author discourses of Pain, Revenge, Authors, Infancy and Youth, Riches and Poverty, Debauchery, Drunkenness, Usury, The Character of an Apostle, and of Solitude. Then follows a Translation of St Gregory's Oration, in commendation of the Maccabees, Of the Unreasonableness of ill-timed Diversions, St Cyprian's Discourse upon the Plague, His Description of the manners of the Age, in which he lived, and his Discourse on Patience: it is closed by the author's Essay upon Discontent, written in dialogue; there is usually annext to this volume, (tho' it was printed separately) An Essay upon Gaming, in a dialogue, which is at once an useful, entertaining, and most instructive performance. The third volume, and the fourth part consists mostly of religious subjects, and was written after he had published the first volume of his Ecclesiastical History: in this he treats of Goodness, Honesty, Religious Temper, Lying, Fortitude, Flattery, Theft, Peace, and the Resurrection; all these topicks are treated with very great plainness and freedom; many of the thoughts are new and singular, such as are written in dialogue, are well sustained, and if we abate the floweriness of the language, which was the fashion, I will not say the fault of that time, it will be difficult to find any essays more capable of affording a rational pleasure, than those of our author.

volume of these Miscellaneous Discourses, Mr Collier made an attempt to reform the Stage, which involved him in a very brisk coutroversy with several of the greatest wits, and ablest writers of the age, in which he acquitted himself with so much force and vivacity, that the most considerable of his antagonists were obliged, not only to quit the field of battle, but confess that they were vanquished; and though some of them did not do this with the best grace, yet as their failing in point of manners ought to be attributed to the smart of their wounds, it is very far from reflecting upon the merit of our author, whose animadversions actually produced both repentance and amendment (*i*), and was the original cause of that decorum, which has been, for the most part, observed by the modern writers of dramatick poetry. The titles of his pieces upon this occasion will be found in the notes [*F*]. His abilities and industry were next exercised in a much larger work than any he had hitherto undertaken, which was that of making Moreri's performance useful

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 192.

[*F*] *Will be found in the notes.*] It was certainly a very bold thing in Mr Collier, to attack at once the Wits and the Witlings of those times; among the first, were Mr Dryden, Mr Congreve, and Mr Vanbrugh; amongst the latter, was Tom. Durfey and many more; but he is certainly to be commended for forming so good a design, as that of reducing the stage to order, and thereby preventing the morals of mankind from being corrupted, where they ought to be amended: the first he published with this design, had the following title.

XV. *A short view of the* immorality *and* profaneness *of the* English Stage *together with the sense of* Antiquity *upon this argument*, Lond. 1698, 8*vo*. It is a very methodical and learned work: he begins with shewing the immodesty and indecency of the stage, and the ill consequences that attend it; he proves next, that the Roman and Greek theatres were much more inoffensive than the English, and then produces the authorities of Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the French Poet Corneille, against the modern Stage. He proceeds to open the indictment by a charge of profaneness, which he supports by instances from several pieces of Mr Dryden, Mr Otway, Mr Congreve, and Vanbrugh. His second charge is the abuse of the Clergy; his third relates to immorality encouraged by the Stage; he then descends to some remarks upon Amphitrion, exposes the horrid profaneness of the comical History of Don Quixote; then criticizes the Relapse, or Virtue in Danger; he concludes with producing the opinions of the Heathen Philosophers, Orators, and Historians, the restraints imposed upon the Stage by the laws in several countries, and the sentiments of the Fathers of the Church.

In answer to this, Mr Congreve published a little piece, intitled, *Amendments of Mr Collier's false and imperfect citations from the old Batchelor, the Double Dealer, &c.* It must be allowed, that in this piece, the ingenious author is very hard put to it, and struggles with infinite difficulty to give a fair gloss to passages, that, in the natural sense of the words, convey a very different meaning; and besides this, there is an air of anger and resentment runs through the whole piece, which plainly shews how much the author felt the weight of that censure he endeavours to ridicule, and would be thought to despise. Mr Vanbrugh, afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, likewise published a small piece in support of his own performances, under the title of, *A short Vindication of the Relapse, and the Provok'd Wife*; but this was very far from dejecting, or silencing our author, he thought he had a good cause, and that he was able to manage it with as much sense and spirit as any of his adversaries; and he found by experience too, that he was as well heard as they by the publick; all which encouraged him to return to the charge, and to defend what he had written, not only against these, but against several other authors, who thought fit to enter the lists on the side of the Poets, against the Priest. These pieces of his were,

XVI. *A* Defence *of the* Short View *&c. being a Reply to Mr Congreve's Amendments, &c. And to the Vindication of the author of the Relapse*, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*.

XVII. *A* Second Defence *of the Short View, &c. Being a Reply to a Book intitled*, The Ancient and Modern Stages surveyed, *&c. Lond.* 1700, 8*vo*. The Book here replyed to, was written by Dr Drake.

XVIII. *Mr* Collier's *Dissuasive from the Play-House; in a letter to a Person of Quality, occasioned by the late calamity of the* Tempest, *Lond.* 1703, 8*vo*.

XIX. *A* farther Vindication *of the Short View, &c. in which the Objections of a late Book, intitled*, A Defence of Plays, *are considered, Lond.* 1708, 8*vo*.

The Defence of Plays, has Dr Filmer for it's author.

We have shewn in the text, what the event was of this long dispute, in support of which, I shall produce what Mr Dryden says upon this subject (7). 'I shall say 'the less of Mr Collier, because in many things he has 'taxed me justly, and I have pleaded guilty to all 'thoughts and expressions of mine, which can be truly 'arraigned of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality, and 'retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; 'if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal 'occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repen'tance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the de'fence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it 'for a good one: yet it were not difficult to prove, 'that in many places he has perverted my meaning by 'his glosses, and interpreted my words into blasphemy 'and bawdry, of which they were not guilty; besides 'that, he is too much given to horse-play in his raillery 'and comes to battle like a Dictator from the plough: 'I will not say the zeal of God's *house has eaten him* '*up; but I am sure, it has devoured* some part of his 'good manners and civility; it might also be doubted, 'whether it were altogether zeal, which prompted him 'to this rough manner of proceeding, perhaps it be'came not one of his function, to rake into the rubbish 'of ancient and modern plays; a Divine might have 'employed his pains to better purpose, than in the 'nastiness of Plautus and Aristophanes, whose exam'ples, as they excuse not me, so it might possibly be 'supposed, that he read them not without some plea'sure. They, who have written commentaries on 'those poets, or on Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, 'have explained some vices, which, without their in'terpretation, had been unknown to modern times; 'neither has he judged impartially between the former 'age and us. There is more bawdry in one *Play of* '*Fletcher's, called, The Custom of the Country*, than 'in all ours together, yet this has been often acted on the 'stage in my remembrance: are the times so much 'more reformed now, than they were five and twenty 'years ago? if they are, I congratulate the amendment 'of our morals, ; but I am not to prejudice the cause 'of my Fellow-Poets, tho' I abandon my own defence. 'They have some of them answered for themselves, and 'neither they nor I can think Mr Collier so formidable 'an enemy, that we would shun him. He has lost 'ground at the latter end of the day, by pursuing his 'point too far, like the Prince of Condé at the battle of 'Seneff. From immoral plays to no plays; *ab abusu* '*ad usum non valet consequentia*. But being a party I 'am not to erect myself into a Judge.'

(7) Preface to his Fables.

The first part of Mr Dryden's apology is so very decent, and withal so very just, that one cannot help being sorry he did not rest it there; but as to what follows, it is mighty little to the purpose, he has owned, that Mr Collier has shewn him his faults, and yet he is out of humour that they were shewn. Was it in his power to prove his charge against the stage any other way than he has done? did not the quibbling and prevarications of his antagonists, compel him to explain things so broadly? and might not any criminal at the bar charge the Attorney-General, with being a traytor in his heart, for setting forth, and insisting upon his own treasons with the same force of argument, that is used in retorting upon Mr Collier? The truth is, that men offend with gaiety of heart, but repent with bitterness of soul; which is the reason, that tho' they cannot help owning the physick has done them good, yet they cannot avoid bearing ill will to the doctor.

[*G*] Or

useful to the English nation, in which he laboured for many years with great success, taking all the precautions possible to be well informed as to the new articles he published; and so well were his endeavours in this kind received by the publick, notwithstanding some exceptions that were taken to them, that few books have met with a better fate, or longer maintained their credit [G]. After the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, great endeavours were used to recover Mr Collier to the Church, by inducing him to comply with the terms prescribed by the State. All efforts of this kind, though supported not only with general promises of preferment, but with more particular assurances, were ineffectual, and Mr Collier remained among the Nonjuring Clergy, as seeing no reason to alter his sentiments from any change that had happened, and being incapable of dissembling an alteration for the sake of temporal views (k). About the same time that he published the first volume of his Dictionary, he likewise obliged the world with a very elegant translation from the Greek, of that famous book of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, which has done more credit to his memory than even his excellent administration of publick affairs during a reign which does honour to the Roman History (l). This translation was universally well received on it's first appearance, and continues to be read with all the applause, that so well written, and so useful a treatise of Moral Philosophy deserves [H]. The situation of those times, and the many worthy and generous patrons of whatever regarded the honour of this kingdom who then flourished, encouraged Mr Collier to hope, that an Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, which, in the extent he intended it, had never been attempted by any Protestant writer before, might meet with general acceptation. Accordingly, proposals were published for sending abroad such a work, and the offer very well received, and such encouragements given, as induced him to prosecute with diligence the great design he had formed, and at length finished a copious History of Church Affairs, from the first entrance of Christianity into this Island, to the close of the reign of Henry VII. This all parties allowed to be a work of great labour and learning, methodically and elegantly written; but in other respects they differed, as might well be supposed, in their judgments concerning it's merit [I]. After the pains this book had cost him,

(k) From the information before-mentioned.

(l) See the Life of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, translated from the French of M. Dacier, prefixed to that work.

[G] *Or longer maintained their credit.*] We shall in this note give an account of the different times, in which the several parts of this Dictionary were published, and other circumstances relating to them, that may be worth the reader's knowing.

XX. *The Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical, and Poetical Dictionary*, &c. four volumes Fol.

The two first volumes were printed in the year 1701, and the author gave notice in his preface, that such of the articles as were of a later date than the year 1688, were composed by another hand. The third volume was published, under the title of *A Supplement*, &c. in 1705, and was reprinted in 1727. It is in the preface to this, that he answers the objections made to his conduct; and to prevent those articles being taken for his, which *in this volume also, were written by another hand*, they are placed under another alphabet. The fourth and last volume, which in the title page is called *An Appendix*, as in reality it is to the other three, was printed in 1721. The whole is certainly a great treasure of Historical, Geographical, and Poetical Learning; and is not only very useful and entertaining to young scholars, who may by the help of it acquire much knowledge, and enter thoroughly into the meaning of the books they read in any of these kinds of learning; but even to persons of the greatest abilities, and most comprehensive science, who have but small libraries, and live at a distance from London, and the two Universities; yet this work is certainly capable of great improvements, and these might be made without enlarging the bulk, for it might be reduced under one alphabet; whereas at present there are four or five, and as by this means a multitude of repetitions, alterations, and corrections, might be thrown out, so this would make room for new articles, which might be easily found in the last edition of Moreri's Dictionary, now enlarged to seven volumes. The learned reader will easily discern, that this is no reflection either upon Mr Collier's memory or his performance, since he did all that was possible to be done at the time he wrote; and the inconveniences before mentioned were unavoidable from his manner of publication, as that too, with respect to him, was a matter not of choice but of necessity.

[H] *That so well written, and so useful a treatise of Moral Philosophy deserves.*] This work of Mr Collier's has since borne three impressions, all of them under the following title:

XXI. *The Emperor* Marcus Antoninus *his conversation with himself. Together with the preliminary Discourse of the learned* Gataker, &c. *to which is added, the Mythological Picture of* Cebes *the* Theban, &c. *Translated into English from the respective originals*, Lond. 1701, 8vo.

This is one of the best collections we have in the English tongue of the Morals of the Antients; and, in conjunction with the works of Plutarch, Epictetus, and Seneca, will make an admirable library of that kind. The pieces of which it is composed are very well chosen, illustrate each other perfectly, so as to render all the passages in them clear and intelligible; and yet it is of a very moderate size, and has nothing in it redundant, or foreign to the purpose.

[I] *Concerning it's merit.*] As this great work was published in two volumes at different times, it is requisite to speak of them separately. The first bore the following title:

XXII. *An* Ecclesiastical History *of* Great Britain, *chiefly of* England, *from the first planting of* Christianity, *to the end of the Reign of King Charles* II. *With a brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in* Ireland. *Collected from the best antient Historians, Councils, and Records*, fol. 1702, Vol. I. *which comes down to the Reign of Henry* VII.

As the scheme of this work was in itself of large extent, it required a great knowledge in Divinity, History, and Antiquity, and a very assiduous application to the perusal of Records and manuscripts, as well as a vast variety of antient and modern authors; so the performance itself demonstrates very great care to have been taken in all these respects. The method in which this History is written is very clear and exact, his authorities are constantly cited by the author, his remarks are short and pertinent, and, with respect to the dissertations that are occasionally inserted, they are such as tend to illustrate and explain those perplexed points of which they treat, and contribute thereby to the clearer understanding of the narration. The stile is very uniform and grave, which is the more remarkable, because the author, in other writings, has shewn as lively a fancy, and as much quickness of wit, as any writer of his own time; but he knew this would be improper here; and therefore it is with great judgment avoided. He speaks modestly and respectfully of most of the Historians who went before him, and if he is any where severe, he takes care that his reason shall go along with his censure. His own peculiar sentiments with respect to religion and government may be in some places discerned, but taking the whole together, it will be found as judicious and impartial a work, as the world, in doing justice to his talents, could have expected it: yet,

him, our author thought a season of repose necessary, or, as himself expresses it, judged *it convenient to breathe a little after a folio* (m); yet without dropping, or so much as discontinuing his former design, but knowing that it required not only assiduity and vigilance, but the utmost prudence and circumspection likewise, he chose to act cautiously, and rather to apologize to the publick for his delay, than to precipitate matters in order to hurry his work through the press. In the year 1713 he was consecrated a Bishop by Dr George Hickes, who was himself consecrated Suffragan of Thetford by the deprived Bishops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough (n), Feb. 23, 1694. In the succeeding year came abroad the second volume of his Ecclesiastical History, which met with a different reception from persons of different sentiments, applauded by some and censured by others. Of the latter there were those who made a considerable figure in the learned world, against whose objections the author thought it incumbent upon him to write [K]. As he grew in years, that great share of health which he had enjoyed was interrupted by frequent attacks of the stone, to which there is no doubt that his sedentary life might much contribute, so that from this time we hear of nothing that he published farther, except a collection of Sermons, of which, together with some smaller pieces prefixed to other men's works, an account will be given at the bottom of the page [L]. He lived however several years in an indifferent state of health, sometimes tolerably free, and at others grievously afflicted by his old distemper, which brought him to his grave April 26, 1726, and three days after his body was interred in the church-yard of St Pancras. He was in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and preserved the free use of his senses to the very last. As to his character, we have already given it in the impartial history of his works, and shall therefore only add, that his morals were unexceptionable, and that, as his conduct had in it all the regularity becoming a Clergyman, so his behaviour had nothing stiff or pedantick, but all that life, spirit, and innocent freedom, which constitutes the good breeding of a gentleman. His reputation as a man of letters extended beyond the bounds of his own country, for the learned and ingenious Father Courbeville, who translated into French the Hero of Balthazar Gracian, in the Preface of that work, speaks in the highest terms of praise of our author's Miscellaneous Works, which he says set him on a level with Montaigne, St Evremond, La Bruyere, &c. The same reverend and learned person translated into French Mr Collier's *Short View of the English Stage*, and from thence takes occasion to speak of him again, with all the marks of admiration and esteem possible.

(m) See the Preface to the third Vol. of his Miscellanies.

(n) From the information before-mentioned.

yet, as we have hinted in the text, it was far enough from escaping the censure of the Criticks, but was still much happier in that respect than the second volume, in speaking of which we shall shew who these Criticks were, as well as the titles of the pieces written by our author in his own defence, and in justification of his History.

[K] *Thought it incumbent upon him to write.*] As the second volume of his Ecclesiastical History took in the entire account of the Reformation, and the struggles with the Puritans from their first appearance, to the overturning of our constitution in Church and State; so it must be naturally supposed, that a man of Mr Collier's principles could never treat these delicate subjects, without affording some room, for such as were desirous of criticizing him to take offence. Dr Nicholson, Bishop of Derry, has treated him with great severity, not to say more, in the character he has given of his works. Bishop Burnet and Bishop Kennet, who were infinitely better judges as well as writers, have corrected him with great decency. Mr Collier defended himself against them all, in the pieces of which we shall presently speak, but before we come to them, it may not be amiss to remark a single, and a shining, instance of his impartiality, and that is, in disculpating the Presbyterians from the false and scandalous imputations that had been thrown upon them, as if they consented to, or at least temporized in, the murder of King Charles I. from which he has vindicated them with equal perspicuity and justice, and has fully shewn; that as they only had it in their power to oppose, so to the utmost extent of that power they did oppose, and protest against that bloody fact, both before and after it was committed (8). The pieces written by him in defence of his History are these:

XXIII. *An Answer to some exceptions in Bishop* Burnet's *third part of the* History *of the* Reformation, &c. *against Mr* Collier's Ecclesiastical History: *together with a* Reply *to some* Remarks *in Bishop* Nicholson's *English Historical Library, &c. upon the same subject,* fol. Lond. 1715.

XXIV. *Some Remarks on Dr* Kennet's *second and third Letters, wherein his misrepresentations of Mr* Collier's Ecclesiastical History *are laid open, and his calumnies disproved,* Lond. 1717, fol. and 8vo. But in the octavo it is called *Some Considerations*, &c.

[L] *Will be given at the bottom of the page.*] The collection of Sermons mentioned in the text, came abroad under this title.

XXV. *Several* Discourses *upon Practical Subjects,* Lond. 1725, 8vo. The last discourse of this collection had been printed separately, in 1723, with the following title. *The comparison between giving and receiving, with the reasons for preference; stated in a Sermon preached at Whitehall,* April 19th, 1687, 4to.

XXVI. *God not the Origin of* Evil, *being an additional Sermon to a collection of Mr* Collier's *Discourses,* &c. Lond. 1726, 8vo.

He published also *An Advertisement against Bishop* Burnet's History of his own time, which was printed on a slip of paper, and dispersed in all the Coffee-houses in 1724, and is to be seen in the Evening Post, No. 2254. Besides this, he wrote several Prefaces, &c. As (1.) *An Advertisement concerning the Author, and the translation of* Maxims and Reflections upon Plays, in answer to a Discourse of *the lawfulness and unlawfulness of Plays*, printed before a late Play intitled, *Beauty in Distress, written in* French, *by the Bishop of* Meaux, Lond. 1669. (2.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* Tully's *five Books* de Finibus, &c. *Done into English by S. P.* (Sam. Parker) *Gent.*, *Together with an Apology for the philosophical writings of* Cicero, *in a letter to the Translator*; *by* Mr Henry Dodwell, Lond. 1702. (3.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* human Souls naturally immortal, *translated from a Latin MS. by S. E.* Lond. 1707. Of this Preface Mr Norris makes honourable mention in his letter to Mr Dodwell, concerning the immortality of the Soul of Man, and says that Mr Collier's single remark against Mr Locke, is, in his opinion, worth all the book besides (9). It is also upon good grounds believed, that he was concerned, amongst others, in collecting the passages referred to by Dr Henry Sacheverell, in his answer to the articles of his impeachment.

(8) Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 859, 860.

(9) Mr Norris's Letter to Mr Dodwell, p. 107.

COLLINS (Anthony), an eminent Writer of the present Century, was son of Henry Collins, Esq; a gentleman of a considerable estate; and was born at Heston near Hounslow in Middlesex, June 21, 1676 (*a*). He was educated in grammar learning at Eaton-College near Windsor, and from thence was removed to King's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Francis Hare (*b*). Upon his leaving college, he was entered a Student in the Temple: but disrelishing the study of the Law, he soon abandoned it. In 1698, he married Martha, the daughter of Sir Francis Child, Alderman of London (*c*), and by her had two sons, Henry and Anthony [*A*], and two daughters, Elizabeth and Martha (*d*). In 1700, our author published a tract, intituled, *Several of the London Cases considered* (*e*). In 1703, and 1704, he held an epistolary correspondence with the great Mr Locke, who expressed an high regard and friendship for our author [*B*]. In 1707, he published his *Essay concerning the Use of Reason* (*f*) [*C*]. The same year, our author engaged in the controversy, then on foot between Mr Dodwell and Dr Samuel Clarke, concerning the *Natural Immortality of the Soul* [*D*]. In December 1709, came out a pamphlet (*g*), intituled, *Priestcraft in Perfection* [*E*]; and, in February the year following, another intituled, *Reflexions on a late Pamphlet, intituled*, Priestcraft in Perfection; both written by our author. The same year, he published his *Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in some Remarks on the Archbishop of Dublin's Sermon* (*h*). In March 1711, Mr Collins went over to Holland, where he became acquainted with Mr Le Clerc, and other learned men, and returned to London in November following. In 1713, he published his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* [*F*]; and soon after made a second trip to Holland,

(*a*) See His epitap[h in the r]emark [. .].

(*b*) Afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and since dead.

(*c*) Sir Fr[...] was Lord [...]r the year [...]wing.

(*d*) See [...]ph.

(*e*) Cat[...]e of Mr C[...] Library, w[rit]ten with [his] own hand.

(*f*) A second edition of it was published in 1709.

(*g*) See History of the Works of the Learned, for Dec. 1709, p. 753.

(*h*) Intituled, Divine Predestination and Foreknowledge consisting with the Freedom of Man's Will, Lond. 1710.

[*A*] *He had—two sons, Henry and Anthony.*] Henry, the elder, died in his infancy. Anthony the younger, a youth of great hopes, and educated at Bennet-College in Cambridge, died, in the 22d year of his age, lamented by all that knew him (1).

[*B*] *Mr Locke expressed an high regard and friendship for our author.*] This appears from Mr Locke's letters to Mr Collins (2). In that dated from Oates in Essex, October 29, 1703, he writes as follows. 'If I were now setting out in the world, I should think it my great happiness to have such a companion as you, who had a true relish of truth, would in earnest seek it with me, from whom I might receive it undisguised, and to whom I might communicate what I thought true, freely. Believe it, my good friend, to love truth for truth's sake, is the principal part of human perfection in this world, and the seed-plot of all other virtues; and, if I mistake not, you have as much of it, as ever I met with in any body. What then is there wanting to make you equal to the best, a friend for any one to be proud of?' In another, dated from Oates, September 11th 1704, he writes thus: *He that has any thing to do with you, must own that friendship is the natural product of your constitution; and your soul, a noble soil, is enriched with the two most valuable qualities of human nature, truth and friendship. What a treasure have I then in such a friend, with whom I can converse, and be enlightened about the highest speculations?* These extracts evince, that, at that time, Mr Collins appeared to Mr Locke in the light of an impartial, disinterested, enquirer after truth. How far that great man, who was undoubtedly a friend to Revelation, would, probably, have altered his opinion of our author, had he lived (3) to see his works (of which he had published none but his *London Cases considered*) the readers of Mr Collins's works will judge.

[*C*] *His Essay concerning the use of Reason.*] The title at length is: *An Essay concerning the use of Reason in Propositions, the evidence whereof depends upon human testimony.* Dr Francis Gastrell, afterwards Bishop of Chester, being animadverted upon in this essay, with relation to some passages in his *Considerations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that controversy*, printed at London in 1702, he subjoined to the third edition of it, in 1707, a *Vindication* of it in answer to Mr Collins's Essay.

[*D*] *He engaged in the Controversy—concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul.*] Upon this subject Mr Collins published the following pieces. I. *A Letter to Mr Dodwell, containing some remarks on a (pretended) Demonstration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the Soul, in* Mr Clarke's *Answer to a late* Epistolary Discourse. London, 1707, and 1709, in 8vo. II. *A Defence of the Argument made use of in a Letter to* Mr Dodwell. London, 1707 in 8*vo*. III. *A Reply to* Mr Clarke's Defence *of his* letter to Mr Dodwell: *with a postscript to Mr* Milles's Answer to Mr Dodwell's Epistolary Discourse. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. A second edition of this piece, corrected, was published in 1709, in 8vo. IV. *Reflections on Mr* Clarke's second Defence *of his* Letter to Mr Dodwell. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. There was a second edition in 1711, in 8*vo*. V. *An answer to Mr* Clarke's third Defence *of his* Letter to Mr Dodwell. London, 1708, in 8vo. There was a second edition, corrected, London, 1711, in 8vo.

[*E*] *A pamphlet intituled* Priestcraft in Perfection.] The title at length is: *Priestcraft in perfection, or, a Detection of the fraud of inserting, and continuing that clause* [The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith) *in the twentieth article of the Articles of the Church of England.* The authority of this clause had been called in question, in a book intituled; *The Peril of being zealously affected, but not well; or Reflections on Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon preached at St Paul's* Nov. 5, 1709 (4). And it being now again professedly attacked by Mr Collins, several Pamphlets, Sermons, and Books were published upon the subject. Among which, the most remarkable were the two following. I. *A Vindication of the Church of England from the aspersions of a late libel intitled,* Priestcraft in Perfection: *wherein the controverted clause of the Church's power in the 20th Article is shewn to be of equal authority with all the rest of the Articles, and the fraud and forgery, charged upon the Clergy, upon the account of that clause, is retorted upon the accusers. With a Preface containing some Remarks upon the Reflections on that Pamphlet. By a Priest of the Church of England*, London, 1710, in 8*vo*. II. *An Essay on the XXXIX Articles of Religion, agreed on in* 1562, *and revised in* 1571, &c. *By Thomas Bennet*, D. D. In answer to these two Books, Mr Collins published his *Historical and Critical Essay on the XXXIX Articles* &c (5). The second and third editions of his *Priestcraft in Perfection* were printed, with corrections, at London, in 1710, in 8vo; and at the end of the third is subjoined the following advertisement. 'Whereas in the two former impressions of *Priestcraft*, &c. A letter from *Oxford* is cited, giving an account of an English edition of the Articles being cut out from a volume of Miscellanies in the *Bodleian* Library; I have omitted that passage in this edition, upon the sight of a letter from *Oxford*, which assures the gentleman, to whom it was wrote, that my friend was mistaken. I do not know at present in what part of England he is, and therefore I cannot as yet give the reader or myself that satisfaction in the matter, which I hope to do when I hear of his return to *Oxford*.'

[*F*] *His* Discourse of Free-Thinking.] The title at length is: *A Discourse of Free-Thinking, occasioned by the rise and growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.* It was re printed at the Hague, with some additions and corrections, in 1713, in 12*mo*; tho', in the title-page, it is said to be printed at London. In this edition, the translations in several places are corrected from Dr

(1) See the epitaph in the remark [*P*].

(2) Published by M. DesMaizeaux in his Collection of several pieces of Mr John Locke, &c. Lond. 1720. See Page 271, &c.

(3) Mr Locke died the 28th of October, 1704.

(4) See Page 20, 21.

(5) See the remark [*K*].

Holland [G], and from thence to Flanders; where he received great civilities from the Priests, Jesuits, and others. He intended to have visited Paris; but the death of a near (i) Mr Trolope. relation (i) obliged him to return to London, where he arrived the 18th of October 1713. In 1715, he retired into the county of Essex, and acted as a Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant of that county, as he had done before in the county of Middlesex, and liberty of Westminster. The same year, he published, at London, *A Philosophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty* (k) [H]. In 1718, he was chosen Treasurer for the county of Essex [I]. In 1724, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Wrottesly, Bart (l); by whom he had no children. The same year, he published his *Historical and Critical Essay on the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England* [K]; also his *Discourse of the Grounds*

(k) Reprinted with corrections in 1717.

(l) See epitaph.

Dr Bentley's *Remarks*, and some references are made to those *Remarks*, and to Dr Hare's *Clergyman's Thanks*. And whereas, in the former edition, the Discourse ended with these words; 'For I think it 'virtue enough to endeavour to do good, only within 'the bounds of doing your self no harm;' in the Hague edition, after the words *virtue enough*, is inserted this parenthesis; *in a country so ignorant, stupid, superstitious, and destitute of all private and publick virtue, as ours*. The *Discourse* was attacked in several pieces, particularly the following, I. *Reflections on an Anonymous Pamphlet, intituled,* A Discourse of Free-Thinking. *By* William Whiston, A. M. Lond. 1713. There have been three editions of this pamphlet. (6) Page 3, 4. Mr Whiston observes (6), that 'tho' the *Discourse* is 'commonly so worded, as to seem rather meant against 'the Heathen Idolatry, Popish Superstition, Real 'Priestcraft, and Tyranny over conscience, than a-'gainst Christianity itself, with it's sacred books,' yet that the author's real design must appear from 'the ill characters given of the Clergy or Christian 'Priesthood in general; the oblique reproaches cast 'upon Revealed Religion; the visible slight put upon 'the whole Jewish nation and the Mosaick law; the 'plain disregard of the great foundation of religion, 'the immortality of the soul; and the many insinua-'tions visibly tending to render the sacred books, both 'Jewish and Christian, contemptible and uncertain.' II. An anonymous pamphlet, intituled, *Free Thoughts upon the* Discourse of Free-Thinking, London, 1713, in 8*vo*. III. *Queries recommended to the authors of the late* Discourse of Free-Thinking. *By* Mr Benjamin (*) 1748. Hoadly, now (*) Bishop of Winchester (7). This ingenious writer declares (8), 'that, tho' some of the 'particulars, mentioned in his *Queries*, as designed 'plainly against the belief of Christianity, are produced 'in the *Treatise of Free-Thinking* under the specious 'pretence of their being good reasons and occasions 'for a *free and impartial examination*, and not ex-'presly declared to be intended against the Gospel, in 'the same passages, in which the authors of that trea-'tise produce them; yet he verily believes, that these 'authors themselves would inwardly laugh at any, 'who should suppose them to have had any other view 'in that performance.' And having placed several particulars from the *Discourse of Free-Thinking* in one (9) Page 31. view, he concludes with these words (9): *After this let any one doubt, if he can, what sort of Free-Thinking all that is produced in the first part of this treatise is designed to promote; or suppose it possible, that the chief view of these authors could be any other than the promoting that Free-Thinking, which they themselves contend to be* Atheism *and* Infidelity. IV. *Remarks upon a late* Discourse of Free-Thinking; *in a Letter to* F. H. D. D. *By* Phileleutherus Lipsiensis. Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author of this ingenious performance was the truly learned Dr Richard Bentley; and the person to whom it is addressed, Dr Francis Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chichester. It exposes the weakness and fallacy of the *Discourse*, with great strength of argument and sprightliness of wit. A *Second* part, and a sheet or two of a *Third*, were printed the same year at Cambridge: but the learned author proceeded no farther. The first part of these *Remarks* gave birth to a pamphlet, said to be written by Dr Hare, intituled, *The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus, for his* Remarks *on the late* Discourse of Free-Thinking. *In a Letter to Dr Bentley*. Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author concludes this piece with remarking, that 'if we 'have gained by Dr Bentley's *Remarks* in one respect, 'we are, on the other hand, in danger of losing no 'less than an edition of all *Tully*, and, what is of more 'consequence, a *New Gospel*; with both which, for 'the advancement of learning and religion (*their* learn-'ing and *their* religion) The Free-thinking Club were 'preparing to oblige the world. And the last of these '(says he) was, I am told, quite finished, and ready 'to be published, when your *Remarks* unluckily came 'out to shew, that they are neither *Christians* nor '*Scholars*. And this has suppressed at least for some 'time, if not totally sunk, both these undertakings.'

(7) It is extant in his Collection of Tracts, in 8vo, Lond. 1715.

(8) Page 28.

[G] *He made a second trip to Holland.*] This was ascribed to the general alarm caused by the *Discourse of Free-Thinking*, and the author's being discovered by his Printer Mr John Darby. Whereupon Dr Hare, having observed, that *the least appearance of danger is able in a moment to damp all the zeal of the Free-Thinkers*, tells us (10), 'that a bare enquiry after the Printer of 'their wicked book has frightened them, and obliged 'the reputed author to take a *second* trip to Holland; 'so great is his courage to defend, upon the least ap-'pearance of an opposition. And are not these (*adds the Doctor*) rare champions for *Free-Thinking*? And 'is not their book a demonstration, that we are in 'possession of the liberty they pretend to plead for, 'which otherwise they durst never have writ? and, 'that they would have been as mute as fishes, had 'they not thought they could have opened with im-'punity?'

(10) Clergyman's Thanks, p. 18.

[H] *His* Philosophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty.] Dr Samuel Clarke wrote *Remarks* upon this *Enquiry* (11). But Mr Collins did not publish any Reply to Dr Clarke upon this subject; because, we are told (12), though he did not think the Doctor had the advantage over him in the dispute, yet, as he had represented Mr Collins's opinions as dangerous in their consequences, and improper to be insisted upon, our author, after such an insinuation, found he could not proceed in the dispute upon equal terms. The *Enquiry* was translated into French by the Reverend Mr D****, and printed in the first volume of *Recueil de diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Messieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, et autres auteurs celebres*; published by M. Des Maizeaux at Amsterdam, 1720, in two volumes, 12*mo*.

(11) They are extant in the Collection of papers between Mr Leibnitz and Dr Clarke, &c. Lond. 1717, in 8*vo*.

(12) Des Maizeaux's Preface to the *Recueil de diverses Pieces, &c.* p. 10.

[I] *He was chosen Treasurer for the county of Essex.*] In the discharge of this office Mr Collins highly merited the thanks of several tradesmen and others, who had large sums of money due to them from the said county, but could not get it paid them, it having been spent and embezzled by their former Treasurer. The poorest of them, we are informed, he supported with his own private cash, and others he promised interest for their money till it could be raised to pay them. In 1722, the debts were all discharged, and by his care and management the county's debts were, from that time, discharged every three months, and with little more than half the money, which had been annually raised for upwards of twenty years before.

[K] *His* Historical and Critical Essay upon the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England.] The title at length is: *An Historical and Critical Essay on the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England: wherein it is demonstrated, that this clause,* The Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith, *inserted in the Twentieth Article, is not a part of the Articles, as they were established by Act of Parliament in the 13th of Eliz. or agreed on by the Convocations of* 1562 *and* 1571. This, we have already said (13), was designed as an Answer to the *Vindication of the Church of England, &c.* and Dr Bennet's *Essay on the XXXIX Articles*, both published against his *Priestcraft in Perfection*. In the Preface he tells us, 'he was engaged in writing this work

(13) In the remark [E].

Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion [*L*], which was immediately attacked by a great number of writers [*M*]. The same year likewise appeared his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered* [*N*], which had several Answerers [*O*]. It is remarkable of Mr Collins,

work by a *worthy Minister of the Gospel*, who knew that he had made some enquiries into the *modern Ecclesiastical History of England*; and that he was preparing *An History of the variations of the Church of England and it's Clergy from the Reformation down to this time, with an Answer to the Cavils of the Papists made on occasion of the said Variations*. But nothing of this kind from our author's hand was ever printed. As to the *Essay* in question, he concludes it with drawing up in brief the Demonstration, promised in the title page, and given in the book; and which is as follows. The Articles of the Church of England *are supposed to have their* Convocational Authority *from the Convocation of* 1562, *which first agreed on them; and from the Convocation of* 1571, *which, after having revised, and made alterations in, and additions to, them, agreed on them again. The way of passing* Acts *of* Convocation *is by the Subscription of the majority of the members of each house by themselves. The MS. Articles, which passed the Convocation in* 1562, *and were subscribed by the majority of both Houses, are extant; as are the MS. Articles of* 1571, *with the subscriptions of the Upper House. And both these Manuscripts are without the clause. The Parliament in* 1571 *did, by a statute, intitled,* An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion, *confirm Articles of Religion, comprized in an imprinted English book intitled,* Articles &c. put forth by the Queen's authority. *All the English printed books of the* Articles *extant before* 1571, *and while the Parliament were making this Statute, bore the title recited in the Statute, and were without the clause. Wherefore it follows, that the clause has neither the authority of the Convocation nor Parliament.* The reader may see the whole state of this Controversy, and a full vindication of the Church of England from the charge of forgery in respect to, the above-mentioned clause, in Mr Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* (14), where particular notice is taken of our author.

(14) Part ii. B. vi. p. 486—491.

[*L*] *His Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion.*] The title at length is: *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion, in two parts: The first containing some Considerations on the Quotations made from the Old in the New Testament, and particularly on the Prophecies, cited from the former, and said to be fulfilled in the latter: The second containing an Examination of the Scheme advanced by Mr Whiston in his* Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Testament, and for vindicating the citations thence made in the New Testament. *To which is prefixed, An Apology for free Debate and Liberty of writing.* The drift of this Discourse is to shew, that *Christianity* is founded on *Judaism*, or the *New Testament* on the *Old*: that the *Apostles* prove Christianity from the Old Testament: that if the proofs fetched from thence are valid, Christianity is firmly established on it's *true foundation*; but if invalid, Christianity is false: and that those proofs are *typical* or *allegorical*.

[*M*] *It was attacked by a great number of writers.*] I shall mention only the most remarkable. I. *A List of Suppositions or Assertions in the late* Discourse of the Grounds, &c. *which are not therein supported by any real or authentick Evidence; for which some such evidence is expected to be produced. By* William Whiston, A. M. 8vo. 1724. This piece is subjoined to the author's *Proposals for printing by subscription, Authentick Records concerning the Jewish and Christian Religion*, dated Jan. 17, 1724, and given away to all the Members of Parliament. In this piece, Mr Whiston treats Mr Collins, together with Mr Toland, in very severe terms, as guilty of impious *frauds* and *lay-craft*. II. *The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, being a full answer to a late* Discourse of the Grounds, &c. *By* William Whiston, A. M. 8vo. 1724. III. *A Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, wherein are considered all the Objections against this kind of proof, advanced in a late* Discourse of the Grounds, &c. *By the Right Reverend Father in God* Edward (Chandler), *Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry* (15) 8vo. 1725. This is a very learned and elaborate performance, and has passed thro' several editions. IV. *A Discourse of the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and Application of them to Christ. By* Samuel Clarke, D. D. *Rector of St James's Westminster*, 8vo. 1725. This was not intended for a direct answer to Mr Collins's book, but as a Supplement (occasioned thereby) to a proposition in Dr Clarke's *Demonstration of the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*; with which it has since been constantly printed. V. *The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles, in their defence of Christianity, considered, in Seven Sermons preached at Hackney in Middlesex*, 1724. *To which is prefixed a Preface, taking notice of the false representations of Christianity, and of the Apostles reasonings in defence of it, in a Book, intitled,* The Grounds, &c. *By* Thomas Bullock, *A. M. published at the request of the gentlemen of Hackney*, 8vo. 1725. VI. *An Essay upon the truth of the Christian Religion, wherein it's real foundation upon the old Testament is shewn, occasioned by the* Discourse of the Grounds, &c. *By* Arthur Ashley Sykes, A. M, *Rector of Rayleigh in Essex*, 8vo, 1725. Mr Collins gives it as his opinion, that, 'of 'all the writers against the *Grounds*, &c. Mr Sykes 'alone has advanced a consistent scheme of things, 'which he has proposed with great clearness, politeness, and moderation (16). VII. *The Use and Intent of Prophecy, in the several Ages of the Church. In six Discourses delivered at the Temple Church*, 1724, *published at the desire of the Masters of the Bench of the two Honourable Societies. By* Thomas Sherlock, D. D. Dean of Chichester, and Master of the Temple (17), 8vo. 1725: This was not designed as an answer to the *Grounds*, &c. but only to throw in light upon the argument from Prophecy, attacked by our author. VIII. *A Vindication of the Christian Religion, in two parts. The first, A Discourse of the Nature and Use of Miracles. The second, An answer to a late book intitled*, A Discourse of the Grounds, &c. *By* Samuel Chandler, 8vo, 1725. IX. *A Supplement to the* Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, *containing Observations on* Dr Clarke's, *and* Bishop Chandler's *late Discourses of the prophesies of the* Old *Testament; by* William Whiston, A. M, 8vo. 1725. X. *Letters to the author of the* Discourse of the Grounds, &c. *shewing that Christianity is supported by facts well attested: that the words of Isaiah, chap.* vii. 14. Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, *in their literal and only sense, are a prophecy of the Conception and Birth of the Messias, fulfilled in Jesus; and that the Gospel application of several other passages in the Old Testament is just: By* John Greene, 8vo 1726. XI. *A Brief Defence of the Christian Religion: or, the Testimony of God to the truth of the Christian Religion: By* Theophilus Lobb, M. D. 8vo 1726. The reader will find an entire catalogue of all the pieces, written against the *Discourse of the Grounds*, &c. amounting in number to *thirty five*, among which are *Sermons, London Journals*, Woolston's Moderator, &c. at the end of the *Preface* to the *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*.

(15) Now (1748) Bishop of Durham.

(16) Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, p. 12.

(17) Now (1748) Bishop of Salisbury.

[*N*] *His* Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.] The title at length is; *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; in a view of the Controversy occasioned by a late book, intitled,* A Discourse of the Grounds, &c. It was printed at the Hague by Thomas Johnson, in 1726, in two volumes 12mo, and reprinted at London with corrections; in 1727, in 8vo. It is dated at London November 13, 1725, and addressed to the Right Honourable *****. In this piece (18) Mr Collins mentions a *Dissertation* he had written, but never published, against Mr Whiston's *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*; in which he endeavours to shew, that those oracles were forged by the Primitive Christians, who were thence called Sibyllists by the Pagans. He also mentions a manuscript *Discourse* of his *upon the miracles recorded in the Old and New Testament*.

(18) Ch. ii. p. 61, edit. 1726.

[*O*] *It had several Answerers.*] The principal are: I. *The Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Christian Religion asserted, in eight Sermons, to which is prefixed a Preface, with some Remarks on a late book intitled,* The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, &c. *By* John Rogers, D. D. London, 1727. 8vo. in answer to which, Mr Collins wrote *A Letter to the Reverend Dr Rogers, on occasion of his eight sermons concerning the necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Preface prefixed to them: To which is added,* A Letter

Collins, that his pieces were all anonymous. His health declined some years before his death, which fell out, December 13, 1729, occasioned by a violent fit of the stone. He was interred in Oxford-Chapel, where is a monument, with a Latin inscription on it [*P*], erected to his memory by his widow. We shall say something of this remarkable gentleman's character below [*Q*].

A letter *printed in the* London Journal, *April* 1, 1727, *with an answer to the same.* London, 1727, 8*vo.* II. *A letter to the author of the* London Journal, Saturday April 1, 1727; it was written by Dr Sykes, Dean of Burien, and is that answered by Mr Collins, at the end of his *Letter to Dr* Rogers. Dr Sykes wrote a *second letter* in defence of his former, dated June 24, 1727, and printed in a pamphet intitled, *The true Grounds of the expectation of the Messiah, in two letters. The one printed in the London Journal, April 1, 1727. The other in vindication of it; being a reply to the* Answer *published at the end of* A Letter *to* Dr Rogers; *By* Philalethes, London, 1727, 8vo. III. *A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their application to Jesus Christ, in answer to the Objections of the author of the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered: By* Samuel Chandler, London, 1727, 8*vo.* IV. *A Vindication of the* Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, *In Answer to the* Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; *By the Right Reverend Father in God,* Edward, *Lord Bishop of* Coventry *and* Litchfield: *in two volumes. With a* Letter *from the Reverend Mr* Masson, *concerning the Religion of* Macrobius, *and his testimony touching the slaughter of the Infants at Bethlem, with a Postcript upon Virgil's 4th Eclogue.* London, 1728, 8*vo.* V. *The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles vindicated: in two parts. The first being a Defence of the* Argument from Miracles, *proving the* Argument from Prophecy, *not necessary to a rational defence of our Religion. The second being a Defence of the* Argument from Prophecy *proving the Christian Scheme to have a rational foundation upon the* Prophecies *of the* Old Testament; *By* Thomas Bullock, A. M. *Rector of North-Creak in Norfolk,* London, 1728, 8*vo.*

[*P*] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

H. S. E.
ANTONIUS COLLINS, Armiger;
Egregiis animi dotibus ornatus,
Præstanti Ingenio,
Acri Judicio,
Tenaci Memoria:
A Puero usque mirifica virtutis indole præditus:
Spectatissimum semper vitæ morumque exemplar:
Veritatis Amicus et Indagator Sedulus;
Quam neque ex sententiis hominum pendere,
Neque Magistratus gladio vindicandam esse existimavit:
In libris (quorum opulenta ei copia) evolvendis
Assiduus et Indefessus:
Quantum inde profecerit,
Ex Scriptis ipsius editis judicet Lector idoneus.
Erga Reges optimos, utrumque Georgium,
Libertatis utpote Civilis et Ecclesiasticæ
Tutores et Patronos,
Fide (si quis alius) constans.
Gratam sui
Erga Conjuges Amoris,
Erga Liberos Charitatis,
Erga Servos Lenitatis,
Erga omnes Benevolentiæ,
Memoriam reliquit.
Calculorum valetudine diu conflictatus,
Demum fractus, obiit XIII Dec. M.DCCXXIX.
Amicorum nuper Deliciæ, nunc, eheu! Desiderium.

Natus est XXI Junii M.DCLXXVI.
Henrico Patre Armigero.
In Matrimonio habuit
Martham Francisci Child Equitis filiam;
Atque, ea defuncta,
Elizabetham, Gualteri Wrottesly Baronetti
Ex altera quatuor liberos suscepit;
Quorum
Duos filios, Henricum infantem,
Antonium vero ad virilem ætatem jam provectum,
Extulerat:
Duas itidem filias, Elizabetham et Martham,
Innuptas reliquit.
Altera charissimo viro,
Quocum conjunctissime vixerat,
Monumentum hoc mœrens posuit.

[*Q*] *Something of his character.*] We are told (19), that 'the corruption among Christians, and the persecuting spirit of the Clergy, had given him a prejudice against the Christian religion, and at last induced him to think, that upon it's present footing it is pernicious to mankind: and that, as he had a great fund of humanity, sweetness of temper, and moderation, he saw with grief, that these virtues were banished from society, and that religion was made use of as a cloak to authorize all kinds of violence and injustice.' Mr Whiston, in *his List of Suppositions and Assertions*, &c (20), treating our author, together with Mr Toland, as guilty of *impious frauds* and *Lay-craft*, expresses himself, with regard to the former, in these terms: 'A second instance must be Mr Anthony Collins, a gentleman, who has many years taken superabundant care not to be suspected of believing so much as the Apostles Creed, or the books of the Old or New Testament, or indeed any Divine Providence at all. Yet does he claim a right to be admitted to take an oath upon the Bible, and to receive the Holy Communion itself; and he is at this day admitted to do both, and in virtue thereof is in the commission of the peace, as a good Church-man: i. e. notwithstanding his open and professed infidelity, he ventures, in the most publick and solemn manner, to declare his unfeigned acknowledgment of the Divine Providence, of the truth of the Christian religion, and of the books of the Holy Scripture, that is possible to be done among men. It is with great regret I add this example of an old friend, and one whom I still love better than he loves himself; but it is too flagrant to be omitted. This I call *gross immorality, impious fraud,* and *Lay-craft*.' *Mr Armand de la Chapelle, having* translated this passage into French (21), observes, that the expressions are *a little too cholerick*, and that Mr Collins would have reason to triumph upon this instance of passion in his antagonist. This occasioned the sending a letter to Mr de la Chapelle (22), in which the writer observes, that 'Mr Whiston having accused Mr Collins of irreligion, but being sensible that this accusation, being destitute of proof, was ridiculous, he has artfully pretended, that the latter had been his friend, insinuating thereby that Mr Collins had disclosed to him his most secret sentiments. And yet (*adds the writer*) I have been assured by persons who are very well informed, that Mr Collins never had any intercourse of *friendship with him*; that he never spoke to him above eight or ten times in his life, in a coffee-house or elsewhere, and always in other company, and that he has not seen him for above five years. Is this sufficient for Mr Whiston to claim the character of a friend?' Mr Whiston, in another place (23), speaks thus of Mr Collins. *The reputed author of* Freethinking *is, for all I have ever heard, a* sober man; *thanks to his natural aversion to intemperance; and that is more than can be said of some others of the club: but as for any other virtue, he has told us* (*) *it is such as he intends* shall never hurt him. *And it can't be thought uncharitable, if I say it rises from no higher origin than fear; for he has himself disclaimed all nobler principles.* But, of all writers, the author of the *Guardian* (24) has treated our author's character with the greatest severity in the following passages: 'He that should burn a house, and justify the action by asserting he is a free agent, would be far more excusable than this author in uttering what he has from the right of a Free-Thinker.' Again;

(19) Biblio[illegible] Raisonnée, T. V. p. 235.

(20) Page 15. See remark [*M*] init.

(21) In his Bibl. *Angloise*, T. II. P. i. p. 282, &c.

(22) Ibid. T. XII. P. i. p. 244, &c.

(23) Reflections on an Anonymous Pamphlet, &c. p. 28.

(*) In his Discourse of Freethinking, p. 178, edit. 1713.

(24) Vol. I. No. 3.

Again; *This gentleman may be assured he has not a taste for what he pretends to decry; and the poor man is certainly more a blockhead than an Atheist.* Again; 'When such writers as this, who have no spirit but 'that of malice, pretend to inform the age, Mohocks 'and Cut-throats may well set up for wits and men of 'pleasure.' Lastly; *If ever any man deserved to be denied the common benefits of air and water, it is the author of a* Discourse of Free-thinking. But, notwithstanding the reproaches cast upon Mr Collins as an enemy to ALL religion, impartiality obliges us to remark, what is said, and generally believed to be true, that, upon his death-bed, he declared, 'That, as he 'had always endeavoured, to the best of his abilities, 'to serve his God, his King, and his country, so he 'was persuaded he was going to that place, which 'God had designed for them that love him:' to which he added, that *The Catholick religion is to love God and to love man*; and he advised such as were about him to have a constant regard to these principles. His library, which was a very large and curious one, was open to all men of letters, to whom he readily communicated all the lights and assistance in his power, and (we are told) even furnished his antagonists with books to confute himself, and directed them how to give their arguments all the force of which they were capable. We shall only add, that he carefully avoided all the indecencies of conversation, and discouraged every the least tendency towards obscenity of discourse.

T

COLSTON (EDWARD) a person ever memorable for his great and extensive charities, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, was the eldest son of William Colston, Esq [*A*]; by Sarah his wife, and born in Temple parish in the city of Bristol, November 2, 1636 (*a*). He was brought up to trade, probably under his father (who was a most eminent Spanish Merchant); and resided some time in Spain: as did also his brothers, two of whom were inhumanly murdered there by assassins [*B*]. Through a very laudable industry, and in the course of a long and happy life, he acquired very great riches [*C*]; of which he expended a considerable part in works of beneficence and charity. In the year 1691, he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St Michael's-hill Alms-house, in Bristol [*D*]. The same year, he gave houses and lands, without Temple-gate in that city, to the Society of Merchants for ever, towards the maintenance of six poor old decayed Sailors, to the yearly value of twenty-four pounds. In 1696, he purchased a piece of ground in Temple-street in the same city, and built at his own charge a school and dwelling-house for a Master, to instruct forty boys, in Writing, Arithmetick, and the Church-Catechism [*E*]. In 1702, he gave five hundred pounds, towards re-building Queen Elizabeth's Hospital on the College-Green in Bristol; and for the maintenance, cloathing, and education of six boys there, and putting them out apprentices, he appropriated an estate, out of which is paid to the Master the yearly sum of sixty pounds exclusive of all taxes and charges, besides ten pounds for placing out the boys apprentices. In the year 1708, he settled his great benefaction, of the Hospital in St Augustine's back, in the city aforesaid, consisting of a Master, two Ushers, and one hundred

(*a*) From Mr Colston's monument, in All-Saints church in Bristol; and from an account sent by the Rev. Mr Tucker.

[*A*] *Was the eldest son of* William Colston, *Esq*;] Who was a very eminent Spanish Merchant, as is said above. He was usually stiled *Deputy* Colston, because generally *deputed* by the corporation of the city to officiate for the Mayor-Elect, when he went to London to take the oaths; which the Mayors of Bristol always did before the new charter granted to that city by Queen Anne. This circumstance is a strong proof, both of his station in life, and of his character for integrity and virtue. Sarah, his wife, was a Counsellor's daughter (1). Their son, Mr Edward Colston, erected a monument to their memory, in the church of All-Saints in Bristol; the inscription on which is as follows: 'To the dear memory of his father William 'Colston, Esq; and of his mother Sarah Colston, in-'terred near this place in the sepulchre of his ance-'stors; as also their four sons, William, Thomas, 'Robert, and William, and their two daughters, 'Martha and Martha, who were all natives and inha-'bitants of this city. William his father died 21st 'Nov. 1681, aged 73 years; and Sarah his mother 'the 23 Dec: 1701. aged 93 years.

'Edward Colston, their eldest son, born likewise in 'this city, but inhabitant of London, hath dedicated 'this monument.'

(1) From the same account as above.

[*B*] *Two of whom were inhumanly murdered by assassins.*] There is a tradition, that when Mr Colston and his two brothers were in Spain, in their disputes with the Papists it was often objected to them, 'That 'the Reformed religion produced no examples of great 'and charitable benefactions;' to which they were wont to reply, That if it pleased God to bring them safe home, they would wipe off that aspersion. Upon which, two of them were poisoned, to prevent their return: but their elder brother, Mr Edward Colston, escaped. Such is the tradition, but it is more certain, that one or both of them, were assassinated by banditti's or bravoes; very common in Spain and Portugal.

[*C*] *He acquired very great riches.*] The visible means whereby he acquired his riches, were as follows: 1. Being the eldest son, he received a handsome fortune from his parents. 2. Surviving all, if not most of, his brothers and sisters, he received theirs likewise: and the brothers had made very great additions to theirs by trade. 3. The Colston family had at that time the two most valuable branches of trade, in that part of the kingdom, almost entirely to themselves, *viz.* the fruit, and the oil, trade; Mr Colston having two ships always employed in that business: and oil was *much more in use formerly than at present.* Mr Colston not only supplied all, but purchased it abroad at a very great advantage, by advancing money to those necessitous people, the Spaniards and Portuguese, before their vintage, and being allowed a discount. 4. He never insured a ship, saving that expence, and yet he never lost one (2).

(2) From the account as above.

[*D*] *In the year 1691, he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St Michael's-hill alms-house in Bristol.*] The front and two sides are faced with free-stone. It contains a chapel neatly adorned; twenty-four apartments; and other conveniencies, for twelve men and twelve women. The elder brother receives six shillings; and each of the others three shillings, weekly; besides an allowance for coal, &c. To a Clergyman is paid the sum of ten pounds yearly. He is to read the Common-Prayer, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, twice every day, except when prayers are read in St Michael's church; at which every member of this alms-house is to attend. The endowment, or estate given for this charity, arises chiefly from fee-farm rents, and amounts yearly to two hundred and eighty-two pounds, three shillings, and four pence. The over-plus of this estate is paid towards the maintenance of the six Sailors in the merchants alms-house in King's-street. The charge of building and finishing this house amounted to about two thousand five hundred pounds.

[*E*] *To instruct forty boys, in Writing, Arithmetick, and the Church-Catechism.*] The boys are likewise to be cloathed. The estate given for this charity is an annuity of fourscore pounds yearly, clear of all charges.

hundred boys [*F*]. He also gave six pounds *per Ann.* to the Minister of *All Saints* in Bristol, for reading prayers every Monday and Tuesday morning throughout the year; and one pound a year to the Clerk and Sexton. Likewise, six pounds yearly for ever, for a monthly sermon and prayers to the prisoners in Newgate there: and twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen sermons in the time of Lent [*G*]. Besides many occasional charities, and benefactions, to several Churches and Charity-Schools, in the same city of Bristol [*H*]. — Moreover, he built an Alms-house for six poor people at Shene in Surrey. He gave six thousand pounds, for the augmentation of sixty small livings [*I*]. To St Bartholomew's Hospital London, he gave two thousand pounds; wherewith was purchased an estate of one hundred pounds a year, which is settled on that Hospital: and he left to the same, by Will, five hundred pounds more. To Christ's Hospital, at several times, he gave a thousand pounds; and bequeathed thereto the like sum afterwards. As also to St Thomas's *Hospital*, and to Bethlem, five hundred pounds a piece. To the Work-house without Bishopsgate, two hundred pounds. To the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, three hundred pounds. He left, moreover, very handsome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died [*K*]. And gave the sum of one hundred pounds *per Ann.* to be continued for twelve years after his death, and to be distribed by the direction of his Executors, either to place out every year ten boys apprentices, or to be given towards the setting up ten young tradesmen, to each ten pounds: in the whole, twelve hundred pounds. He gave likewise to eighteen Charity-Schools in several parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceafe, to each school yearly five pounds; or in all, each year, ninety pounds [*L*]. Finally, he gave towards building a church at Manchester in Lancashire, twenty pounds: and towards the building of a church at Tiverton in Devonshire, fifty pounds. Besides these known and publick benefactions, he gave away every year large sums in private charities, which was his practice for the course of many years: and there is reason to believe, that these were not much short of his publick charities (*b*). His usual method was, never to give any thing to common beggars; but he always ordered,

(*b*) From Mr Colston's Funeral Sermon by Dr Harcourt, preached in the church of All-Saints in Bristol, Oct. 29, 1721, and printed at London, the same year.

[*F*] *In 1708, he settled his great benefaction, of the hospital in St Augustine's Back, in the city aforesaid, &c.*] For the maintenance, cloathing, and education of these boys, and for placing them apprentices, he gave an estate, mostly arising by fee-farm rents, to the yearly value of thirteen hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings, and six-pence farthing. And the charge of first fitting up the hospital, and making it convenient for the purpose, amounted to about eleven thousand pounds. Out of that estate is to be paid yearly, ten pounds to a clergyman of the Church of England, for explaining and instructing the children in the Church Catechism: and in case the estate given for this charity, be not sufficient to answer the charges upon it, the executors are impowered to supply any deficiencies which have been, and to prevent them for the future.

[*G*] *And twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen sermons in the time of Lent.*] The subjects on which he himself appointed they should be preached, are these: The Lent-Fast; against Atheism and Infidelity; the Catholick Church; the Excellence of the Church of England; the Powers of the Church; Baptism; Confirmation; Confession and Absolution; the Errors of the Church of Rome; Enthusiasm or Superstition; Restitution; Frequenting the Divine Service; Frequent Communion; the Passion of our Blessed Saviour.

[*H*] *Besides many occasional charities and benefactions, to several churches and charity-schools in Bristol.*] Particularly —— to the cathedral, towards beautifying the choir, the marble about the communion-table, and organ, *&c.* at several times, two hundred and sixty pounds. —— Towards rebuilding the Tower, and the repair and beautifying the chancel of All-Saints church, at three several times, two hundred and fifty pounds. —— Towards the building a new isle in Clifton-church near Bristol, fifty pounds. —— Towards the building of a gallery, and erecting an organ in St James's church, fifty pounds. —— Towards an organ to be erected in St Mary Redcliff, a hundred pounds. —— Towards the repair of St Michael's church, fifty pounds. —— Towards the repair of St Stephen's church, fifty pounds. —— Towards the altar piece, cieling, and portal, in the Temple-church, one hundred and sixty pounds. —— Towards the repair of St Thomas's church, fifty pounds. —— For an altar-piece in the church of St Werburgh, one hundred and sixty pounds. In 1702, he gave to the Mint work-house, for employing the poor, two hundred pounds. And for placing out poor boys and girls apprentices, two hundred pounds more. He gave yearly sixty pounds, to the charity-schools in the parishes of St Philip and St Jacob, St Thomas and Redcliff, St James's, and to several erected in other places. And left by will, to the charity-schools erected in the parishes of St Philip and Jacob, ten pounds; of St Thomas and Redcliffe, ten pounds; of St Augustine and St Michael, ten pounds; of St James, ten pounds. And to each of these ten pounds yearly, to be continued for twelve years after his death. All this in Bristol.

[*I*] *He gave six thousand pounds, for the augmentation of sixty small livings.*] This gift at first was four thousand pounds, to which he afterwards added the other two thousand pounds. No more than a hundred pounds, was to be given to one living *The distribution was to be after this* manner: any living that was entitled to Queen Anne's bounty might have this too, on condition, that every parish, which did receive this, should be obliged to raise one hundred pounds, to be added to the hundred pounds allowed by Mr Colston. Many livings have had the grant of this bounty from Mr Colston (3).

(3) See Ecton's *Liber Valorum*, &c. edit. 1728, in the beginning.

[*K*] *He left moreover very handsome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died.*] He bequeathed for the education and cloathing of twelve boys and twelve girls, in that place; to be continued for twelve years after his death, yearly forty five pounds; amounting in the whole to five hundred and forty pounds. Moreover, he gave eighty-five pounds (as many as he was years old) to be distributed to eighty-five poor men and women there, to each twenty shillings, at the time of his deceafe.

[*L*] *He gave likewise to eighteen charity-schools in several parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceafe, to each school yearly, five pounds, &c.*] Those eighteen charity-schools were: —— In Berkshire; at Longcottin, in the parish of Shrevenham: at Shrevenham: at Farrington: and at Stanford. —— In Devonshire; at Plymouth: and at Barnstable. —— In Dorsetshire; to one at Dorchester set up by Madam Strangeways. —— In Hamshire; to one at Alton. —— In Kent, at Stroud near Rochester: and at Chislehurst near Bromley. —— In Middlesex; at Highgate: and at Brentford. —— In Northamptonshire; to one at Kettering —— In Oxfordshire; to one at Bradwell, if the inhabitants thereof can maintain twenty-five boys. —— In Somersetshire; at Chewstoke: at Froom: at Farmborough. —— In Wiltshire; to one at Box near Bath (4).

(4) See Dr Harcourt's Sermon, as above.

[*M*] *Where*

ordered, that poor house-keepers, sick, and decayed persons, should be sought out as the fittest objects for his charity. In building his hospitals and alms-houses, he showed, that his judgment could not be imposed upon by the workmen, as to the goodness of the materials, or the value of their work. For, as he understood those things very well, he drove what they would call a hard bargain; and paid all the workmen, himself, if present, or else ordered them to be paid, every Saturday night. If they worked longer than their customary hours, he paid them proportionably; if otherwise, he deducted; but never allowed any thing for drink. It is observable, that all the Colston-family were animated with a spirit of charity and piety. Several of Mr Edward Colston's publick benefactions were designed, and some actually begun, by his brothers; which he afterwards confirmed and enlarged (c). Some years before his decease he retired from business, and came and lived at London, and at Mortlake, where he had a country-seat. At this last place he died October 11, 1721, aged eighty-four years, eleven months, and nine days: and was buried the 29th of the same month, in the church of All Saints in Bristol, where there is a monument erected to his memory [M]. His charity was his most shining virtue [N], as is abundantly manifest from those many instances of it mentioned above. As for the rest of his character; he was a constant communicant with the Church of England, a most zealous advocate for her doctrines, worship, and discipline, in opposition to Popery as well as Fanaticism, and a most lively and exemplary son of it (d). He was, likewise, a person of great temperance, meekness, evenness of temper, patience, and mortification. He always looked chearful and pleasant, scarce ever in the least discomposed: and was naturally of a very peaceable and quiet disposition. He was remarkably circumspect in all his actions; always observed the same regularity in keeping his accounts, as when he began the world, and was a very good master of book-keeping (e). His strength continued vigorous, his understanding clear, his apprehension quick, and his judgment sound, long beyond the age of man, even to reach almost to the end of his eighty-fifth year, without decay in his understanding, without labour or sorrow (f).

(c) From the information, as above.

(d) Dr Harcourt, ubi supra.

(e) From the information as above.

(f) Dr Harcourt, ubi supra.

[M] *Where there is a monument erected to his memory.*] The inscription thereon, contains an enumeration of his publick charities, already mentioned in this article. Then on the pedestal, or base, is added as follows:

'Edward, the son of William Colston, Esq; and Sarah his wife, was born in this city Nov. 2, 1636, died at Mortlake in Surrey Octob. 11, 1721, and lies buried near this monument.'

[N] *His charity was his most shining virtue.*] And so extensive was it, that, as Dr Harcourt observes (5), 'To do justice to his character, would oblige one to enumerate almost every kind of charity, whereby we can promote the glory of God, or relieve the necessities of our fellow-creatures. Scarcely any sort of temporal calamity escaped his charitable assistance; nor is there scarcely one spiritual want, towards the removing of which he did not piously and freely afford his contribution. In short, the charities which have taken either their foundation or improvement from his open hand, are so numerous, that the variety will appear so great as to surprize; and the immenseness of the sums expended in them will be judged extreamly large, when it shall be considered, that they are the charity of one private person. From his bountiful benefactions, the ignorance of the young, the miseries of the infirm, and the helpless necessities of the old, are removed, eased, and relieved.' C

(5) Sermon, as above.

COMBER, or CUMBER (THOMAS) a considerable Divine in the XVIIth Century [A], was born in Westram in Kent, in the year 1645 (a), being the son of James Cumber of that parish. He was educated in grammar learning in his native place, by Thomas Walter, and William Holland Vicars of Westram. At fourteen years of age, on the 18th of April 1659, he was admitted into Sidney-Sussex-College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Edmund Matthews, *B. D.* The 16th of January 1662-3, he was elected Scholar of that house; and the next day had his grace in college for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b): which he accordingly took and compleated in the university (c). On the 26th of May 1666, he had likewise his grace for the degree of Master of Arts (d). It moreover appears, that he was created Doctor in Divinity between the years 1676 and 1679; but as his name doth not occur in any of our university-registers, it is therefore probable, that he had that degree conferred upon him at Lambeth. On the 5th of July 1677, he was collated by Archbishop Sterne to the Prebend of Holme in the cathedral church of York (e); which he quitted, the 19th of July 1681, for the Prebend of Fenton in the same church (f). The 19th of January 1683-4, he was also collated to the Præcentorship (g). Upon the deprivation of Dr Dennis Granville, he was nominated April 23, 1691, to succeed him in the Deanery of Durham; whereupon he resigned his Præcentorship of York (h). He was Chaplain to Anne Princess of Denmark, and to King William and Queen Mary. He died November 25, 1699, in the fifty-fifth year of

(a) This appears from his age at the time of his death. See his epitaph below.

(b) All this is taken from a Memorandum entered into Sydney-college books.

(c) From the University Register, communicated by Dr W. Richardson.

(d) Dr W. Richardson could not find that he subscribed; and therefore questions whether he compleated this degree in the university.

(e) Survey of the cathedral of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Esq; Lond. 1727, 4to, p. 143.

(f) Ibid. p. 134.

(g) Ibid. p. 77.

(h) Ibid. p. 256, 77; and J. Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 352.

[A] *A considerable Divine in the XVIIth century.*] His surname, as printed in his works, is *Comber*; but it is written *Cumber*, in the admission-book of Sidney-college. He must not be confounded with another Dr Thomas Comber, who lived in the same century, and was of Trinity-college in Cambridge. This last was born in Sussex, Jan. 1, 1575; admitted Scholar of Trinity-college, May 11, 1593; Fellow of the same, October 2, 1597; Junior Dean, Octob. 2, 1608; Preacher, Octob. 16, 1609; Greek Examiner, Octob. 2, 1611; Chief Reader, Octob. 2, 1612; Senior Dean, Octob. 2, 1618, 1619, and 1625; Senior Treasurer, Dec. 13, 1620, and Dec. 20, 1621; appointed Dean of Carlisle, Aug. 28, 1630; and sworn in Master of Trinity-college, Octob. 12, 1631 (1). He writ 'An Historical Vindication of the Divine Right of Tithes, &c.' against Mr Selden's History of Tithes, 4to. In 1642, he was imprisoned, plundered, and deprived of all his preferments. He died Feb. 28, 1653, at Cambridge, and was buried March 3, in St Botulph's church in that town (2).

(1) From the College Registry.

(2) Br. Willis, as above, amongst the Deans of Carlisle. For a fuller account of him, see D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 447, and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 9.

[B] There

(i) From his epitaph.

of his age (i); and was buried at Stonegrave in Yorkshire, of which it seems he was Rector. There is a tombstone on his grave, with an inscription [B]. He was author of several works, chiefly on the Common-Prayer; in which he shows great piety, and very extensive learning: being well read in sacred and prophane authors, both ancient and modern. Those works of his, are, I. ' A Scholastical History of the Primitive and ' general Use of Liturgies in the Christian Church; together with an Answer to Mr ' David Clarkson's late Discourse concerning Liturgies.' Lond. 1690; dedicated to King William and Queen Mary. II. ' A Companion to the Temple: or, a Help to Devo' tion in the Use of the Common-Prayer.' Part I. On Morning and Evening Prayer; Part II. On the Litany, with the occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings [C]. III. ' A ' Companion to the Altar, or, an Help to the worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper, ' by Discourses and Meditations upon the whole Communion-Office [D].' IV. ' A brief ' Discourse upon the Offices of Baptism, Catechism, and Confirmation [E].' Printed at the end of the Companion to the Altar. V. ' A Discourse on the occasional Offices in ' the Common-Prayer, *viz.* Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, ' Churching of Women, and the Commination [F].' VI. ' A Discourse upon the Man' ner and Form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' Lond. 1699, *8vo.* dedicated to Archbishop Tennison. VII. ' Short Discourses upon the whole Common-Prayer, ' designed to inform the Judgment and excite the Devotion of such as daily use the same. ' Chiefly by way of paraphrase [G]. Lond. 1684, *8vo.* dedicated to Anne Princess of Denmark, to whom the author was Chaplain. VIII. ' Roman Forgeries in the Councils ' during the first Four Centuries. Together with an Appendix concerning the Forgeries ' and Errors in the Annals of Baronius [H].' Lond. 1689, *4to.* He is said, in his epitaph

[B] *There is a tomb-stone on his grave, with an inscription.*] Which is as follows: *M. S. Siste, viator, gradum, mora non erit dispendium scire, quanti Viri venerandos premis Cineres, Exuvias mortales (perenni Felicitati maturas) heic de poni voluit* Thomas Comber, S. T. P. *grande Nomen, pluribus haud opus. Vir Pietate, Eruditione, Ingenio, Judicio, ceterisq; Animi dotibus clarus; majore vero (fingentem non audis panegyrin ob Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ causam) quoad Doctrinam, Cultum, Disciplinam, contra Novatores omnes Scriptis feliciter defensor, dignus haud Simplici Marmore. Gulielmo & Mariæ Principibus illustrissimis à Sacris, Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis per decennium, breve nimis, Decanus; ad maxima quæque capessenda idoneus, adque altiora munera promovendus, nisi publicis votis obstitisset Mors invida. —— Plura, licet meritis debita, non capiet Marmor: probis omnibus Luctum & sui desiderium relinquens, decessit 25 die Novembris,* 1699 *Ann. Salutis, Ætatis* 55. *Provectiore Senio, modo visum Deo, dignus* (3).

(3) Dr. Willis, among the Deans of Durham, p. 256, 257.

[C] *With the occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings.*] Printed in two volumes *8vo*, 1679. His general method in this work, is, to give, *first*, an analysis of each part: *secondly*, an explanation of it: *thirdly*, a paraphrase; and, *lastly*, a meditation upon it.

[D] *A Companion to the Altar, &c.*] It is dedicated by the author to his patron Richard Archbishop of York —— To whom, as he observes, he was obliged to make this tender by his condition and his duty, by gratitude and affection; —— having first received the Holy Order of Priesthood, and the power of dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his Grace's hands.——He observes, in the same place, that ' There is nothing more useful to the friends of ' this Church, nor more convincing to the dissenters ' from it, than to present her pure and primitive order ' of worship in it's natural and lovely splendor.'—— The *Imprimatur* bears date January 21, 1673-4. It was so well received, that a fourth edition came out in 1685, within the space of eleven years. The whole is divided into four parts, containing learned observations, and then paraphrases, and meditations upon each branch of the Communion-Office.

[E] *A Discourse upon the Offices of Baptism, Catechism, and Confirmation.*] The author dedicates it to Dr Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury: and says, ' it will contribute to the reputation of these tracts, to ' be ushered in with so worthy a name, and add to ' their author's character, to be reckoned among the ' number of your friends.'

[F] *A Discourse on the occasional Offices, &c.*] First printed in 1676, *8vo.* These four last pieces, were re-printed together in one volume, fol. 1701, divided into four parts. They are dedicated to King William.

[G] *Short Discourses upon the whole Common-Prayer, &c.*] He tells us in his Dedication, that the importunity of his friends had engaged him to write these shorter Discourses, for the use of those who wanted time to consider the larger work, *i.e.* his Companion to the Temple and Altar. As for the method and design of it, First, the Original and Antiquity of every part of Common-Prayer is therein declared. Secondly, the method of each several piece is cleared. Thirdly, the sense of all is opened by divers plain and natural observations on the matter of these offices, to help all to perform them with a devotion suitable to their great worth. And it is designed, 1. To instruct those who did not understand, or rather not observe, these excellencies to be in the Common-Prayer. 2. To furnish the devout sons of the Church with profitable meditations, to enlarge upon in their minds in the use of these prayers, and to put them into a right frame for saying them affectionately, and with a holy importunity. 3. It is designed to convince the mistaken Dissenters if they will hear reason; if not, to discover to others the injustice and malice of their clamours against it (4).

(4) This is the account given of it by the author, in the Preface.

[H] *Roman forgeries in the Councils, &c.*] In the introduction he observes, that in the allowed Romish editions of the Councils (those of Binius, *Colon.* 1618, and of Labbé and Cossart, *Paris*, 1671) ' there is ' such adding and expunging, such altering and disguising things in the body of the Councils, and such ' excusing, falsifying, and shuffling in the notes, that ' a judicious reader will soon perceive, those venerable ' records truly set down and explained, do not favour ' them. But these corruptions are carried on with such ' confidence and cunning, that an *unexperienced and unwary student*, may be imposed on by this specious ' shew of venerable antiquity: for their sakes therefore ' he thought it necessary to take a short view of that ' fraud and policy which is so commonly made use of ' in those editions of the Councils which pass through ' the Roman mint.'——Then he says he hopes ' *this undertaking* will be many ways useful: First, It will tend ' to the ease of those who intend to read over the tomes ' of the *Councils*, or the Annals of Baronius, and save ' them much time and pains by presenting the principal ' errors of those great volumes at one view, which they ' would spend a long time in searching after, if they ' were to gather them up as they lie dispersed. Secondly, It may be very useful to those who desire ' to be rightly informed in the controversies between us ' and the Roman Church, because it will give them a ' clear prospect of what Councils and other antiquities ' are authentick, and may be allowed for evidence in ' this dispute; wherein our adversaries have so little ' regard to their own honour, that generally one half ' of their evidence is such as they have either forged or ' corrupted. Thirdly, It will be necessary (by way of ' antidote) to prepare those, who by reading books so ' full of infection, may by these plausible falsifications ' be

epitaph, to have been a person eminent for piety, learning, ingenuity, judgment, and other excellent qualities: and a strenuous defender of the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the Church of England.

'be in danger to be seduced into a great esteem of the 'opinions and practices of the Roman Church; when 'they find so many seemingly ancient tracts and Coun-'cils brought in to justify her in all things, and see (by 'this false light) all Ecclesiastical History and Records 'so modelled, as to persuade their readers, that in the 'purest Christian times, all things were believed and 'done in the Catholick Church just as they are now at 'Rome. But when it shall appear, that all this is a 'continued series and train of impostures, it will ren-'der their notions and practices, not only suspected, 'but odious, as needing such vile and base artifices, 'to make them seem agreeable to true Antiquity.

C

COMPTON (WILLIAM) ancestor of the present noble Earls of Northampton and Wilmington, was the son of Edmund de Compton [*A*], and born in the year 1481 (*a*). The first foundation of his succeeding honours and riches, was, his being made, in the eleventh year of his age (*b*), one of the Pages to Henry Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Henry VIII: who, as soon as he came to the Crown, made him Groom of his Bed-chamber (*c*); and, before the expiration of that year, chief Gentleman of his Bed-chamber (*d*). He grew so much in favour with that King, that he was appointed by him, in the second year of his reign 1510, Groom of the Stole (*e*); and, soon after, Constable of Sudley-castle in Gloucestershire (*f*); as he was also of Gloucester-castle, in 1511 (*g*). In consideration of his good and faithful services, he obtained, in 1512, November the 7th, a special grant, to himself and his heirs, of an honourable augmentation to his Arms (*h*), out of the King's own royal ensigns and devices [*B*]: and, on the 4th of February next ensuing, the King conferred on him the office of Usher of the Black Rod, with an allowance of twelve pence a day for that service (*i*). He had likewise, the same year, by his Majesty's favour, a large grant, to himself and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten (*k*), of several Lands and Manors [*C*]. In 1513, being a Knight, he had a commission, to retain men in any of those Lordships belonging to the Monasteries whereof he was then Steward, for the service of the King in his wars (*l*); and, in the expedition to Terouenne and Tournay the same year, led the rere-guard of the King's army (*m*). Shortly after, he was made one of the Knights, for the King's body (*n*); as also Chancellor of Ireland, with liberty to execute that office by a sufficient Deputy (*o*). But he did not hold it long; for, two years after, namely, in 1515, it was given to the Archbishop of Dublin (*p*). In 1514, and 1517, he had a grant to himself and his wife, and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten (*q*), of several manors and estates [*D*]. The same year, namely, 1517, he was appointed Constable of Hanley-castle in Worcestershire (*r*): And in 1518, was ordered to provide fifty archers for the King's service in his wars (*s*). In 1519, he obtained licence to make a park at his manor of Compton Vineyatys, or Vineyard, in Warwickshire; and, for an addition to the same, to inclose two thousand acres more, thereto adjoining (*t*). Upon the attainder of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, he obtained a grant of the manor, castle, and park of Maxstoke in Warwickshire, as also of the manors of Scotton and Brereton in Yorkshire, in reversion, after the death, or surrender, of Simon Coniers (*u*). In 1523, he was employed with the Earl

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 401. That he was born in 1481, is evident from hence, because he was eleven years old in 1492, ibid.

(*b*) Esch. 9 Hen. VII. in Warr.

(*c*) Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 13.

(*d*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, in Complete Hist. of Engl. edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 4.

(*e*) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 2, m. 10.

(*g*) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*h*) Dugdale, ubi supra.

(*i*) Pat 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 1. in dorso.

(*m*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, as above, p. 16.

(*n*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*o*) Ibid. m. 29. Ar. Collins says, that office was given him for life; Peerage of Engl. edit. 1735, 8*vo*, Vol. II. P. i. p. 109 — But what follows shews the contrary.

(*p*) Pat. 7 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*q*) Pat. 6 Hen. VIII. p. 2; and 9 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*r*) Pat. 9 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*s*) Cotton. Libr. Otho E. 11.

(*t*) Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*u*) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3, b.

[*A*] *Was the son of* Edmund *de* Compton.] This noble family derive their descent from *Turchill* the son of Alwin; who, in the time of Edward the Confessor, resided at Warwick, of which county he was Earl. At the time of the Norman conquest, not joining with Harold, he continued in the possession of his own lands, among which was the Lordship of Compton, and forty seven manors in divers counties. By Leverunia his second wife he had Osbert, who wrote himself *of Compton*, and was ancestor of the present noble family. His second son was *Philip*; to whom succeeded his son and heir *Thomas*, that lived in the reign of Henry the third; and whose eldest son was *Philip*; father of *Robert* de Compton, who was knighted before the 31st of Edward the second; and was succeeded by *Robert*, father of *Thomas* de Compton. He was one of the Coroners for Warwickshire, in the 23d of Edward the third, an office of great account in those days. It was enjoyed after him by his son and heir *Edmund*, who died in the reign of Henry IV. He had issue six sons, whereof *William* the eldest, dying about the year 1431, left issue *Robert* his son and heir, who died in 1480. His son, and successor was *Edmund*, who dying in 1492, left issue by Joan his wife, daughter and heir of Walter Aylworth, Esq; *William*, who is the subject of this article (1).

[*B*] *Out of the King's own royal ensigns and devices.*] Namely, 'a Lyon passant gardant, or.' And for the crest, 'a demi-dragon erazed, gules, within a coronet 'of gold, upon a torse argent and vert:' as by a special instrument under the King's own sign-manual, bearing date Novemb. 7, 1512, appeareth (2).

[*C*] *Of several Lands and Manors.*] Of which these are the names. The manor of Wyke in Middlesex, formerly belonging to George Duke of Clarence: Lovel's Inn in Pater-Noster-Row, London; with divers tenements pertaining thereto: The manor of Aldwike, or Holand's, with Baro-Shanke wood, in Northamptonshire; twenty four acres of meadow in Brantsy; twenty four in Swillingholm; all in Aldwincle, (or Aldwike) in the same county: also the manor of Deyncourt in Buckinghamshire, part of the possessions of Francis Lord Lovel; with the manors of Rocholds, Cobham, and Rishams, part of the lands of Sir Richard Charlton, Knt (3).

[*D*] *In* 1514, *and* 1517, *he had a grant — of several manors and estates.*] Namely, in 1514, the manors of Elcombe, and Ufcote, in Wiltshire; and the manor of Pole-place in Berkshire, part of the possessions of Francis Viscount Lovel. In 1517, the manors of Salthrope, Chilton, and Blagrave, in Wiltshire; two hundred acres of pasture, called Blagrove, with their appurtenances in Blagrove and Wroughton, in the same county. Likewise the manor of Wythynden, or Myhunden in the parishes of Wroughton, and Lidiard-Tregoze, in the same county; the manor of Elcomb, with the park: the manors of Watlescote, and Westcote; one hundred acres of land, and sixty acres of pasture, in Wigleste, and Wroughton: The manor of Uffecote, two messuages, a thousand acres of land, a thousand acres of pasture, three hundred acres of meadow, and three hundred acres of wood in Broad-Hinton, all in the same county. And eight pounds yearly rent, issuing out of the manor of Denford, in Berkshire, late Francis Viscount Lovel's attainted (4).

(1) See The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated by Sir Will. Dugdale, second edit. 1730, Vol. I. p. 547, &c. and Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, Vol. II. P. i. edit. 1735, p. 107, &c.

(2) Dugdale, ubi supra.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 402.

[*E*] Sir

(w) Polydore Vergil, in Hen. VIII. Hollinshed's Chr. edit. 1587, Vol. III. p. 878.

(x) Pat. 17 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 2.

(y) In Latin *Burcifer Regis*.

(z) Leland. Itin. Vol. IV. fol. 166, MS. Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 402.

(a) Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, ubi supra, p. 109. Hollingshed, as above, p. 906.

(b) Hollinshed, ibid, and Lord Herbert, p. 99.

(c) Dugdale, ubi supra.

(d) Pat. 20 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(e) Esch. 37 Hen. VIII.

(f) See Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1586, and the Life of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 1725, 8vo, p. 295.

(g) See Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 403.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Pat. 15 Jac. p. 3.

(k) Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 110.

(l) Pat. 16 Jac. p. 11.

Earl of Surrey, and the Marquis of Dorset, &c. to make incursions into Scotland. This ungrateful office was put upon him by the contrivance of Cardinal Wolsey; who observing, how much Sir William was in the King's favour, and fearing he should diminish his authority, procured him to be thus sent into the wars against the Scots. For, Sir William could not bear the Cardinal's presumption, in taking so much upon him to the derogation of the King's prerogative; therefore the Cardinal thought, in his absence, to have work'd him out of favour. But he could not, for the King recalled him soon after to Court (w): and, in 1525, constituted him Keeper of his money and jewels (x), which is the same we now call the Privy Purse (y). Sir William built a very noble house at his manor of Compton [E]: and, in the chapel, erected a beautiful window towards the east; in the painted glass of which, most curiously done, was represented the passion of Jesus Christ. And in the lower part, Sir William himself and his Lady, kneeling, in their surcoats of Arms (z). He died of the sweating sickness, in the year 1528, May 30, aged forty-seven (a); being at that time of the Privy-Chamber to the King, who was then also in great danger (b). His body was buried at Compton; as he had desired in his Will, bearing date March 8, 1522; in which he also desired, that his Lady should be interred in the same place: and, that a tomb of alabaster should be made, by the direction of his Executors, for his father, and set over his grave, with his Arms cut thereon. Likewise, that his mother's body should be taken up from the place where she lay buried, and deposited by his father. Moreover, he appointed that his Executors should found in his name two chantries at Compton; and that every Priest therein should have a yearly salary of ten marks (c) [F]. He married Werburge, daughter and heir of Sir John Brereton, Knt. and widow of Sir Francis Cheney, Knt. by whom he had issue

PETER; who being under age at the time of his father's decease, was put under the Wardship of Cardinal Wolsey (d). He married Anne daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury; but dying before he came of age, on the 30th of January 1543, he left only one son, forty-nine weeks and five days old (e); named

HENRY, who was knighted February 10, 1566, by the Earl of Leicester; and, on the 8th of May 1572, *summoned by writ to the House of Lords*, by the title of Baron Compton of Compton. In 1586, he was one of the Peers for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (f). He is supposed to have died in the year 1589 (g). By his first Lady, Frances daughter to Francis Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, he had, among other children [G]

WILLIAM, his eldest son and heir, who was summoned to Parliament in the thirty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the Privy-Council to that Queen. On the 5th of January 1604, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Charles I (h); and was constituted, some years after, President of the Council for the Marches of Wales (i), and Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Warwick (k). On the 2d of August 1618, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Northampton (l); and on the 21st of April 1629, installed a Knight of the Garter. He died June 24, 1630: leaving issue, by Elizabeth his Lady, sole daughter and heir of Sir John Spencer Alderman of London, Spencer, of whom we shall speak in the next article.

[E] *Sir William built a very noble house at his manor of Compton.*] The greatest part of the brick used in the building of it, was brought from Fulbrook in the same county (of Warwick) where there stood a ruinous castle, of which the King had granted him the custody. This castle he pulled down, making use of the materials for that building (5).

(5) Leland, and Dugdale, ubi sup.

[F] *And that every priest therein should have a yearly salary of ten marks.*] For the proving of this Will, Cardinal Wolsey (who, under colour of his Legantine authority, had wrested the probate of wills from the Prerogative court of Canterbury,) exacted no less than a thousand marks; as was publickly declared by Sir Henry Guilford, one of the executors. And this extortion was the cause of making the statute 21 Hen. VIII. ch. v. wherein the fees to be taken for the Probate of testaments, were settled and limited (6).

(6) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 138.

[G] *Among other children.*] His children by the Lady *Frances Hastings* besides William here mentioned, were, *Margaret*, married to Henry Lord Mordaunt; and *Thomas*, who, on the 4th of March, 1606-7, was knighted; he married Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, second son of William Beaumont of Cole-Overton in Leicestershire; which Mary was by King James I. created Countess of Buckingham, July 1, 1618, being the mother of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of King James, and King Charles I. ——The second wife of Henry Lord Compton, was *Anne* daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe in Northamptonshire, Knt. by whom he had, Sir *Henry* Compton of Bramble-Teigh in Sussex, Knight of the Bath; Cecily; Mary; and Margaret (7). C

(7) The British Compendium, edit. 1731, Vol. I. P. i. p. 312.

COMPTON (SPENCER) only son of the former [A], and second Earl of Northampton, deserves to be particularly remembred. He was made Knight of the Bath, on the 3d of November 1616, at the time when Charles Duke of York (afterwards King Charles I.) was created Prince of Wales; with whom he became a great favourite. In 1622, he accompanied him into Spain, waiting on him in quality of Master of his Robes and Wardrobe, and had the honour to deliver all his presents, amounting, as was computed, to sixty-four thousand pounds. At the Coronation of that Prince, he attended as

[A] SPENCER *only son of the former.*] Besides him, William Lord Compton had two daughters: *Elizabeth*, married to Robert Maxwell Earl of Nithisdale in Scotland; and *Anne* to Ulick Bourk, Lord Dunkellin, son and heir to Richard Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland, and Earl of St Albans in England (1).

(1) Ibid. p. 313.

[B] Though

as Master of the Robes; and, in 1639, waited on his Majesty in his expedition against the Scots. He was likewise among those Noblemen, who, on the 4th of May 1641, took the Protestation to defend the true Protestant Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, and his Majesty's Royal person, honour, and estate; as also the power and privilege of Parliaments, and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject (a). In 1642, he waited upon his Majesty at York; and was one of the Lords who subscribed, the 15th of June the same year, a Declaration at that place, wherein they professed before God, and testified to all the world, that they were fully persuaded, that his Majesty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament: but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion; the just privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, and the law, peace, and prosperity of the kingdom (b). Having, after that, often endeavoured to compose the unhappy jealousies in the nation; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, and that the Parliament were raising forces to distress such as came not into its measures, he thought it more for his Majesty's service to retire to his native country: where he soon got together such a number of Gentlemen and Soldiers, as awed the country into the King's allegiance, drove the Lord Brook out of Warwickshire, who endeavoured to secure that county for the Parliament; and in twelve skirmishes put a great stop to the Earl of Essex's rendezvous at Northampton (c). After King Charles I. had set up his standard at Nottingham, he raised, one of the first, at his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot (d): and, at the battle between Keinton and Edge-hill, brought two thousand of the best disciplined men in the whole army. When that battle (which happened on the 23d of October 1642) was over, the King's army having taken Banbury, a garrison was placed therein under the command of the Earl of Northampton (e): who, by his vigilance and conduct, performed many successful services, and was the life of his Majesty's cause in those parts. He secured most of the arms, ammunition, and garrisons in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Northamptonshire; and settling an Association, made the country from garrison to garrison one line of communication (f). Afterwards, with a strong party of horse, and dragoons, from his garrison at Banbury, he relieved the town of Stafford, that was besieged by Sir John Gell; and putting himself into that town, beat up a quarter of the enemies, in which he took and killed above an hundred of their horse. But Sir John Gell having joined Sir William Brereton, and they being near three thousand foot and horse, with a good train of artillery, moved back towards Stafford; imagining the Earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls. And it happened according to their expectation: for, on Sunday the 19th of March 1642-3, as soon as he heard they were advancing towards the town, he marched out with his party, consisting in all of near one thousand horse, dragoons, and foot, to encounter them. He found the enemy in very good order, expecting him, on a plain called Cranock-green, Salt-heath, or Hopton-heath (g), about two or three miles from Stafford. Though their number was more than double that of his Lordship's [B], yet the Heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than musquet-shot from the enclosure on each side, and the number of his horse at least equal to theirs, he resolved to charge them: and accordingly did, with so good success, that he totally routed one part of their horse. Rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horse, which stood more in shelter of their foot, and so totally dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field. He took likewise from them eight pieces of cannon [C]. In this second charge, his Lordship being engaged in the execution, very near, or among, their foot, had his horse killed under him [D]: so that his own body of horse, pursuing the chase with two much fury, he was left encompassed by the enemy. After he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the Colonel of foot, who first came near him: And, after his head-piece was struck off with the but-end of a musquet, they offered him quarter; which he refused, answering, 'That he scorned to 'take

(a) British Compendium, by Fr. Nicholls, ubi supra.

(b) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731. 8vo, Vol. I. Part. ii. p. 656.

(c) British Compendium, as above.

(d) Lord Clarendon, as above, Vol. II. Part i. p. 152.

(e) Ibid. p. 58.

(f) British Compendium, as above, p. 314.

(g) It is called by all those names in our Historians. See Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. V. p. 152. Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150; and J. Vicars's Parliamentary Chron. edit. 1644, 4to, p. 287.

[B] *Though their number was more than double that of his Lordship's.*] We are assured, that the number of their men, was 'near three thousand foot and horse, 'with a good train of artillery (2).' Some of the Parliament-Historians (3) affirm indeed, that Sir John Gell's army consisted but of about fifteen hundred, horse and foot; and the Earl's of about twelve hundred: tho' they mention afterwards the coming of Sir William Brereton to Gell's assistance, before the fight was ended. But they do not express the *number* of the forces he brought; in which point, their silence seems to be culpable, as being designed to mislead the reader. Such instances are very frequent in Vicars's Chronicle; which indeed is only a heap of falsehood and misrepresentations, as well as of most shocking hypocrisy, and canting nonsense. Honest Mr Whitelock tells us plainly, and without disguise (4), that Sir John Gell and Sir William Brereton came with three thousand horse and foot.

[C] *And so totally dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field, &c.*] This is the Lord Clarendon's account. And Dr Ryves more particularly informs us (*) that in this fight above three hundred of the rebels were taken and killed; at the least, two hundred more wounded; above three hundred of their horse taken, with four pieces of cannon, and a case of Drakes. And on the King's side, some few slain. On the other hand Vicars affirms (5), that the Parliament-forces repulsed the Earl's horse, ——and at least an hundred and forty Cavaliers were slain with him; with the loss of eight or ten only of the Parliamentarians. And 'by the timely coming in of Sir Willi'am Brereton, before the fight was ended, Sir John Gell 'obtained a glorious victory, and drove his enemies 'quite out of the field.' Such are the frequent contradictions between Historians of different parties. But, on which side the victory inclined, we may judge by the consequence. And that it was in the King, is evident by the Earl of Northampton's forces recovering Lichfield soon after; which the others would never have permitted them to do, had they been victorious.

[D] *Had his horse killed under him.*] One Historian tells us that, 'being unhappily fallen from his horse 'among coney-burrows, he was barbarously murthe'red (6).'

(2) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150. The Hist. of the Commons War of England, Lond. 1662, 8vo, p. 29.

(3) Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, as above, p. 287; and The History of the Parliament of England, by Tho. May, Lond. 1647, fol. B. iii. p. 80. He copies Vicars in this and many other facts.

(4) Memorials of the English Affairs, &c. edit. 1732, p. 69.

(*) Memorable Occurrences in 1642, at the end of *Mercurius Rustic.* edit. 1646, 8vo.

(5) Ubi supra, p. 287, 288.

(6) A Short View of the Troubles in England, &c. by Sir Will. Dugdale, Oxf. 1681, fol. p. 118.

[E] *Sir*

'take quarter from such base rogues and rebels, as they were.' Upon which, he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in his face (b). He was then in the forty-second year of his age (i). The enemy refused to deliver the body to the young Earl of Northampton, and would not even permit his Chirurgeons to come and embalm it, unless he would deliver, in exchange for it, all the ammunition, prisoners, and cannon he had taken in the late battle (k). However, it was delivered up at last, and buried in All-hallows Church in Derby, in the same vault with his relation the old Countess of Shrewsbury (l). As to this noble Lord's character, ; we are informed, that he was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the ease, plenty, and luxury, antecedent to our unhappy dissensions, indulged himself in that licence which was then thought necessary to great fortunes. But, from the beginning of the civil wars, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. From the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man was more punctual upon command, no man more active and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardships, as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger; and would often say, That if he out-lived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death (m). His Lordship married Mary daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, Knt. by whom he had two daughters, and six sons. The daughters were, *Anne* married to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley of Whitby in Yorkshire, Bart. and *Penelope* to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, eldest son of Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the Secretaries of State to King Charles I, and King Charles II (n). Of the sons, who were all highly esteemed for their eminent abilities, and all inherited their father's courage, loyalty, and virtue; five of them received the honour of Knighthood, namely, *James* the eldest son and heir; Sir *Charles*; Sir *William* [E]; Sir *Spencer*; and Sir *Francis*: and *Henry*, the sixth, and youngest, late Bishop of London, was no less conspicuous. At the battle of Hopton-heath, the three eldest, who were officers under their father, charged that day in the field, when Sir James, the eldest, received a shot in one of his legs (o). At the battle of Edge-hill he was absent; but Sir Charles, and Sir William, tho' neither of them was twenty, charged in the troop with their father; and Sir Spencer, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation cried, That he was not exposed to the same hazard as his brothers (p).

(b) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150, 151.

(i) British Compendium, as above, p. 315.

(k) Lord Clarendon, ibid. Vicars's Chron. as above.

(l) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 403.

(m) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151, 152.

(n) Dugdale; and British Compendium, as above.

(o) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(p) British Compendium, as above, p. 315.

[E] *Sir William.*] This brave gentleman had the command of a regiment, wherewith he performed considerable service at the taking of Banbury, leading his men on to three attacks, and had two horses shot under him. Upon the surrender of the town and castle, he was made Lieutenant-Governor under his father; and on the 19th of July, 1644, when the Parliament's forces came before the town he returned answer to their summons; 'That he kept the castle for his Majesty, and as long as one man was left alive in it, willed them not to expect to have it delivered:' also on the 16th of September, they sending him another summons, he made answer, 'That he had formerly answered them, and wondered they should send again.' He was so vigilant in his station, that he countermined the enemy eleven times, and during the siege, which held thirteen weeks never went into bed, but by his example so animated the garrison, that tho' they had but two horses left uneaten, they would never suffer a summons to be sent to them, after the answer beforementioned was delivered. At length, his brother the Earl of Northampton raised the siege on the 26th of October, the very day of the month, on which both town and castle had been surrendered to the King two years before. Sir William continued Governor of Banbury, and performed many signal services for the King, till his Majesty left Oxford, and the whole kingdom was submitting to the Parliament; and then on the 8th of May, 1646, surrendered upon honourable terms. In 1648, he was Major-General of the King's forces at Colchester, where he was so much taken notice of for his admirable behaviour, that Oliver Cromwell called him *the sober young man, and the godly Cavalier*. At the Restoration of King Charles II. he was made one of the Privy-Council, and Master-General of the Ordnance; and died October 19, 1663, in the 39th year of his age, having married Elizabeth, widow of Lord Allington of Horsheath in Cambridge, with whom he lived twelve years, but left no issue (7). There is an epitaph erected to his memory in the church of Compton-Winyate (8). C

(7) *British Compendium*, as above, p. 316; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 113; and Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 542, 545.

(8) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwicksh. as above, p. 551.

COMPTON (JAMES) the eldest of the six sons last mentioned, and third Earl of Northampton, taking arms with his father for King Charles I, was distinguished for his bravery and conduct, and performed many gallant acts in those times of confusion. He was at the battle of Edge-hill, the taking of Banbury, &c (a). and waiting upon the King at Oxford, had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by that university, November 1, 1642 (b). The 19th of March following, he was in the engagement at Hopton-heath, where receiving a shot in one of his legs, he was obliged to quit the field (c). However, he was in a short time so well recovered of that wound, that on the 8th of April 1643, he was with Prince Rupert at the taking of Lichfield, and the surrender of the Close there, the 21st of the same month. Also May 6, the same year, he routed a party of the enemies of horse and foot (d) at Middleton-cheney in Northamptonshire, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt the taking of Banbury; and he defeated their horse, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners (e). He afterwards commanded the horse at the first battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643, and charged and put to flight the enemy's horse under Sir William Waller. On the 29th of June 1644, he was one of the Commanders at Cropredry-bridge fight, wherein Sir William Waller was routed again (f). Soon after he marched with the King into Cornwal; and at his return raised the siege of Banbury October 26, 1644, routing the Parliament forces, tho' their horse were much superior in number (g). Then joining the King, he relieved Donnington-castle; whereupon battle was offered to the enemy, who declined it, tho'

(a) Ibid. p. 319.

(b) Wood, Fast. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 22.

(c) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(d) Consisting of about 700 foot, and five troops of horse. Memorable Occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Rustic.*

(e) Ibid. Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. i. p. 245.

(f) Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 497, &c. The Commons War of England, &c. as above, p. 47.

(g) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 544. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 108.

tho' they had just before obtained advantages in the second fight at Newbury, the Earl being absent in raising the siege of Banbury (*b*). On the 18th of March 1644-5, he and his three brothers, routed a great body of the Parliamentarians horse of Northampton near Althorp, killed about thirty, and hurt many more, taking twenty-six prisoners (*i*). But in April 1645, he was defeated by Lieutenant-General Cromwell near Oxford, and several of his men were taken prisoners (*k*). After which, finding that his Majesty was over-powered by the Parliament, he resolved to go beyond sea, and obtained a pass from the House of Commons for that purpose (*l*). But, however, he seems to have compounded for his estates, and to have staid in the kingdom (*m*). Afterwards, the powers in being growing jealous of him, he was imprisoned; but discharged again, the 2d of November 1659, upon security given to live peaceably (*n*). On the 29th of May 1660, at the Restoration of King Charles II, he led a troop of two hundred Gentlemen, clothed in grey and blue: and, in the reign of that King, was of the Privy-Council, Constable of the Tower of London, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Warwick, and city of Coventry, Recorder of the same, and also of the towns of Northampton and Tamworth. He died at his seat of Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire, December 15, 1681, and was interred among his ancestors at Compton in the county of Warwick; which church being demolished in the civil wars, was rebuilt at his Lordship's sole expence, in 1665. He was married twice [*A*]. By his second Lady he had three sons, GEORGE, who succeeded him in his honours [*B*]; *James*, that died young; and *Spencer*, created January 11, 1727-8, Baron of Wilmington in Sussex, and May 12, 1730, Viscount Pevensey in the same county, and Earl of Wilmington (*o*).

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, ibid. p. 551. See also British Compendium, as above, p. 319.

(*i*) Memorable Occurrences at the end of *Mercurius Rusticus*.

(*k*) Whitelock, as above, p. 144.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 197, 200, 201, 202.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 204, 246.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 686.

(*o*) British Compendium, as above, p. 319, 320, 356.

[*A*] *He was married twice.*] His first Lady was, *Isabella*, one of the two daughters and coheirs to Richard Earl of Dorset; by whom he had issue two sons, William, and James, who both died in their childhood; and three daughters, Anne, and Isabella, which also died young, and Alathea married to Edward Hungerford, Esq; this first Lady died Octob. 14 1661. His second Lady, was, *Mary*, eldest daughter of Baptist Noel Viscount Campden, by whom he had three sons as mentioned above; and two daughters, Juliana who died young; and Mary married to Charles Sackville Earl of Dorset, mother of Lionel the present Duke of Dorset (1).

[*B*] GEORGE, *who succeeded him in his honours.*] His Lordship was of Christ-Church in Oxford, where he was created Master of Arts, February 18, 1681-2 (2). Tho' he was under age at the time of his father's death, he was notwithstanding, made Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Warwickshire. On Queen Anne's accession, he was sworn of her Privy-Council; and in 1712, appointed Constable of the Tower of London. His Lordship died April 15, 1727, and was buried at Compton with his ancestors. By his first Lady, *Jane*, youngest daughter of Sir Stephen Fox, Knt. which he married in 1686 (3), he had issue four sons; JAMES, the present Earl of Northampton; George, Member in this Parliament for Northampton, and one of the Lords of the Treasury: Stephen, who died young; and Charles, who on the 10th of May 1727, was appointed Consul at Lisbon, and Consul-General in the dominions of Portugal. He had also by her six daughters; Elizabeth, Mary, Jane, Anne, Penelope, and Margaret; of whom the second was married in April, 1709, to William Gore of Tring in Hertfordshire, Esq; and the fourth, on the 16th of October, 1729, to Sir John Rushout of Northwick, in Worcestershire, Bart. His second Lady, was, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Rushout of Northwick, Bart. relict of Sir George Thorold, Bart. who in 1719, was Lord Mayor of London; but by her he had no issue (4). C

(1) Dugdale, as above, p. 403; and British Compend. p. 319, 320.

(2) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II, col. 218.

(3) She died July 10, 1721.

(4) Dugdale, as above. British Compend. p. 320, 321; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 116, 117.

COMPTON (HENRY) Bishop of London in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, and one of the most eminent Prelates that ever sat in that See, was the sixth [*A*] and youngest son of Spencer the second Earl of Northampton, mentioned in the foregoing article. He was born at Compton (*a*) in the year 1632 (*b*). His father being unhappily slain in 1642-3, when this his youngest son was but ten years old, he was thereby deprived of that paternal care which is so necessary in that tender age. However, (notwithstanding that misfortune) he received an education suitable to his quality. When he had gone through the Grammar-schools, he was entered a Nobleman of Queen's College in Oxford, in the year 1649, and having continued there till about 1652, went and lived with his mother at Gryndon in Northamptonshire. Afterwards he travelled beyond sea (*c*), where he remained a considerable time; and examined the civil and ecclesiastical polities abroad, but the more he observed them, the more he liked the English constitution: He saw their manners, and was too wise to imitate them. However, what he thought valuable amongst them he brought home, and in particular retained their languages perfectly (*d*) [*B*]. After the Restoration of King Charles II, he returned to England; and a regiment of horse being raised about that time for the King's guard, of which the command was given to Aubrey Earl of Oxford, Mr Compton accepted of a Cornet's commission therein, either by his own choice, or the persuasion of friends. But, soon after, discovering a greater inclination to his studies than to a military life, he quitted that post;

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 968.

(*b*) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mention'd below.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. and Sermon preached at the cathedral of St Paul's, July 26, 1713, by Tho. Gooch, D.D. now Bishop of Ely.

(*d*) Dr Gooch, ibid.

[*A*] *Was the sixth.*] See above, in the article SPENCER COMPTON. Mr Boyer says by mistake, that he was *the fourth* son (1). We are told that he was 'in the field at Edgehill *in his cradle*; by which 'is understood, that he was carried to the camp for se'curity when very young (2).' But certainly he could not be there in his cradle: for he was then ten years old.

[*B*] *And in particular retained their languages perfectly.*] Dr Gooch informs us (3), that, 'The better 'to prepare him for that figure he was afterwards to 'make, he spent some years in travelling; not to suck 'in the maxims of foreign states, or to try the vices of 'foreign Courts; not before he knew our constitution 'in Church and State, and was able to defend it, and 'sure to stick to it. He observed and examined the Ci'vil and Ecclesiastical Polities abroad; he made them 'his study, but not his rule. The more he staid in 'France and Italy, &c. the more Englishman he was; 'he came home the better Statesman and the better 'Churchman; he was proof against all their arts, to 'debauch either his principles or his practices.' Whilst he was abroad, he is said to have trailed a pike in Flanders, under the Duke of York (4).

(1) Annual List of the Death of Eminent Persons, p. 61, at the end of The Hist. of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, fol.

(2) Life of Dr Henry Compton, Bishop of London, in The Lives of the English Bishops from the Restoration to the Revolution, by N. Salmon, LL.B. edit. 1731, 8vo, p. 300.

(3) Sermon, as above.

(4) Salmon, ibid.

post, and dedicated himself to the service of the Church (e). Accordingly he went to Cambridge, where he was created Master of Arts (f). Afterwards entring into Orders [C], and obtaining a grant of the next vacant Canonry of Christ-Church in Oxford, he was admitted Canon-Commoner of that college, in the beginning of the year 1666, by the advice of Dr John Fell then Dean of the same (g). The 7th of April next ensuing, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, as he stood at Cambridge (h): about which time, he was possessed of the Rectory of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, worth above five hundred pounds a year. Before that, he had a lesser benefice. In both he showed his great concern for the souls of men. He was constituted in 1667, Master of St Crosse's Hospital near Winchester, upon the death of Dr William Lewis [D]. On the 24th of May 1669, he was installed Canon of Christ-Church [E], in the room of Dr Richard Heylin deceased (i). Two days after (k), he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (l); and that of Doctor, the 28th of June following (m). Advancing daily in the King's favour and esteem, and in the opinion of all good men, he was, upon the translation of Dr Nathanael Crew from the Bishoprick of Oxford to that of Durham, nominated to succeed him in the See of Oxford: to which he was elected November 10, confirmed December 2, and consecrated at Lambeth December 6, 1674 (n). About July 1675, he was made Dean of the Royal Chapel, on the death of Dr Blandford Bishop of Worcester; and being the same year translated to the See of London [F], in the room of Dr Henchman deceased, was confirmed therein the 18th of December (o). On the 22d of January 1675-6, King Charles, who entertained a just opinion of his capacity and fidelity, caused him to be sworn one of his Privy-Council; which station his Majesty thought fit to continue him in, upon his constituting a new Privy-Council in April 1679 (p). The educating, and well-grounding, of the King's two nieces, the Princesses Mary and Anne (q), in the doctrine and communion of the Church of England, was committed to his care; and that important trust he discharged, to the nation's universal satisfaction [G]. On the 4th of November 1677, he had the honour of performing the ceremony of the marriage of the eldest, Mary, with William Prince of Orange; and on the 28th of July 1683, that of Anne, the youngest, with George Prince of Denmark (r). The firmness of these two Princesses in the Protestant Religion, was owing in a great measure to their learned tutor Bishop Compton; which afterwards, when Popery came to prevail at the Court of England, was imputed to him as an unpardonable crime. During the mutual heats and animosities in the latter part of King Charles IId's reign, some of the most learned and exemplary Clergy endeavoured, both in private and publick, to bring the Dissenters to a sense of the necessity of union among Protestants. To promote that good design, our worthy Bishop held, in 1679 three conferences with his Clergy upon the two Sacraments, and upon catechising youth in the true principles of religion. In 1680, he pursued the same design in three other conferences; namely, on the half communion; prayers in an unknown tongue; and prayers to Saints: the substance of which he published in a letter to the Clergy of his diocese, dated July 6, 1680. He further hoped, that it might tend to pacify and reconcile the Dissenters, by bringing in the judgment of foreign Divines against their needless separation. For that purpose, he wrote to Monsieur Le Moyne, Professor in Divinity at Leyden; to Mr de l'Angle, one of the

(e) Ibid. and Wood, ubi supra.

(f) Wood, ibid.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 166.

(i) J. Le Neve's Fasti, edit. 1716, p. 237.

(k) Or the next day. For, in the Catalogue of Graduats it is placed on May 25.

(l) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 175.

(m) Ibid. col. 176.

(n) Survey of the Cathedral of Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; edit. 1730, p. 434.

(o) Willis, ibid. and Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(p) Boyer, as above.

(q) The late glorious Queens, Mary and Anne.

(r) The Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, &c. by Fr. Sandford, and Fr. Stebbing, fol. edit. 1707, p. 679, 758.

[C] *Afterwards entering into Orders.*] When he did so, he was not a novice in age, or knowledge; being above a Bishop's necessary years (i. e. thirty years of age), when he was ordained a Deacon: but he did not aspire to, or desire the Episcopal Office, before he was qualified for the good work.— And tho' he might have made high demands upon the Court, and raised himself at once to the greatest dignities, yet he chose to make gradual and regular advances (5).

[D] *He was constituted in 1667, Master of St Crosse's Hospital, &c.*] A fit preferment, as Dr Gooch rightly observes (6), for him, whose house was always a constant hospital! by this his income was considerably increased, (it being above 500 a year) and he had greater opportunities of doing good; the only motive to him to wish for it's increase; this was his greatest pleasure; and *here* he lived, and enjoyed it: *here* he would gladly have rested; but Providence had designed him for greater things.

[E] *On the 24th of May 1669, he was installed Canon of* Christ-Church.] And when he was Sub-Dean in that church he moderated in the Divinity-Disputations, with such gravity and wisdom, as made those exercises both reputable and instructive (7).

[F] *Being the same year, translated to the See of London.*] Anth. Wood tells us (8), that, 'This translation was much promoted by some of the politic Clergy, because they knew him to be a bold man, an enemy to the Papists, and one that would act, and speak what they would put him upon, which they themselves would not be seen in, as many prime Papists used to say.' We are also informed (9), that this translation was effected through the Earl of Danby's interest; to whom the Bishop was a property, and was turned by him as he pleased. The Duke of York hated him; but Lord Danby perswaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any person, so the giving way to it helped to lay the jealousies of the Church-Party. About a year after that, Sheldon dying, Bishop Compton was perswaded that Lord Danby had tried with all his strength to promote him to Canterbury; tho' that was never once intended. He was a great patron of the converts from Popery, and of those Protestants whom the bad usage they were beginning to meet with in France drove over to us: And by these means he came to have a great reputation. He was making many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the insolence of the Papists, and of Coleman's in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to dismiss Coleman out of his service: yet he continued still in his confidence.

[G] *And that important trust he discharged to the nation's universal satisfaction.*] How well he executed it, as Dr Gooch observes (10), let those confess, who value the memory of the late most renowned Queen (Mary), or have not laid aside all duty to our present most gracious Sovereign (11). They never forgot their obligations to him, but he was always in the esteem of the former, and received marks of favour from the latter. He had the particular honour which no one Bishop ever had, of marrying two Regent Queens to Protestant Princes. They were both confirmed by him January 23, 1675-6 (12).

[H] Who

(5) Gooch, ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Dr Gooch, ib.

(8) Athen. ubi supra.

(9) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 392.

(10) Sermon, as above.

(11) *i. e.* Queen Anne, in whose reign this was published.

(12) See Continuation of Rog. Coke's Detection, Vol. III. 1718. p. 117.

the Preachers of the Proteſtant Church at Charenton near Paris; and to Mr Claude, another eminent French Divine; who, in their ſeveral Anſwers [*H*], agreed in vindicating the Church of England from any errors in its doctrine, or any unlawful impoſitions in its ſervice and diſcipline; and therefore did condemn a ſeparation from it, as needleſs and uncharitable (*s*). But, Popery was what the Biſhop moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. For, when it was gaining ground in theſe kingdoms, under the favour and influence of the heir-apparent to the Crown, James Duke of York; our worthy Prelate, at the head of his Clergy, made a noble ſtand: and, by his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been; to the ſhame and ſilence of their Romiſh adverſaries [*I*]. The great diſſervice thereby done to theſe, and their cauſe, was remembered, and reſented, when King James II. aſcended the throne. To our Biſhop's immortal honour, this was his unpardonable crime: and, accordingly, he was marked out, as the firſt ſacrifice to Popiſh fury (*t*). The firſt inſtance of it, was, his being diſmiſſed from the Council-table ſoon after King James's acceſſion: and, on the 16th of December 1685, he was put out from being Dean of the Royal Chapel (*u*). Further occaſions were ſought, and ſoon found, of moleſting, or entirely ruining him, if poſſible. For Dr John Sharp Rector of St Giles's in the fields, London, having, in ſome of his ſermons, vindicated the doctrine of the Church of England in oppoſition to Popery [*K*]; the King ſent a letter, dated June 14, 1686, to Biſhop Compton, wherein his Majeſty 'required and commanded him, immediately 'upon receipt thereof, forthwith to ſuſpend Dr Sharp from further preaching in any pariſh 'church or chapel in his dioceſe, until he had given the King ſatisfaction.' Upon the receipt of it, the Biſhop ſent an anſwer, June the 18th, to the Earl of Sunderland, Principal-Secretary of State, wherein he ſaid, That 'he ſhould always count it his duty to obey 'the King in whatever commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a ſafe 'conſcience: but in this, he conceived, he was obliged to proceed according to Law; 'and therefore it was impoſſible for him to comply: becauſe, tho' his Majeſty commanded him only to execute his pleaſure, yet in the capacity he was, to do it, he muſt act 'as a Judge, and no Judge condemns any man before he has knowledge of the cauſe, 'and has cited the party.' But the Court being reſolved to be revenged on the Biſhop, for his exemplary zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt; and intending thereby to terrify all perſons (the Clergy in particular) from oppoſing their arbitrary deſigns, they cauſed his Lordſhip to be cited, on the 3d of Auguſt, to appear the 9th of the ſame month before the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. At his appearance, he was charged with 'not having 'obſerved his Majeſty's commands in the caſe of Dr Sharp, whom he was ordered to 'ſuſpend.' The Biſhop ſeemed to be ſurprized at this; and humbly begged a copy of the commiſſion, and a copy of his charge: but was anſwered by Chancellor Jefferys, 'That he ſhould neither have a copy of, nor ſee, the commiſſion; neither would they 'give

(*s*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, &c. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, Vol. III, p. 382.

(*t*) Dr Gooch, as above.
He alſo argued againſt giving up the Teſt, which incens'd the Court againſt him. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time. p. 665.

(*u*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *Who in their ſeveral Anſwers.*] Their Anſwers are publiſhed at the end of Biſhop Stillingfleet's *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, 1681, *4to*. That of Mr Le Moyne, bears date, September 3, 1680. That of Mr De L'Angle is dated from Paris, Octob. 31; and that of Mr Claude from the ſame place, November 29, 1680.

[*I*] *By his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been.*] This we learn from a Gentleman, who had been his Lordſhip's Chaplain (13). 'From 'whatever quarter, ſays he, or at what time ſoever 'any aſſault was made upon our Doctrine or Diſcipline, 'his vigilance and Chriſtian courage were upon the guard 'to defend them; of which I ſhall give only ſome few 'inſtances within the narrow compaſs of my own knowledge. 1. From hence proceeded that volume of 'uſeful *Tracts againſt the Diſſenters*, to convince them 'by Reaſon, Scripture, and Antiquity, of the unreaſonableneſs of their ſeparation, and ill-grounded ſcruples: never yet replyed to, or to be anſwered. 2. 'From hence likewiſe (before, and even under his 'ſuſpenſion) came forth the diſtinct *Reply to all the pretences of the Church of Rome*, in their day of exaltation and tryal; moſt of them written by the beſt-learned Divines of this City. Join both theſe together, 'and you will find enough ſaid to confirm you in the 'faith and worſhip of this Church, againſt the adverſaries on either hand; not to ſeparate from our 'holy Apoſtolical Communion, out of needleſs ſcruple; 'and the ſo often-baffled pretences of ſeeking after 'greater purity, and better edification; nor yet to be 'perverted to Idolatry, in order to find out the true 'Church. 3. The danger of *Socinianiſm*, and other 'Hereſies, did not eſcape his care or remedy, as 'far as his power and perſwaſion could reach; to 'this end, many learned and rational treatiſes have 'been publiſhed by his Clergy on this ſubject. And 'when the diſpute about the holy undivided Trinity 'was managed by ſome, in new and unuſual terms, a 'Royal Letter was procured to forbid the bringing in 'ſuch terms into that controverſy, as were unknown to 'Antiquity or to Scripture. —— By theſe-like means, 'our pious Biſhop, as the good ſhepherd of ſouls, 'uſed his ſtrenuous endeavours to hold up the weak, 'heal the ſick, bind up the broken, ſeek the loſt, and 'bring back the out-caſts, not by ſeverity even againſt 'the irreclaimable, or proſecutions againſt the deceived, but firſt and chiefly by argument and conviction: 'yet not ſo merciful, as to be remiſs againſt impious 'Hereticks, and notorious immorality.'

(13) See A Sermon on the Death of the late Lord Biſhop of London, preach'd, Auguſt 11, 1713, at St Martin's Ludgate, by Will. Whitfeld, Lond. 1713, 8*vo*, p. 14, &*c*.

[*K*] *Dr* John Sharp——*having, in ſome of his ſermons vindicated the Doctrine of the Church of* England *in oppoſition to Popery.*] He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper ſent him, as he believed, by a Prieſt, containing a ſort of challenge upon ſome points of controverſy, touched by him in ſome of his Sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he ſhould ſend an anſwer, preached a Sermon in anſwer to it: and, after he had confuted it, he concluded ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their religion on ſuch grounds. This was carried to Court, and repreſented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on thoſe grounds (14). But in order to underſtand how this could be imputed as a crime to Dr Sharp, 'tis to be obſerved, that King James had cauſed the *Directions concerning Preachers*, publiſhed in 1662, to be now reprinted, and reinforced them by a letter directed to the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, given at Whitehall, 5 March, 1685-6, *to prohibit the preaching upon controverſial points* (15). which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their religion in the pulpit; when it was at the ſame time attacked by the Popiſh Prieſts with all the vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and books. This order was taken from a precedent in Queen Mary Iſt's time; who ſoon after her acceſſion to the throne, iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted points of religion: for fear, it was ſaid, of raiſing animoſities among the people (16).

(14) Burnet, as above, p. 674.

(15) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 452; and Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. fol. Lond. 1728, p. 794, 795.

(16) Memoirs &c. by J. Welwood, M.D. edit. 1718, p. 173, 174.

[*L*] *Then*

'give him a copy of the charge.' Thereupon his Lordship desired time to advise with counsel; and there was given him till the 16th, and afterwards till the 31st of August abovementioned. In the mean time, he sent his Proctor for a copy of what orders and minutes they had set down concerning his business; but it was refused, tho' never denied in any Court. On the 31st of August, when his Lordship appeared for the second time, he declared, That the whole world could bear him witness, he had been that whole summer endeavouring with all the power and skill he had, to enforce the King's letter to the strict observation of his Clergy. Then he offered his plea to their jurisdiction [*L*]: which being over-ruled, he protested to his right, in that or any other plea, that might be for his advantage: And observed, that, as a Bishop, he had right by the most authentick and universal Ecclesiastical Laws, to be tried first before his Metropolitan, precedent to any other Court whatsoever. But the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would not, upon any account suffer their jurisdiction to be called in question; and therefore did not pay the least regard to whatever his Lordship could alledge, even, tho' he further insisted upon, That in the capacity he was, they were warranted by their commission, to try him only for offences *after the date* of the commission. But this plea likewise was over-ruled by the Chancellor, who affirmed, 'There were general words which gave authority sufficient to 'look back.' Whereupon the Bishop gave in his answer in writing [*M*]. And, after it was read, he observed, That the word *suspend* was liable to two constructions. In the first, which is the legal and strict sense of the word, he understood the King's letter; and was advised by his counsel, That it was a judicial act, and by consequence could not be complied with, unless he had first cited the party, and heard the cause. In the other sense of the word *suspend*, that is, at large for *silencing*; he apprehended, he had in effect obeyed the King's letter. For he sent for Dr Sharp, shewed him that letter, advised him not to preach till he had endeavoured to know his Majesty's further pleasure; and he had not preached to that day, so that his Majesty's command was fulfilled. But, notwithstanding all that his Lordship or his counsel could alledge, he was suspended, on the 6th of September following [*N*], for his disobedience, from the function and execution of his episcopal office, and from all episcopal and other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, during his Majesty's pleasure (*w*). Immediately after, the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, were appointed Commissioners to exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the diocese of London, during the suspension of the Bishop (*x*). He acquiesced in this hard sentence [*O*]: but being suspended only as a Bishop, and remaining still whole in his other capacities, he made a noble stand as one of the Governors of the Charter-House [*P*]. However, as according to the form of the Ecclesiastical Courts, a person under suspension must make a submission within six months, otherwise he may be proceeded against as obstinate: so, six months after sentence, the Bishop sent a petition to the

(*w*) Account of the Proceedings against Henry Lord Bishop of London; 4to, Lond. 1688; and Complete Hist. as above, p. 480, &c.

(*x*) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 483.

[*L*] *Then he offered his plea to their jurisdiction.*] This plea was chiefly a recital of the statute made in the 16th of K. Charles I. entitled, 'A Repeal of the 'branch of a statute *primo Elizabethæ*, concerning 'Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical:' in which statute of Charles I. it was, among other things, enacted, ——'That no new Court should be erected, ordain-'ed, or appointed, within this realm of England, or 'dominion of Wales, which should, or might have the 'like power, jurisdiction, or authority as the said 'High-Commission Court then had, or pretended to 'have; but that all and every such Letters-Patents, 'Commissions and Grants made or to be made by his 'Majesty, his heirs or successors, and all powers and 'authorities granted thereby; and all Acts, Sentences, 'and Decrees, to be made by virtue or colour thereof, 'should be utterly void and of none effect (17).'

(17) See Proceedings against Henry Lord Bishop of London, as above, p. 16, &c. and Compl. Hist. p. 481.

[*M*] *Whereupon the Bishop gave in his answer in writing.*] The Commissioners question to him was, Why 'did you not obey the King's command, in his letter 'concerning the suspending Doctor Sharp?' In answer to which, his Lordship, after reciting the King's letter of June 14, abovementioned, says. 'I took the 'best advice I could get, concerning Doctor Sharp, 'and was informed, that the letter being directed to me, 'as Bishop of London, to suspend a person under my 'jurisdiction, I was therein to act as a Judge, it being 'a judicial act; and that no person could by Law be 'punished by suspension, before he was called, or with-'out being admitted to make his defence.' And then goes on to say, That he represented so much to the Earl of Sunderland, in the letter mentioned above. Nevertheless, that he might obey his Majesty's commands as far as by Law he could, he had shewed the King's letter to Doctor Sharp, who had not preached since that time within the Diocese of London (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 21 and 482.

[*N*] *He was suspended, on the 6th of September following.*] The Court did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the Lawyers had settled that point, that Benefices were of the nature of Freeholds. So, if the sentence had gone to the Temporalities, the Bishop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was likely to find good *justice, Herbert not being satisfied with the legality* and justice of the sentence. While this matter was in dependance, the Princess of Orange thought it became her to interpose a little in the Bishop's favour. So she wrote to the King, earnestly begging him to be gentle to the Bishop, who she could not think would offend willingly. She also wrote to the Bishop, expressing the great share she took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the same purpose. The King wrote an answer to the Princess, reflecting severely on the Bishop, not without some sharpness on her for meddling in such matters (19).

(19) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 677.

[*O*] *He acquiesced in this hard sentence.*] The Court seemed uneasy, when they saw they had gained so poor a victory: for now the Bishop was more considered than ever. His Clergy, for all the suspension, were really more governed by the secret intimations of his pleasure, than they had been by his authority before. So they resolved to come off as well as they could (20).

(20) Burnet, as above, p. 677.

[*P*] *He made a noble stand as one of the Governors of the Charter-House.*] For, King James having, on the 17th of December 1686, sent a letter to the Governors of the Charter-House; requiring them to admit one Andrew Popham into the first Pensioner's place in that Hospital, which should become void, and be in his Majesty's disposal; without tendering any oaths to him, or require of him any subscriptions, or other acts in conformity to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England: the Bishop of London, jointly with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, all Governors of that Hospital, and Dr Thomas Burnet, Master of the same, agreed, not to comply with the King's illegal and unreasonable command (21).

(21) See Hist. of the Ecclesiastical Commission, edit. 1711, 8vo, p. 22, &c.

[*Q*] That

the King, desiring to be restored to the exercise of his episcopal function; but he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it stopt all further proceedings; only the suspension lay still on him (y). Whilst he was thus sequestered from his espiscopal function, he applied himself to the improvement of his garden at Fulham; and, having a great genius for Botany, enriched it with a new variety of domestick and exotick plants (z). His suspension was so flagrant a piece of injustice, that the Prince of Orange, in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it [Q]; and, upon the dread of his Highness's coming over, the Court was willing to make the Bishop reparation, by restoring him, on the 23d of September 1688 (a), to his episcopal function. But he made no haste to resume his charge, and to thank the King for his Restoration; which made some people believe, he had no mind to be restored after such a manner, or that he knew well enough what passed in Holland (b). And, indeed, he was one of the noble persons who often met at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, and concerted measures for the Prince of Orange's coming over; whose interest he heartily endeavoured to promote (c). On the 3d of October 1688, he waited upon King James, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other Bishops; when they suggested to his Majesty such advices as they thought proper at that season, and conducing to his service (d). Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, the first share our Bishop had in the ensuing Revolution, was, together with the Earl of Dorset, the conveying safe from London to Nottingham the Princess Anne of Denmark [R]; lest she, in the present confusion of affairs, might have been sent away into France, or put under restraint, because the Prince, her consort, had left King James, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange. Bishop Compton, at his return to London, set his hand to the Association begun at Exeter (e). Nor was he only one of the most instrumental in the Revolution, but also the most zealous in promoting the settlement of it: for, upon the 21st of December, he waited on the Prince of Orange, at the head of his Clergy, and even attended with some of the Dissenting Ministers; and in his own and their name, thanked his Highness, 'For his very great and most hazardous undertaking, for their deliverance, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion, with the ancient laws and liberties of this nation (f).' On the 30th of December, he administered the holy Communion to his Highness, in the Royal Chapel at St James's, according to the rites of the Church of England (g). The 29th of January 1688-9, when the House of Lords, in a grand Committee, debated the important question, Whether, the throne being vacant, ought to be filled up by a Regent, or a King? Dr Compton was one of the two Bishops, (Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, being the other) who made the majority for filling up the throne by a King: for there were upon that occasion only fifty-one votes to forty-nine (h). On the 14th of February he was appointed one of the Privy-Council (i): and made Dean of the Royal Chapel (k). And afterwards pitched upon, by King William, to perform the ceremony of his and Queen Mary's Coronation, April 11, 1689 (l). The same year, he was constituted one of the Commissioners for reviewing the Liturgy; in the execution of which commission he laboured with great zeal and earnestness to reconcile the Dissenters to the Church: and also in the Convocation that met November 21, 1689, of which he was President. But the intended Comprehension met with insuperable difficulties [S], the majority of the Lower House being resolved not to enter

(y) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, fol. edit. 1724, p. 677, 678. Bishop Sprat informs us, That he had once obtained to have his suspension taken off, if he would but have made an ordinary submission. First Letter to the Earl of Dorset, edit. 1711, p. 6.

(z) Boyer, as above.

(a) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(b) Boyer, ubi supra.

(c) Burnet, as above, p. 712, 764.

(d) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 520, &c.

(e) Boyer, as above.

(f) Compl. Hist. &c. p. 557.

(g) Ibid. p. 540.

(h) Boyer, as above.

(i) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(k) The Peerage of England by Ar. Collins, edit. 1735. Vol. II. P. i. p. 114.

(l) Compl. Hist. &c. as above, p. 560. He baptiz'd William Duke of Gloucester, July 24, 1689. Collins, ubi supra, p. 115.

[Q] *That the Prince of* Orange, *in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it.*] In the following words. 'The said Commissioners have suspended the Bishop of London, only because he refused to obey an order that was sent him to suspend a worthy Divine, without so much as citing him before him to make his own defence, or observing the common forms of process.'

[R] *The conveying safe from* London *to* Nottingham, *the Princess* Anne *of* Denmark.] We have a particular account of this transaction in the following words. 'When the news came to London, of Prince George of Denmark's having joined the Prince of Orange, the Princess Anne was so struck with the apprehensions of the King's displeasure, and of the ill effects it might have, that she said to the Lady Churchill, that she could not bear the thoughts of it; and would leap out at window rather than venture on it. The Bishop of London was then lodged very secretly in Suffolk-street. So the Lady Churchill, who knew where he was, went to him and concerted with him the method of the Princess's withdrawing from the Court. The Princess went sooner to bed than ordinary. And about midnight, she went down a back stairs from her closet, attended only by the Lady Churchill, in such haste, that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the Bishop of London, who carried them to the Earl of Dorset's, whose Lady furnished them with every thing. And so they went northward, as far as Northampton; where that Earl attended on them with all respect, and quickly brought a body of Horse to serve for a guard to the Princess. And in a little while a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of London; of which he too easily accepted (22).' So that, as Dr Gooch observes (23), the Bishop thought it then a proper time to resume his care and charge, and to guard the Princess against any attempts on her Religion or her Liberty. This is that so much talked of part he acted at the Revolution. He rescued the Princess Anne; he hid her (as it were) till Popish Tyranny was overpast. During that nice and difficult juncture, he was called peculiarly *the Protestant Bishop*; and, indeed, he was the ornament and security of the Protestant cause.

[S] *But the intended Comprehension met with insuperable difficulties.*] For, tho' many arguments were used to bring the more stiff of the inferior Clergy to a charitable condescension, and the much desired union; yet there prevailed amongst them a jealousy and a distrust not to be conquered. This appeared in the choice of a Prolocutor for the Lower-House? Dr Tillotson was the person proposed, and desired by our Bishop, and most of his Brethren, and yet Dr Jane had the majority of votes. And when he was presented to the Bishop of London, as President, for his approbation, he made a customary speech in Latin, wherein he extolled the excellency of the Church of England as established by Law, above all communities; implyed that it wanted no amendments; and then ended with the application of this sentence, by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. But the Bishop of London, to whom Dr Jane had been chaplain, made a speech in the same language, wherein he told the Clergy; 'That they ought to endeavour a temper in those things, that are not essential in religion, thereby to open the door

(22) Burnet, as above, p. 792.

(23) Ubi supra.

(m) Ibid. and Boyer, ubi supra. enter into any terms of accommodation with the Dissenters (m). King William having, soon after, named Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, his Lordship was made one of them: and the Bishop of London, for the time being, is always to be one, by reason of his superintendency of all the churches in the Plantations [T]. In the beginning of the year 1690-1, at his own charge he attended King William to the famous Congress at the Hague, where the Grand Alliance against France was concluded. But, notwithstanding the great part he acted in the Revolution, and his subsequent services, no sooner was the storm over, but jealousies were infused, and calumnies dispersed, to supplant and undermine him; insomuch, that tho' the Metropolitan See of Canterbury was twice vacant in that reign, yet he still continued Bishop of London [V]. However, he went on consistently and like himself, despising all other rewards, but the quiet and the applause of his own conscience, and the high esteem and intimacy of Queen Mary, which he preserved to her dying day (n). At the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, he seemed to stand fairest for the Royal favour. And tho' many things were said to disparage him at Court [W], yet nothing could discourage him from paying his duty and attendance there. About the beginning of May 1702, he was sworn of her Majesty's Privy-Council. The same year, he was put in the commission for the Union of England and Scotland, but was left out in the new commission issued out in April 1706. Two years before, he very much promoted the 'Act for making effectual her Majesty's intention for the augmentation of 'the maintenance of the poor Clergy, by enabling her Majesty to grant the revenues of 'the First-Fruits and Tenths.' He maintained all along a brotherly correspondence with the foreign Protestant Churches, and endeavoured to promote in them a good opinion concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and her moderate sentiments of them, as appears, both by his application to Messieurs Le Moyne, Claude, and de l'Angle beforementioned (o); and the Letters that passed between his Lordship and the University of Geneva in 1706 [X]. Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign, his access became easier

(n) Gooch, and Boyer, as above.

(o) Boyer, as above.

'door of Salvation to a multitude of straying Christi-'ans: that it must needs be their duty, to shew the 'same indulgence and charity to the Dissenters under 'King William, which some of the Bishops and Cler-'gy had promised to them in their addresses to King 'James;' and concluded with a pathetical exhortation to unanimity and concord (24). But tho' he made such great advances towards a Comprehension, yet when he observed the perverse and obstinate disposition of the Dissenters; when he found, that not a sense of true and undissembled religion, but interest and humour were at the bottom; and that there was no Comprehension to be proposed, or satisfaction given, but by the expensive sacrifice of truth and order, then he thought it necessary to stop. He wished as well as any body to the Protestant interest, and would gladly have seen it more united: but he was not well-bred enough to betray the rights of the Church in favour of a schism. He had seen so much the effects of popular frowardness and contention, mens aukward dislike to what is settled, and desire to change, that he dreaded the thoughts of innovations (25). His not complying so far as the Dissenters liked, is undoubtedly what made an author who is very favourable to them (26) say, 'that Bishop 'Compton was a weak man, willful, and strangely 'wedded a party:' that is, he was not of the same party in that respect as Bishop Burnet.

(24) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 591.

(25) Dr Gooch, ubi supra.

(26) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 392.

[T] *By reason of his superintendency of all the churches in the Plantations.*] Bishop Compton often declared his resolution of going over himself, to settle the Christian Church in those American Plantations; but by his persecution in King James's reign, and the mischiefs of a long war ever since, he could never bring it to effect. Greater then was his care in sending over good pastors; more constant his attention to their lives, manners, and doctrine; by every conveyance, letters sent of instruction, commendation, or reproof; a perpetual correspondence, in answer to volumes of complaints, wants, and requests. And all this carried on by himself, against the perverseness of the inhabitants, the wiles of the Church of Rome, and the subtilties of their societies *de Propaganda Fide*, till the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge was erected. It was no small trouble or expence, to find out fit Pastors for that refractory and unbelieving part of mankind: men of integrity; for they could not be under his inspection as to their manners and doctrine, in those remote territories; and men of prudence and constancy, to reclaim the inhabitants from their old imbittered leaven of Independency, Antinomianism, and Quakerism; and to reduce the natives from being worshippers of evil dæmons (25).

(25) Whitfeld, as above, p. 17. See also Dr Gooch, ubi supra.

[V] *Tho' the metropolitan See of* Canterbury *was twice vacant in that reign, yet he still continued Bishop of* London.] The first time indeed, 'tis no great wonder he should miss of it, since he had for competitor Dr Tillotson the glory of the English nation. But why he should not be promoted to it at the second vacancy is entirely unaccountable, all circumstances considered. And no truer reason of it can be assigned than this, that it was thought, Dr Tennison would be more subservient to all the Court Designs, than Bishop Compton could ever be expected to be.

[W] *And tho' many things were said to disparage him at Court.*] For then, as Dr Gooch observes (26), was the time for the most artful management. Honesty and integrity will always stand in some mens way. The Bishop of London could neither be corrupted nor removed. But whatever attempts were made against him, they moved him not; neither counted he his life dear, while he was doing God and his Church good service.

(26) Ubi supra.

[X] *The Letters that passed between his Lordship, and the university of* Geneva *in* 1706.] What the substance of them was, we learn from the following passage in a letter from that University, to the University of Oxford, dated Feb. 5, 1706-7: *Summo gaudio nos perfudit quod de vestra in nos charitate scribere dignatus est illustrissimus Præsul Henricus Londinensis Episcopus. Cum enim accepissemus, nos male audire, & Genevæ famam apud vos deteri; nomine vestro nos docuit, præjudicatas esse & veteres opiniones nondum penitus depositas; & quæ in medium a quibusdam allata erant nos non spectare, verum nonnullos qui ecclesiæ Anglicanæ disciplinam & liturgiam detrectantes, nomen nostrum præ se ferebant: illud vero a sententia nostra omnino dissitum esse noverat vir illustrissimus.* &c. i. e. 'The assurances we have received from the most illustri-'ous Bishop of London of your affection towards us, 'hath filled us with the utmost joy. For hearing that 'we were ill spoken of, and that *Geneva* was odious 'amongst you, he hath assured us in your name, that 'those were old prejudices, and wrong notions not yet 'laid aside; and that what had been said by some, did 'not concern us, but certain persons, who dissenting 'from, and railing at, the discipline and liturgy of the 'Church of England, made use of our name: but he 'knew us to be quite of another mind.'—The compliment paid to his Lordship by the University of Oxford, in their answer to this letter, is both very just and handsome.—*Quo nemo aut Ecclesiam Anglicanam paterno magis affectu fovet ac tuetur, aut exteras omnes, utcunque locorum intervallis dissitas, arctissimo tamen purioris Fidei vinculo conjunctas charitate magis fraterna prosequitur:* i. e. 'Than whom, none hath a more paternal affection 'for the Church of England, nor a greater brotherly 'love for the foreign Churches, united by one close 'bond

easier at Court, and he had greater power and interest there. But, whether the times were good or bad, he looked upon all that power and interest only as accidental circumstances that attended the office of a Bishop; and not as an essential part of it (*p*). In 1709-10, he was one of the Lords who opposed the prosecution then carried on against Dr Sacheverel, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewise protested against several steps taken in that affair (*q*). His Lordship having for some time been afflicted with the Gout and Stone [*Y*], it turned at last to a complication of distempers, which put an end to his most valuable life at Fulham, on the 7th of July 1713, in the eighty-first year of his age. His body was interred, the 15th of the same month, in the church-yard of Fulham [*Z*], according to his particular direction (*r*). What few things he published, are mentioned in the note [*AA*]. As to his *personal* qualifications: he was in all respects one of the best-bred men in his time; courteous and affable; not full of words, but very conversable; and, as in his ministerial offices, so in conversation too, willing and apt to teach. He was always easy of access, and ready to do good offices. In his friendships he was constant, or rather inflexible. He was a man of the largest and most publick spirit; and liked nothing that looked narrow or stingy. He had no little, artful, selfish designs. He was never seen to be afraid or concerned at danger. In the midst of storms he himself was calm. With regard to his *moral* character: he was a person of singular modesty, and humility; of great temperance and abstinence; of exemplary piety [*BB*], and every virtue. Never did such tender and such manly passions meet before in the same breast! never such firmness and fortitude, mixed with so much meekness and condescension! But he was most particularly eminent for his unbounded charity and beneficence: being generous and charitable beyond example. He disposed of money to every one who could make out (and it was very easy to make that out to him) that he was a proper object of charity. He answered literally the Apostle's character, poor enough himself, yet making many rich (*s*). He had divers ancient people, men and women, whom he supported by constant annual pensions; and several children at school, at his own cost and charge; beside those educated from children, and brought up to the Universities, to the sea, or to trades, &c (*t*). The poor of his parish were always attending his gate for their dole, and for the remains of his constant hospitable table; which was always furnished, and free to those whom respect or business drew to him. His hall was frequented in the morning with petitioners of all sorts (*u*). More particularly, he spared no cost nor pains to serve the Church and Clergy. He bought many Advowsons out of Lay-hands [*CC*]. He gave great sums for the rebuilding of churches (*w*), and greater still for the buying in Impropriations

(*p*) Dr Gooch, ubi supra.

(*q*) History of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. 1735, p. 428, 429, 444, 445.

(*r*) Boyer's Annual List, as above.

(*s*) 2 Cor. vi. 10.

(*t*) Dr Gooch, ubi supra.

(*u*) Whitfeld, ubi supra, p. 19.

(*w*) As, St Mary's Colchester, Plesshey, and others in his diocese.

'bond of the true Faith, tho' never so far distant from 'each other (27).'

(27) These Letters were printed at Oxford, 1707, fol.

[*Y*] *His Lordship having for some time been afflicted with the Gout and Stone.*] 'The Gout and Stone will 'make the stoutest heart to shrink; yet (says Dr Gooch) in 'the midst of these tormenting pains, we never heard 'the voice of murmur; those shocks that would make 'a beholder tremble, did not make him repine. He 'never complained against God, nor grew touchy and 'peevish to his domesticks; (almost every body's case 'in pain and sickness.) He was firm and constant, 'quiet and good-natured to the end. When his last ill'ness came upon him, he foresaw and foretold what 'would be the event on't, with the same composedness 'as if he had been sure of his recovery. He knew his 'summons could never be sudden, because he was never 'unprepared to receive it. He had long ago settled his 'worldly affairs: indeed he had little worldly affairs to 'settle; for he had remitted his treasure to the other 'world, and secured an eternal reversion there. He talk'ed of dying with the same unconcernedness, (or with the 'same pleasure) as if he was only taking a journey; and 'wished for nothing but an easy passage; ——which 'he obtained; being taken out of this world in the 'same easy and quiet manner as he had endeavoured to 'live, and wished to die (28).'

(28) Gooch, ubi supra.

[*Z*] *His body was interred——in the churchyard of Fulham.*] According to his particular direction: for he used to say, 'that the church is for the living, and 'the churchyard for the dead.' So that his humility of life, and greatness of mind, above worldly pomp, followed him to his grave (29). Over it there is erected a handsome tomb, (surrounded with iron rails,) having only this short inscription. H. London. ΕΙ ΜΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΣΤΑΥΡΩ. M.DCC.XIII. The Greek words (Engl. *Save in the cross*) are part of Galatians VI. 14. God forbid that I should glory *save in the cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(29) Boyer, and Whitfeld, as above.

[*AA*] *What few things he published, are mentioned in the note.*] They are as follows. I. A Translation from Italian, of 'The Life of Donna Olympia Maldachini, who 'governed the Church during the time of Innocent X. 'which was from the year 1644 to 1655.' Lond. 1667, written originally by Abbot Gualdi, and printed privately at Paris. II. A Translation from French into English, of, 'The Jesuits intrigues; with the pri'vate instructions of that Society to their Emissaries.' Lond. 1669. nine sheets in *4to*. This was found in manuscript in a Jesuit's closet after his death: and both were sent in a letter from a gentleman at Paris, to his friend in London. III. 'A Treatise of the Holy Com'munion.' Lond. 1677, *8vo*. his name is not set to it. IV. 'A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, 'concerning Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Catechising. 'Dated April 25, 1679,' and printed on one side of a sheet. V. Second Letter, concerning 1. The half Communion. 2. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 3. Prayers to Saints. Dated from Fulham, July 6, 1680. and printed also on one Side of a sheet of paper. VI. A third Letter, on Confirmation, and Visitation of the Sick. From Fulham 1682. VII. A fourth Letter, upon Canon 54. Dated from Fulham, April 6, 1683. VIII. A fifth Letter, upon Canon 118. From Fulham, March 19. 1684. IX. A sixth Letter, upon Canon 13. Fulham April 18, 1685. They were all reprinted together in 1686, *12mo*. under this title *Episcopalia*: or, Letters of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London, to the Clergy of his Diocese (30). We are informed, that they were part of them printed without his knowledge; but not without a design of bringing more trouble upon his head from King James II, for his opposing Popery, as he doth in some of them (31). X. There is also, 'A Letter of his to a 'Clergyman in his Diocese, concerning Non-Resistance:' written soon after the Revolution, and inserted in the Memoirs of the Life of Mr John Kettlewell (32).

(30) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 969.

(31) Whitfeld, ubi supra, p. 11.

(32) Edit. Lond. 1718, *8vo*, p. 208, &c.

[*BB*] *Of exemplary piety.*] No one was so strict and regular in his private devotions; no one so constant and frequent in the service of the Church. For, beside the publick offices morning and evening, his whole family began the day with the Litany, and ended it with select prayers from the Liturgy: and at all these times he himself, when he was able, was a constant attendant (33).

(33) Dr Gooch, ubi supra.

[*CC*] *He bought many Advowsons out of Lay-hands.*] As the Rectories of St James, and All-Saints; and the Vicarage of St Peter's, all in Colchester: the Rectories of Abberton Tendring in Essex, &c.

[*DD*] For

priations, and settling them on the poor Vicars [*DD*]. There was no poor honest Clergyman, or his widow, in want, but had his benevolence, when applied for. Not any in the Reformed Churches abroad, to whom he was not a liberal Patron, Steward, and perpetual Solicitor for. The French Refugees drank deep of his bounty for many years; so did the Irish in their day of affliction; and likewise the Scotch Episcopal party [*EE*] (x) Whitfeld, ubi supra. in their grievous persecution (*x*). He was indeed upon some occasions imposed upon, and bestowed his charity sometimes upon forward and impudent persons, who did not want or deserve it: but that is frequently the case of generous well-meaning persons; and must be owned to be a weakness rather than a fault [*FF*]. If we consider him *as a Bishop*: he was not only blameless, but a pattern of good behaviour in every respect. He applied himself more to his function, than Bishops had commonly done. He went much about his (y) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 392. diocese, and preached [*GG*] and confirmed in many places (*y*). In order not to burden his Clergy with frequent visitations, he was wont to hire houses, and spend every summer in some new part of his diocese, where he rid out, and visited in person the several churches, and parsonage, and vicarage-houses. His method also was, in stated meetings with his Clergy, to propose some topick in Divinity; on which they discoursed together in a serious, familiar, and judicious manner; which afterwards was summed up, and formed into a regular treatise. Many of these discourses are published, under the title of, *The Bishop of* London'*s Conferences*. At those times, and indeed upon all other occasions, he was extremely civil, affable, and courteous, full of candor and patience [*HH*]. In a word, by his death the Church lost a most excellent Bishop; the kingdom a brave and able Statesman; the Protestant Religion, at home and abroad, its ornament and refuge; (z) Dr Gooch. and the whole Christian world an eminent example of virtue and piety (z). His Lordship was never married.

[*DD*] *For the buying in Impropriations, and settling them upon the poor Vicars.*] Particularly the Impropriation of Marks-Tay in Essex, for which he is said to have given no less than seven hundred pounds; whereby he raised a very mean Curacy to a competent subsistance.

[*EE*] *And likewise the Scotch Episcopal party.*] He provided in particular, for numbers of the Scotch Episcopal Clergy, who fled into England at the Revolution. To Mr Robert Falconer, for instance, he gave the Living of Dunmow; to Mr Tho. Dunbar, that of Keldon; both in Essex, and the like in many other instances.

[*FF*] *And must be owned to be a weakness rather than a fault.*] We shall conlude this article of his charities, (34) Sermon, as above, p. 23. with these words of Dr Whitfeld (34): 'To his Honour be it spoken! he died poor; having made the 'needy and miserable his heirs all his life long. His 'contempt of gathering or leaving riches out of the 'patrimony of the Church, was worthy of his great 'mind and station. And he died with that honour, 'with which he had always lived.'—We must not forget to observe, that he left the third part of his large and well chosen library to the Corporation of Colchester. But that noble gift was slighted, so that his Lordship's heir was forced to dispose of it otherwise. The two other parts of his library he left to St Paul's Cathedral, and to Sion College.

(35) Burnet, as above, p. 392. [*GG*] *And preached.*] One author tells us (35), that 'his preaching was without much life or learning: 'for he had not gone thro' his studies with the exactness 'that was fitting.' But another who knew him better, gives the following account. 'He spake with the 'affection and authority of a spiritual father; always 'above the affectation of popular eloquence, but in 'the power of the Spirit, and primitive simplicity, 'with the majesty of plainness, in the utmost sedateness and good judgment. His weighty reason needed not to be set off with trappings. The love with 'which his people met his doctrine, made it superfluous to speak to their passions so easily raised and so 'soon sinking: he spake to convince *their understanding*. His deliberate way of utterance, gave them 'leisure to receive and fix his notions, and brought 'forth nothing but with maturity of thought, and exactness of judgment.——His knowledge and learning had been well cultivated in his privater stations in 'the Church, and particularly assisted by his friendship 'with Dr Rich. Allestry Regius Professor of Divinity 'at Oxford. His books had always attended him in 'his most youthful years; nor were they neglected to 'the last in his fulness of business. His library was an 'evidence of his knowledge in divine things especially, 'and also in human learning, and in the modern languages (36).'

[*HH*] *Full of candor and patience.*] 'None of his 'Clergy ever felt his displeasure, but for faults which 'carried their own mark and evidence. Not any 'difference of opinion in State-matters, did ever 'estrange him from a deserving man: that which was 'good and virtuous in the son, he laid hold on, and 'cherished with a fatherly tenderness, and passed by 'his mistaken judgment in that which was amiss. 'But in those that were bad, no interest, no being attached to the same cause with himself, could ever 'make him overlook their faults. This was true moderation! candor and charity to good men of all 'opinions, and firmness to his own just principles (37).'

C

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

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